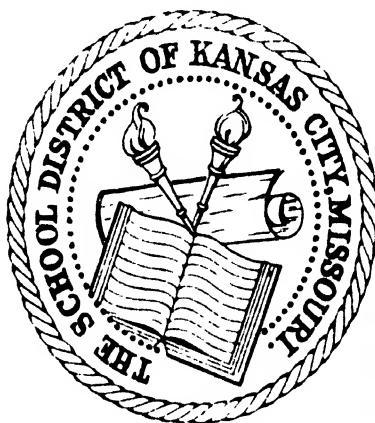


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CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM



By

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TO
MY STUDENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	20
INTRODUCTORY MATTER	24
I. <i>Creeds and Confessions of Faith</i>	24-28
1. Origin, Development and Significance. 2. Of interest also to laymen. 3. Traces of confessional phrases in Scripture. 4. The Confessions an expression of Christian experience. 5. Confessions still timely. 6. The Confessions as Standards of Faith.	
II. <i>The Common Confessional Heritage of all Christendom</i>	28-31
1. The "Rules of Faith." 2. Trinity and Christology. 3. Soteriology. 4. The Ecumenical Creeds: The "Apostles"; the "Nicene"; the "Athanasian". In Conclusion: The practical religious interest in the Ecumenical Creeds.	
III. <i>Departure into Denominationalism</i>	31-33
1. The earliest sects. 2. The first great schism. 3. The two wings of the Reformation.	
IV. <i>Distinction between "Church" and "Sect"</i> ..	33-41
1. Literature. 2. An orientating letter. 3. History of the term Sect: a. in Germany; b. in England; c. in America. 4. The distinction between catholicity and sectarianism unavoidable in theological discussion. 5. Outstanding characteristics of Sectarianism.	
V. <i>A New Method for Studying the Church Groups</i>	41-45
The Konfessionskunde Type compared with the former Comparative Symbolics.	
VI. <i>The Quotation of Scripture</i>	45-46

Chapter One

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AND RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

Part One

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

I. <i>Concerning the Name</i>	47
-------------------------------------	----

6 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

II. <i>Separation from Rome</i>	48
III. <i>The Constituency of Eastern Orthodoxy</i>	48-67
1. Turkey. 2. Russia. The recent soul-stirring events. The Russian schismatics and sects. The Russian Church as represented in America. 3. Greece. 4. Yugo-Slavia. 5. Roumania. 6. Bulgaria. 7. Albania. 8. Syria. All these churches are represented in America.	
IV. <i>Confessional Basis</i>	68-72
Primary and Secondary Standards; earlier and later Confessions; including the attitude to Scripture and Tradition.	
V. <i>Doctrinal Character</i>	72-74
1. Relating to God. 2. Chief interest in Trinity and Christology. 3. Anthropology. 4. Mediation between God and Man.	
VI. <i>Doctrinal Characteristics Continued</i>	75
1. The church services. 2. No deep interest in the Confessions. 3. Theological stagnation.	
VII. <i>A Peculiar Conservatism</i>	76
1. A commendable constancy. 2. Opposition to the hierarchal system. 3. Emphasis on small matters.	
VIII. <i>The Mystical-Liturgical Features</i>	77
1. Mystagogical trait: The Greek mind. Writings of the Areopagite. 2. The Holy Liturgy. 3. The Sacraments.	
IX. <i>Contacts with other Churches</i>	81-85
1. Roman Catholic. 2. Lutherans. 3. Reformed. 4. Moravian. 5. Anglicans.	

Part Two

THE SCHISMATIC CHURCHES	85
I. <i>The Antiochean or Dyophysitic Group</i>	85-87
The Syrian Christians of Nestorian Origin.	
II. <i>The Monophysitic Group</i>	88-91
1. Armenians. 2. Jacobites. (The Syrian Jacobites. Copts in Egypt. Abyssinian Church. Thomas Christians).	
III. <i>Eastern Churches in Union with Rome</i>	92-93
1. Chaldean Church. 2. Syrian-Catholic Church. 3. Coptic-Catholic Church. 4. Thomas Christians. 5. Maronites. 6. Armenian Catholic Church.	

Chapter Two

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH 94

Part One

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AS AN ORGANIZATION 95-98

- I. *General Characterization* ----- 96
 1. The term Catholic. 2. Conception of the Church.
- II. *The Roman Church as a Hierarchy* ----- 96-101
 1. The Pope (Successor of Peter. Infallibility). 2. The Cardinals. 3. The Patriarchs. 4. The Archbishops. 5. The Bishops. 6. The Priest. 7. Orders and Congregations.
- III. *Influence sought through Political Means* - 101-103
 1. History. 2. Gradual development (the Vatican).
- IV. *Attitude towards the State* ----- 103-105
 Relation between Church and State.
 Gregory VII, Innocent III, Boniface VIII, Pius IX.
- V. *Attitude toward Scientific Pursuits* ----- 105-107
 1. Relation of Theology to Philosophy. 2. Index of prohibited books. 3. Result of this practice.
- VI. *Statistics* ----- 107

Part Two

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOGMA 107-111

- I. *A Few Introductory Questions Regarding Attitudes* ----- 107-111
 1. Significance of the Catholic Dogma. 2. What is accepted Dogma? 3. Recognized source for the presentation of Roman teaching.
- II. *Characteristic Positions and Traits* ----- 112-118
 1. Legalism. 2. Conception of sin. (Origination of the soul. Significance of the fall. Concupiscence. Baptism. Actual Sins and their Source. Mortal and venial Sins).
- II. *On Man's Salvation (Justification)* ----- 118-124
First: Introductory Considerations: 1. The conflict with Lutheranism or Justification. 2. Difference concerning Grace. 3. Grace and Merit. 4. The voice of Scripture. 5. The heritage from Augustine ----- 118-121
Second: Rome's final decision at Trent regarding Justification and Sanctification: 1. Justification is no leading doctrine in the Roman Catholic system. 2. A certain practice was bound to result from this position. 3. The attitude of the Reformation. 4. Rome insists upon individual uncertainty of salvation ----- 121-124

8 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

IV. *Rome on the Sacraments* ----- 124-155

1. Difference between Rome and the Reformation. 2. On the sacraments in general. (Definition. Number. Classification. Benefit). 3. The seven sacraments: (1) **Baptism**. (Comparison with Lutheranism). (2) **Confirmation**. (3) **Repentance (Penance)**: Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction. Voices from Protestantism. Excursus on Indulgences. (4) **Eucharist (Mass)**: Transubstantiation. Repeated, bloodless, offering of Christ. Purpose of the Mass. The Communion. (5) **Extreme Unction**. (Foundation and Practice). (6) **Ordination**. (Power of priesthood. Apostolic Succession. Indelible character). (7) **Matrimony**. (Indissolubility. The exceptions). ----- 124-155

V. *The Sacramentals* ----- 156-159

1. Consecrations. 2. Benedictions. 3. Exorcisms. 4. Sign of the cross. 5. Holy Water. 6. The rosary. What is the religious sentiment behind the conception of sacramentals?

VI. *Eschatology* ----- 159-162

1. Heaven. Hell. 2. Purgatory. 3. Limbus Patrum. 4. Limbus Infantum.

VII. *Closing Observations* ----- 162-165

Chapter Three

OLD-CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ITS RELATIVES

I. *Origin* ----- 166

Reaction against the declaration of the Pope's Infallibility.

II. *Doctrinal Type and Practice* ----- 166

1. Doctrinal position. 2. Criterion of Truth. 3. Polity and Practice.

III. *Organizations of Like Kind in America* -- 167-170

1. The Old-Catholic Church in America. 2. The American Catholic Church. 3. African Orthodox Church. 4. Lithuanian National Catholic Church in America. 5. Polish National Catholic Church.

Chapter Four

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH 171

I. *The Name "Lutheran"* ----- 173-175

II. *Statistics of World Lutheranism (Territory)* 175-178

III. *Its Confessions* ----- 178-187

IV. *The Symbolical Essentials of Lutheranism* 187-226

A. THE ARTICLES CONCERNING THE DIVINE MAJESTY 188

B. MAN'S SINFUL CONDITION. ITS EFFECT UPON THE WILL ----- 191

C. SALVATION (GRACE, JUSTIFICATION)	195
1. The Pauline-Augustinian Doctrine of Justification. 2. Discussion: Luther's classical statements. The language of Scripture. Guards against abuse. Recent argumentation: Walther against Holl. Koeberle.	
D. FOUNDATION OF THE FAITH	199
1. Scripture as the fundamental Norm of Truth. 2. The guidance through the historical Confessions. Confessional subscription.	
E. THE MEANS OF GRACE	204
1. Scripture as a means of grace. 2. The distinction between Law and Gospel. 3. The Lutheran pulpit. 4. The Lutheran conception of the Sacraments. 5. Luther's insistence that the Holy Spirit calls only through the means of grace. 6. Infant Baptism. 7. The Lord's Supper, reviewed on the background of its continuous conflicts in the history of Protestantism.	
F. THE CHURCH	209
1. What is the Church. 2. Its Visible marks. 3. Unity of the church. 4. Rites and usages. 5. Adiaphora. 6. Perpetuity.	
G. THE MINISTRY	212
1. Necessity of a regular call. 2. How is the call to be received? (Synod, ordination). 3. Laymen's work in the church. 4. The baptism in cases of extreme necessity.	
H. CHURCH GOVERNMENT	214
1. Authority of the minister in the local congregation. 2. Synodical authority.	
I. RELATION TO STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY	215
1. Separation between Church and State. 2. Relation to civil government. 3. History of Lutheranism marked by much inconsistency. 4. Lutheranism and its social obligations. (E. Troeltsch, opposed by W. Elert, H. Boehmer, R. Seeberg. Compare H. Wichern and the Lutheran Inner Mission Work).	
K. ESCHATOLOGY	322
Appearance of Antichrist. Christ's return for judgment. Resurrection of all the dead. Judgment of the believers. Judgment of the ungodly. How about the underprivileged? "Restoration of all things"? Purgatory? A Millennium? Critical review of "Premillennialism" in Appendix B, Section VIII.	
V. <i>Post-Reformation Influences Contributory to Lutheran Theology</i>	226-248
Melanckthonianism and Syncretism with reaction in the Lutheran Church. The Union in the estimate of Professor Feine-Halle. Pietism old and new. Kantian theology. Hegelian speculative theology (Baur and Strauss). Albrecht Ritschl. As reaction to this speculative theology of Liberalism, and without aiming at a literal survey of our more detailed description in the body of our book, we observe: (1) The theologians of a heart-religion ("Pectoral-theologen") such as Neander and Tholuck; (2) the "Biblicists" such as Bengel, Kuebel, T. Beck, Cremer, Kaehler; (3) deeply specula-	

10 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

tive Christian theologians such as Dorner, J. Mueller, Martensen, Grundtvig; (4) especially outspoken confessional Lutherans such as Sartorius, Rudelbach, Harless, Thomasius, Philippi, Theodosius Harnack, Kurtz, Vilmar, and the Erlangen men (Hofmann, Frank, Franz Delitzsch, Luthardt, Ihmels and many others). (5) R. Seeberg occupied an independent position. Schlatter with traits of the "Pectoralthologie", was independent in his own way, neither Reformed nor Lutheran. In the more liberal group there were scholars with constructive Christian thought in many directions, but they did not want to be identified with conservative Lutheranism. In Chapter Four we shall speak of a new group of great Lutheran theologians (Heim, C. Stange, Althaus, Elert, Koeberle, Sasse). A new group of theologians, also, among the Swedish Lutherans about the Lund University (Aulen, Nygren) is to be reviewed in Vol. II of our History of Christian Thought.

VI. <i>Institutions of Ecumenic Lutheranism</i>	247
VII. <i>Art within the Lutheran Church in Europe</i> ..	249
VIII. <i>The Lutheran Church in America</i>	250-259

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS 250

1. **The United Lutheran Church in America:** Confessional in aim. But progressive. Of colonial beginnings. Composed of former General Synod, General Council and United Synod South. Leaders and literature. Relation to World Lutheranism. Statistics ---- 253

2. **The Synodical Conference ("Missouri").** Constituency and statistics. Concordia Theological Seminary. Characteristics (Confessional consciousness. Attitude to "open questions", Exclusiveness). Historical controversies. Literary activity ----- 254

3. **The American Lutheran Church.** The constituting synods. ("Ohio", "Iowa", "Buffalo".) Statistics. Theological leaders and literary products. Confessionally a middle ground is sought between the somewhat "irenical" United Lutheran Church and the more "exclusive" position of "Missouri." ----- 256

4. **The Scandinavian Groups in America:** Swedes, Norwegians, Danes. Tradition from the homelands. Ecclesiastical and theological leaders. ----- 258

The Scandinavians are in federal union with the American Lutheran Church in the American Lutheran Conference.

5. **The Finns in America** (two synods): **Suomi Synod; Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church** ----- 259

A. **DISADVANTAGES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF LUTHERANISM** ----- 259

B. **THREE RACIAL BRANCHES OF LUTHERANISM (GERMANY, NORTHLANDS, AMERICA).** ----- 260

C. **CHARACTER OF LUTHERANISM:** The interest of American Lutheranism is not in speculative theological systems, but in the bread of life for sin-sick and gospel-hungry souls ----- 262

Chapter Five

THE REFORMED AND THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCHESI. *Introductory Observations* ----- 264-273

The Reformed in the Common Evangelical Movement with its inner conflicts. 2 The name Reformed. 3. Friction and Union Endeavors between Wittenberg and Geneva. 4. The Reformed as a Church family. 5. Flexibility of character and the matter of identity. 6. Recent revival of the Reformed consciousness.

II. *Territory of Reformed Church with Statistics*
----- 274-279

A. IN EUROPE: 1. Switzerland. 2. France. 3. Holland. 4. Germany. 5. Hungary and Roumania. 6. Czechoslovakia. 7. Lithuania ----- 274

B. THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN AMERICA. 1. Reformed (Dutch) in America. 2. Christian Reformed Church (Dutch). 3. The Reformed Church in the United States (German origin). After union with the "Evangelical Church" this body is now "The Evangelical Reformed Church".

III. *The Presbyterian Churches. Historical Orientation. Statistics* ----- 279-352

1. General characterization. 2. The Puritanic trait in Presbyterianism.

A. PRESBYTERIANISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 1. **England.** (Founders of Presbyterianism and their principles); Relation to the Puritans; to the Anglicans. Cromwell. Archbishop Laud. Crumbling of Cromwell's "Commonwealth." Reasons for the failure of Presbyterianism to develop into a national institution. The "Toleration Act." Comparative estimate of Presbyterianism as a form of church government. Temporary lapse into Latitudinarianism and attraction to Socinianism. 2. **Wales.** History. 3. **Scotland** (John Knox. Covenanters. Secessions. The Church of Scotland). 4. **Ireland.** Ulster. Two doctrinal controversies. 5. In the **British colonies.** ----- 291-292

B. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE U. S. A. ----- 292

FIRST: THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (The Parent Body).

A passing coöperation with the Congregationalists, 1801. An "Old School" versus a "New School." Doctrinal conservatism and heresy trials. Rethinking the Confessional Standards. Present-day confessional situation. The Fosdick controversy. The Machen conflict. Auburn Affirmation. The schism resulting in a new body and a new theological school. Present-day constituency. Educational institutions. Statistics.

SECOND: TWO SEPARATIONS FROM THE PARENT BODY 305

(1) The Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Revival situation. Ministerial education. Features of Arminianism. A branch for the

12 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

colored race. (2) **The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South):** Caused by conflicts with the Presbyterians of the North. Principles. Statistics. Institutions.

THIRD: PRESBYTERIANS OF COVENANT AND SECESSION

TRADITION ----- 308

Five in number. (1) **The United Presbyterian Church of North America:** A union of the two strains of Presbyterianism. Its points of emphasis. Statistics. Institutions. (2) **The Associate Synod of N. A.** (3) **Associated Reformed Presbyterian Synod.** (4) **The Reformed Presbyterian Church of N. A.** Here the position appears that to vote and hold office is not allowed as long as the constitution of the state does not recognize God and Christ. (5) **Reformed Presbyterian Church in N. A. (General Synod).** Distinctive: The members must be allowed to decide for themselves whether the state is such that the duties of citizenship must be refused. In the bodies from 2 to 5 there is strong insistence upon all tenets of the historical Covenanter groups (enumerated sub 4 and 5).

IV. *Confessions and Standards of Faith* ----- 313-321

A. THE CONFESSIONS. 1. Number of Confessions. **First:** Zwingli's doctrinal position. **Second:** Bucer's influence. **Third:** Calvinistic Movement. 1. The successes of Calvin explained. 2. The significance of Confessions in the life of the Reformed. 3. Significance of Calvin's Institutes. 4. The Reformed and Presbyterian Confessions in a selected enumeration. (By use of an asterisk the number of especially important Confessions is still further reduced): (1) Calvin's Genevan Catechism. (2) *Consensus of Zurich (Consensus Tigurinus.) (3) Geneva Confession. (4) Gallic Confession. (5) Belgic Confession. (6) Hungaric Confession. (7) *Heidelberg Catechism. (8) *Second Helvetic Confession. (9) Scotch Confession. (10) *Canons of Dort. (11) *Westminster Confession. (12) Formula Consensus Helvetica. (13) *Westminster Catechism. ----- 313

B. VITAL CONFESSIONAL FACTORS IN THE REFORMED (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCHES: 1. The biblicist principle. 2. The personalities of the historic reformers. 3. Significance of Arminianism. ----- 318

V. *Historical Points of Emphasis concerning Doctrine and Practice in the Reformed Churches*

Differences from Lutheranism ----- 321-352

A. THE LORD'S SUPPER. Conception of the Sacraments---- 321

B. PREDESTINATION. Implication concerning God and Redemption. ----- 328

C. INTERESTS CONNECTED WITH THE APPROPRIATION OF SALVATION ----- 336

D. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND LEGALISM. ----- 339

E. CHURCH. CHURCH GOVERNMENT. DISCIPLINE. 343

F. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE. 344

G. CONCERNING THE SOCIAL GOSPEL. Cf. our more extensive discussion in Chapter IV on Lutheranism, Sec. IV, I. (Relation of the Church to the State and to Civil Government); see also our report on Methodism in Chapter VII, Section V, 10 (Methodism and the Social Gospel) -----	347
Closing Observations. -----	348

Chapter Six

THE ANGLICAN AND EPISCOPAL GROUPS 353-377

I. <i>Introduction on Groups Names</i> -----	353
II. <i>Origin and History</i> -----	354
1. Anglican Church. 2. Protestant Episcopal Church.	
III. <i>Church Polity</i> -----	360
1. Principles. 2. Episcopal consecration. 3. Bishop. 4. Priest. 5. Deacon. 6. Lay Reader. 7. Organization.	
IV. <i>Official Doctrine</i> -----	362
1. The Ecumenical Creeds. 2. The Thirty-Nine Articles and their teachings. Ecumenical position. Anthropology and Soteriology. Sacraments. Predestination. Church. Critical observations: No Romanistic tendencies in these articles. Eclectic interpretation. Indefiniteness. 3. The Book of Common Prayer. Significance of the Prayer-Book. Its doctrines on: ministry, sacraments, eucharist, Church rites, order of worship. 4. Criticism of the Prayer-Book.	
V. <i>Party Doctrines</i> -----	370
Low Church. Broad Church. High Church.	
VI. <i>Modern Anglicanism</i> -----	371
A position of "liberal orthodoxy." Doctrine of the Deity. Higher Criticism. The Person of Christ and the Fall of Man (Genesis report). Grace. Sacraments and the Ministry.	
VII. <i>General Observations</i> -----	374
VIII. <i>Contributions to Christendom</i> -----	374
The English Bible. The Book of Common Prayer. Special contributions to church music, church architecture, liturgical forms.	
IX. <i>Claims and Aims</i> -----	375
X. <i>Statistics. Educational Institutions. Publications</i>	376

Chapter Seven

THE METHODIST CHURCH FAMILY 378

Introductory Remarks: The author's aim has been to present in each chapter the church bodies in families. Similarity of basic ideas and aims compel us to include under the above heading quite a number of church organizations which do not have the Methodist name. Their historical trait

14 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

lies in the interest in Evangelism, and, connected therewith, in a stress not so much upon doctrine and theology, as upon subjective religious experience and upon the practical Christian life.

Part One

THE METHODIST BODIES OF THE WORLD

- I. *Early History and First Constituency of Methodism in England* ----- 382
- II. *Beginnings of Methodism in the United States and Canada* ----- 383
- III. *Standards for Doctrine and Life* ----- 385
The Confessional Standards. Attitude toward the Standards.
- IV. *Outstanding Denominational Characteristics of Methodism* ----- 391
1. Arminianism the Prevailing Trait. 2. Method of Evangelization. 3. Entire Sanctification. 4. Natural Depravity. 5. Wesley's Stress on Justification by Faith. 6. His aversion to dogmatic theologizing with regard to denominational differences. 7. Personal Religion as contrasted with its objective side. 8. Methodism is carefully on its guard against sacramentalism. 9. Institutionalism of the hierarchical type is not favored. 10. Methodism as an exponent of the Social Gospel.
- V. *Present Organization of World Methodism* ---- 423
First: In the United States.
 - A. EPISCOPAL METHODIST BODIES: a. The Methodist Church (a union of three bodies). b. Colored Methodists of the Episcopal type. (Seven organizations.)
 - B. NON-EPISCOPAL METHODISTS (Six white; two colored).
Second: Methodism in Europe: A. In Great Britain. B. On the Continent. ----- 434

Part Two

BODIES RELATED TO METHODISM

- I. *The United Brethren (three groups)* ----- 436
- II. *The Evangelical Churches (Albright Brethren, two groups)* ----- 439
- III. *The Holiness Bodies and Pentecostal Organizations (White and Colored)* ----- 441
- IV. *The Salvation Army (three camps)* ----- 453
- V. *Evangelistic City and Rescue Missions (nine associations)* ----- 457
- VI. *The Four Square Gospel* ----- 459

Chapter Eight

THE UNION BODIES 464-495

- I. *Conservative Union Groups* (the Lutherans, Reformed and Moravians as participants in the Union) ----- 464
 - A. MORAVIAN CHURCH: Its type of piety. Remarkable influence: Foreign Missions; touched the minds of men such as Wesley, Schleiermacher, Goethe. Three branches in America. ----- 464
 - B. UNION OF LUTHERANS AND REFORMED IN GERMANY 468
The Union established by the Hohenzollern, 1817. For a full picture of this movement consult our topical index.
- II. *The Comprehensive Union* ----- 469-495
 - A. THE DISCIPLES OR CHRISTIANS: 1. The Campbells. Their Puritan "Restoration" idea. 2. "No Creed but Christ." 3. The type of Union. 4. The type of Disciple "Biblicism". 5. The Organization of religious tenets. 6. The Conflict between Fundamentalism and Theological Liberalism. 7. Anticreedalism. 8. Adult Baptism. 9. "Open Membership". 10. Weekly Observation of the Communion. 11. The stress on Church Unity. 12. Institutions.
 - B. CHURCHES OF CHRIST. The "restoration" of the Campbells meant: The Church of today dare not harbor anything that the Apostolic Church disclaimed. The consequence of this Puritan principle is here pressed to its limit: No church societies and no musical instruments! ----- 485
 - C. CHRISTIAN UNION: An entirely unrelated, separate group.
 - D. THE UNION IN CANADA: Complicated history, but filled with suggestive lessons. Still in its experimental stage. The split within Presbyterianism. The story must be studied connectedly. ----- 486
 - E. COMMUNITY CHURCHES. ----- 494

Chapter Nine

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS 496-502

- I. *Early History* ----- 496
- II. *Later History* ----- 497
 1. Intermingling with Presbyterianism. 2. Trinitarian and Unitarian wings. 3. Denominational growth. 4. Latest developments.
- III. *Creedal History* ----- 499
 - A. ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CREEDS: 1. Savoy Declaration (1680). 2. Declaration of 1833.
 - B. AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL CREEDS: 1. Cambridge Platform (1647). 2. Massachusetts Revision. 3. Burial Hill Declaration (1865). 4. Confession of 1883. 5. Kansas City Platform (below).

IV. Characteristics Expressed in the Kansas City Platform.

Note: The Christian Church (Christian Connection) is now attached to the Congregationalists.

Chapter Ten

THE BAPTISTS. THEIR PREDECESSORS AND THEIR RELATIVES

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS 504

I. *The Mennonites* ----- 506

First: On the Continent: 1. Menno Simons. 2. Fundamental Principles.

Second: The Mennonites in America: Sixteen organizations (see our review of all of them). These can be reduced to three leading tendencies (see our closing paragraph).

II. *The Baptists of the World* ----- 514

A. CHURCHES OUTSIDE OF AMERICA: 1. Origin and History of First Baptists. 2. The First Baptists in England. (General. Particular). 3. Baptists on the Continent.

B. BAPTISTS IN AMERICA: The Three Larger Bodies (Northern. Southern. Colored): 1. History. 2. Statistics. 3. Baptist Confessions. 4. Characteristics. 5. The Baptist Principle. 6. Theological Seminaries.

C. MINOR BRANCHES OF THE BAPTISTS: 1. Calvinistic. Five groups. 2. Arminian. Six Groups. 3. Baptists holding a compromise between the Calvinistic and the Arminian Types. Three Groups.

III. *Relatives of the Baptist Family*----- 527

A. THE BRETHREN (Dunkers). Five Groups.

B. RIVER BRETHREN. Two Groups.

C. THE SCHWENKFELDERS (Appended) Spiritualistic theology at the time of Luther. It has attracted the interest of the theologians. The **Corpus Schwenkfeldiorum**. In connection with the Seminary at Hartford, Conn.

Chapter Eleven

QUAKERISM AND THE QUAKERS 533-545

1. Historical Orientation. 2. Principles for clarification pertaining to early Quaker History. 3. Organized Quakerism in its denominational life. (Four bodies in America). Observations concerning Church and Denomination. ----- 545

Chapter Twelve

RATIONALIST GROUP. (THE UNITARIANS AND UNIVERSALISTS)

I. <i>The Unitarians</i>	546-564
A. DEVELOPMENT OF UNITARIANISM.	546
1. The Socinian Heritage. 2. The Unitarians in England: Biddle, Milton, Lindsay, Priestly, Belsham, Carpenter, Martineau, Hibbert Lectures. 3. Unitarians in America (Harvard College the distinct center of a liberalistic movement. Arminianism to modify strict Calvinism. The first Unitarian Church. Henry Ware elected professor of divinity. Ralph Waldo Emerson. Rev. William Ellery Channing. His Baltimore ordination sermon and succeeding sermons. An estimate of Channing. Emerson and his ideas. "Transcendentalism." Theodore Parker, his steps beyond Channing. His sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity." A pantheistic prayer. Unsuccessful struggle for a creedal paragraph in the Unitarian constitution. Unitarian statistics.	
B. SPECIAL UNITARIAN CHURCH AND ITS HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. POINTS OF EMPHASIS	564
1. Definition of Religion. 2. Reason and Revelation. 3. Christ and His Salvation. 4. Other Observations. 5. Present Constituency and Work.	
II. <i>The Universalist Church and its Historical Principles</i>	565-568
1. John Murray and Hosea Ballou, the fathers of early Universalism. Reaction against Calvinism. 2. Doctrinal basis in three articles. Later (1899) followed "A Statement of Essential Principles," as condition of fellowship (5 articles). Topical review: Christ. Sin. Salvation. 3. In recent years there has been accommodation to Unitarian positions, as is shown in our chapter: Sabellianism, Evolution, Pantheism. Final Salvation of all. Constituency and Work.	

Chapter Thirteen

THE ADVENTIST BODIES

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION	569-575
1. The Adventist Christian Church. 2. Seventh Day Adventist Church. 3. The Church of God. 4. Life and Advent Union. 5. Churches of God in Christ.	

Chapter Fourteen

MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS INDEPENDENT AND UNRELATED

I. <i>Clearly Christian Organizations</i>	576-580
A. GENERAL ELDERSHIP OF THE CHURCHES OF GOD IN N. A.	576

18 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

John Weinbrenner, the founder. Employment of the revival method. A confessional guide of "Twenty-seven Points." Arminian. Perfectionism. Influx from the Mennonites. Adult Baptism by immersion. The Lord's Supper, as a memorial, combined with foot-washing. Literalism with an insistence on the use of Bible names. Presbyterian Church polity. Headquarters: Findlay, Ohio.

B. CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH. (The Irvingites). --- 577

Originated in England. Restoration of N. T. apostolate, with charismatic gifts. Twelve apostles consecrated. After death of last, no successor chosen. Acceptance of Ecumenical Creeds. Ritualistic liturgy. Emphasis upon guidance through the Holy Spirit. The German division insists upon continuation of consecrated apostles.

C. THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN (DARBYITES) ----- 579

Deny all tangibility and visibility of the church, rejecting creeds and all denominational organization; opposed to an ordained ministry. Started in England, work in Switzerland, Germany and America.

D. THE CHURCH OF GOD ----- 580

Headquarters in Anderson, Ind., with "Gospel Trumpet" as church paper. Refuse to be a denomination, claim to be only a "Reforming" movement. Active in evangelization. Stress divine healing.

II. *Peculiar Mixtures* ----- 581-586

A. THE CHRISTADELPHIANS. ----- 581

A small body. Preach conditional immortality. On Trinity and atonement they adhere to the Unitarian tendencies. Baptism an act of obedience; Lord's Supper commemorative. No ordained ministry.

B. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES (Russellites) ----- 581

Trend toward the rationalistic and to the apocalyptic, to things sensational and to interpretations calculated to please.

C. CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM (Swedenborgians) 584

Claim of special revelations concerning relations between the material and the spiritual world. Scripture is spiritualized and all Christian doctrine rationalized. Of Swedish origin.

D. THE AMANA SOCIETY ----- 585

At first communistic. Chief trait the claim of divine inspiration with revelations. Of German origin.

E. THE SHAKERS ----- 585

Celibacy. Communistic. Revelations through Ann Lee. A dying sect.

III. *Fundamentally at Variance with Christianity* ----- 586-590

A. CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS (THE MORMONS). ----- 586

The story and description of this group must be read connectedly. For special study we recommend the scholarly investigation of Dr. Geo. B. Arbaugh, now Professor of Philosophy in Carthage College, at Carthage, Illinois, on *Revelation in Mormonism*.

B. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.	589
(In very brief presentation).	
C. UNITY	591
Tendency to Pantheism.	

APPENDIX

SOME MOVEMENTS WHICH AFFECT THE CHURCH CONTENTS

A. *The Problems of Church Union* 593-601

1. Some Motives for Union examined. 2. The Union of Lutherans and Reformed. 3. The Aim at a Comprehensive Union. 4. Family Union First.

B. *Modernism and Conservative Theology* ---- 601-617

1. Revelation. 2. Source and Authority of Truth. 3. Sin and Man's Responsibility. 4. Person of Christ. 5. Christ's Act of Redemption. 6. The New Life (Source and Experience). 7. Eschatology.

C. *The Group Movement (Buchmanism)* ---- 617-623

Critical Estimate: 1. Aim of this Group Movement. 2. The well situated classes are among those drawn to this movement. 3. Can the Churches and the Group find a way for cooperation? 4. The matter of guidance. 5. The Group would like to aid sin-burdened souls to find their peace with God ("Full surrender"). 6. For this purpose they use the practice of conversation and testimony. 7. The Church will ask the Group not to overlook that Word and Sacrament are the appointed means of grace. 8. Also that the testimony on the person of Christ be in harmony with the Confessions of the Church. 9. The matter of expecting confession of sins for the soul's relief should be practiced with discretion, not as the condition of forgiveness, but in the manner indicated by Luther's recommendation of "private confession."

(Cf. Art. XI of the **Augsburg Confession**, interpreted in our **Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church**, 2nd. ed., 1926).

FOREWORD

The author of this volume endeavors to describe and characterize all church groups of Christendom; it is his purpose to treat not only those included in the official Religious Census of the United States but those of other lands as well. The contents of this book are the result of many years of lecturing on this subject. Observing that in most cases every church has engendered its own sects, the writer has attempted to treat the whole of Christendom in thirteen families and an additional group. In keeping with the title the religious organizations which do not desire to be considered Christian have been omitted.

What is a Church and what is a Sect? In Section IV of "Introductory Matters" an attempt has been made to answer this frequently vexing question. The author is fully aware that an absolutely satisfactory answer in every respect cannot be given. It is clear to all careful students, even to laymen, that besides the churches there are "sects". This distinction would be in the minds of the readers even though the book rarely mentions the term. For thinking along this line the reader is urged to study carefully the above-mentioned Section IV.

As regards the division of churches and sects into families according to their Faith, it is to be admitted that theologically some groups cannot be classified. For want of a common characteristic they are discussed in this book as "Independent and Unrelated". (Chapter XIV). Dr. E. W. Garrison in his book, "The March of Faith", has a section in which he speaks of groups which are "unassimilable." In the author's opinion it is the discussion of the churches and their sects *in families* which makes the presentation of these materials historically and theologically organic, a feature that must be sacrificed when the church bodies are treated in a merely alphabetical arrangement.

The fourteen chapters of this book, together with the Introduction, address themselves to readers who have an interest in denominational questions. Those who think that because of the prevailing interest in church union today denominational problems are dead issues, are greatly mistaken. Institutions, rooted in a long history of Christian experience, built upon convictions made sacred by solemn Confessions or Covenants, established in the hearts of many believers and colored by certain types of piety, are still a long way from disappearing in a general church union. (See "Appendix", Section A). And, surely, a true and successful union calls for a knowledge of all that one can learn about the genius and present composition of the existing churches. With thoughtful men there is a natural interest in the Faith of the existing communion into which they were providentially placed by the Creator. This does not mean that the heritage of the past is to be taken over without criticism and without modification where such is needed. The conscientious men and women of today, if they are religiously intelligent, want to know the Faith of their fathers; before they throw anything overboard they want to be sure that they do not lose what is good (I Thess. 5:21).

The question of Church Union has been touched upon and spoken of in a number of places (cf. the topical index). But it was found necessary to deal with this subject in an historically connected way and to do that in the "Appendix" to this book (Sub A).

This volume brings to mind the experiences of forty-two years in training young men for the Christian ministry. The beginnings of these studies go far back to the times when the method of studying the Churches of Christendom was very different from that of today. Much stimulation and suggestion came from contact with students, from their questions, reports and from discussions of the substance of these materials. Occasionally specific questions were submitted to scholars of special insight, and interesting answers were received.

In those days the old topological method was still in vogue, viz., the method of following the topics of Systematic Theology, and confining the study to the compar-

ative features of the leading churches only (cf. the English edition of K. B. Winer). But long ago this method changed to the present historical approach with the description of *all* the characteristics of the churches and their sects, doctrinal and practical. For details on the question of method see "Introductory Matters", Section V and VI.

This book, while appealing to pastors generally, belongs in the theological seminaries; perhaps also in the schools for training lay workers in the Church. The organization of the church bodies in families or related denominational groups will attract the interest of students. The pastors may be able to lead their congregations in profitable discussions of these matters. The aim of the author throughout has been at fairness in his critical estimates. This book could have been made a popular and widely selling publication if the author had been willing to sacrifice its critical character. But it is the objective critique, in Christian charity, which the churches owe each other. True, we are all subject to fallibility, but when we err we are willing to be corrected and hear the other side of the question. The students and even the churches demand the critical method. A mere eulogy yields little benefit. Neither does it aid the cause of a true and Christian union. The churches never come nearer to a union than when both sides are frank and open, and, when they honestly want to see the points of conflict.

It may seem to some that the smaller organizations which have emanated from the larger churches have received a rather brief treatment. But this was unavoidable if the book was not to be a mere encyclopedia under alphabetical organization. The organic method which has here been followed demanded a comprehensive discussion especially of the historical types, and a more or less subordinate treatment of some of the component parts or offshoots from the parent bodies.

The author desires to express his most cordial thanks to the many men who have aided him by their friendly suggestions and their critical reviews; also to his wife who has aided him in tireless secretarial work for the final preparation of the manuscripts.

Nor can he suppress the feeling of gratitude to the Lord of his life, who has upheld him in the struggle for bringing these efforts of his closing years to a successful conclusion. In saying these words, however, he must not conceal that his thought is upon the two volumes which, while finished as manuscripts, still are to be published as books: The "History of Christian Thought": Vol. I, *History of Doctrine* (from the Ancient Church up to and including the Reformation), and Vol. II, *History of Protestant Theology* (from the 18th to the 20th century). It is these volumes which furnish the historical background for the analysis of the Churches and Sects of Christendom.

J. L. Neve.

SOME STANDARD REFERENCES

With indication of Abbreviations

The Religious Bodies. By the Census of the U.S.A: Vol. II, 1926; cf. 1916 and 1906.

Year Book of the American Churches, with brief History of the Churches (on basis of The Religious Bodies), edited by E. O. Watson, 1923. Also **Year Book of American Churches** (Organizations, Periodicals), edited by H. C. Weber, 1937. Both published by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

PRE: **Protestantische Realencyclopaedie**, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck, 24 vols, 1896-1913. Edition in English: **The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge** (NSH), 12 vols, 1908-1912.

HE: **Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics**, 13 vols, 1928.

RGG: **Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart**, 6 large vols (2nd ed.) 1927-1932.

Luther's Works, quoted by letter "E" (Erlangen edition); by letter "W" (Weimar edition).

Melanchthon's Writings, from vol. 1 to 28 of the "Corpus Reformatorium" (quoted CR).

Zwingli's Writings, published by Schuler und Schultes, 8 vols in the Corpus Reformatorium (CR), vols 1-4 and 7-10.

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Schaff, Philip, Creeds of Christendom, 3 vols, 1899 (contains the Confessions of the leading churches).

Corpus Confessionum, by Cajus Fabricius. Aim is at a publication of all confessional expression by all churches after the manner of the "Konfessionskunde." In process of publication by W. D. Gruyer & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1931.

INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

I. Creeds or Confessions of Faith

1. A new creed of fundamental significance usually marks a new epoch in the Church's history. A foundation is laid, or a step forward is taken. Great questions are raised. Clarity is sought, and a solution will be found. Usually it goes through controversy. The creed that comes into existence appears as a standard for guidance of future generations.

2. When the history of such a conflict is reviewed the lesson has been learned that not all controversy is wrong, that sometimes doctrinal conflict is needed to clarify a situation. And soon it is observed that out of such doctrinal agreement the most wonderful fruits develop: devotional books, heart warming hymns, beautiful testimonies of the faith, lives striving after holiness.

3. Confessions have served as a protection of the Church's identity in times of confusion and conflict. Although not infallible and seldom complete as to the points they cover, these creeds continue to serve future generations as guides by holding before the Church her historical heritage, certain fundamentals upon which a local church or a synod was founded. Such guides are necessary for the continuity of the pulpit's message and for religious education of the young. With the stepping in to new ages there will be the need of progress. But, as a rule, progress should be conservative, not radical, subversive; we grow upon the shoulders of the fathers. It was this that Rudolf Eucken had in mind when he said: "We are the ancients".

4. There are those that look upon creeds and confessions as the work of arbitrarily acting theologians. They overlook that the congregations were much interested in the creation and adoption of creedal standards. The great fundamental confessions of the Ancient Church were sung and prayed before they were formu-

lated and promulgated as creeds. We have reviewed this situation in our *History of Christian Thought* (Introductory Matters, Vol. I).

5. True, there have been the times when orthodoxy degenerated into "orthodoxism" and when personal religion, to be preached to laymen, was presented too much in the super-confessional language of the school and in hair-splitting definitions of the objective Faith. The *History of Preaching*, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, offers illustrations which sound almost unbelievable. But it is a mistake, on this account, to abandon faith in creeds and confessions.

At this place we shall quote from a deeply evangelical (Presbyterian) minister of the Gospel in the city of Pittsburgh: "The Christian religion has been called a way of life. It is indeed a way of life, but it is at the same time a way of faith and a way of thought. If it should cease to be a way of thought, it would soon cease to be a way of life. The things we believe make up our creed, and our creed determines our character and our conduct. For this reason the first thing we wish to know about a man is his creed . . ." "We prefer to deal with people of convictions . . ." "The Scriptures are full of beliefs that form themselves into creeds. The Ten Commandments are a creed. The Lord's Prayer is a creed. The Apostolic Benediction is a creed. So is the greatest text of the Bible, 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (John 3:16). Paul set down the first articles of our faith in a creed: 'I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received: that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to scriptures' (1 Cor. 15:3, 4). One of the earliest Christian creeds is expressed in the simple words, 'Jesus Christ is Lord' (1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11). This is indeed the heart and core of the Christian faith. This simple creed was gradually enlarged to include a fuller account of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. In Paul's first letter to Timothy we find one of the early formal creeds of the Church: 'Great is the mystery of godliness: He who was manifested in the flesh, justified

in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory' (1 Tim. 3:16)".¹ The author then continues by speaking of the historical creeds of Christendom; the subject on which we shall offer details below (Sect. II).

6. Creeds, confessions and covenants, we beg the reader to observe, are the expressions of an experience which the Church of Christ has had in its study of Scripture, in its search for truth, in its conflict with error. The reference is to questions such as these: Who is God? What is the relation of Christ to God? What is the Holy Spirit? In what situation is man, considering his origin? What the relation between the physical and the spiritual, the good and the bad in and about him? How is man's redemption and salvation effected? What do Scripture and experience teach on man's will and on the operation of grace in the hearts of men? Which is the way of life concerning grace and the means of grace? What is the meaning of repentance and faith, of justification and sanctification? How should we teach on the Church? how on the ministry of the Gospel? how on the Church in its relation to the State? how on the final things of time and eternity? It is on all these matters that Scripture speaks, sometimes through direct revelation by prophets, sometimes through experiences of biblical witnesses as interpreted by persons of inspiration. The Church through all the ages, in reading and praying and preaching and writing on Scripture, and in practical dealing with souls hungering after the truth and comfort of God's Word, has been a very close observer. And in great moments of the Church's history these observations and experiences have found expression in great devotional books, in liturgical statements, in hymns of special appeal, and also in carefully formulated new confessional documents, aiming to cover present-day needs. All such utterances have confessional significance.

7. There are the voices which insist that creeds of the past have no significance for the present or for the future. But the following observations will lead to a different estimate. Why is it that a large work like

1 *A Manual of Faith and Life*, written by Dr. H. T. Kerr, for the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education as a "Guide for Individual Christians or Communicant Classes," 1937.

Philip Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, (of 1877) can have reprints up to this day? These three volumes totalling 2,378 pages continue to hold a place in the libraries of students and pastors. Why is it that even a church which is in principle opposed to confessional obligation (Congregationalists) has produced great authors on their Confession of Faith.² The Baptists, also opposed to "creedal subscription", have outstanding books on their confessions and covenants. (W. J. McGlothlin). It is the life in their confessional history that continues to attract them and to stimulate them to denominational loyalty. And the Methodists have their Twenty-five Articles of Faith by John Wesley.³ In addition we have the many writers on Christian Symbolics, mostly conservatives but also liberals. Altogether, it shows that the churches cannot get away from confessional guides. We shall here take the liberty to refer to our conversation with laymen: *Simple Talks on Confessional Questions*.⁴

8. *The Aversion to Creeds and Confessions* begins when these are an object of confessional subscription. There must be freedom of thought, it is claimed. But might a minister not use this freedom of conscience and thought to change his affiliation when he finds that he is out of harmony with his church? The interest of the Church should be considered. Each of the historical churches has a special comprehension of the Gospel, a characteristic interpretation of the fundamentals in Scripture. The Confession of Faith is an expression of this concept, it is the background of the minister's message in the pulpit, of the religious education in the church. It furnishes leading principles to the editors of church papers and to the theological seminaries, especially a doctrinal and practical theology. The Church, like an individual, has a distinct life which manifests itself through its doctrine, its cultus, polity and piety. But the

² We refer to Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, 3 vols., 1893; also to W. E. Barton, *Congregational Creeds and Covenants*, 1917.

³ An abbreviation of the 39 articles. See the commentary by H. Wheeler in Chap. VII, Sec. 3, 1. All the many sects and sectlets of this large family, in fact all groups discussed in this book, have published Confessions of Faith in some form.

⁴ A section in our little book on *The Augsburg Confession* (interpreted for laymen). United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia.

doctrinal element is fundamental. Surely the Church cannot be indifferent to the teaching in its pulpits and its schools of prophets.

The churches, especially the synodical representations of them, are not unreasonable. They can bear differences in non-essentials. They respect independent conviction along many lines.

But cases may arise where the Church is justified in using the creed for its protection. When a false teacher, in disregard of the above described life of the Church, uses his influence to gather a following and to make a school, (sect, the term derived from *sequor*, see below) and thus tries to disrupt the Church, then long-suffering and forbearance cease to be virtues.

II. The Common Confessional Heritage of all Christendom. (Ecumenical Creeds)

We have the first creedal expression in the *Rules of Faith* of the Ancient Church, which issued into the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds.⁵

The earliest discussions and doctrinal agreements dealt especially with Trinity and Christology.⁶

Soteriology, the outstanding interest since the historical conflict between Augustine and the Pelagians on sin and grace, moved during the whole of the Middle Ages in unclarified expressions. True, the formulations at the Synod of Orange (529) were Augustinian. But that small convention was not really representative. There was a widespread inclination toward Semi-Pelagianism which later received sanction through the doctrinal definitions of Gregory the Great.⁷ The real doctrinal experience on this subject came with the Reformation.

Of a common confessional heritage from the Ancient Church we can therefore speak only with regard to the Trinity and the Christology. The confessional

⁵ Cf. Neve, *Introd. to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church*, pp. 41 ff. 62 ff. For a larger treatment see Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, pp. 12 ff.

⁶ Compare especially the detailed definition in the Creed of Chalcedon and in the Athanasian Creed as given by Schaff, *Creeds*, pp. 29 ff. and reviewed in our *Introd. to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 71-79.

⁷ Cf. *Our History of Christian Thought*, Book II; chap. 1.

crystalization on these matters is found in the so-called "Ecumenical Creeds" (the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian). Of these we must here have a brief account.

1. *The Apostles' Creed*, that is, our received text, was not written by the Apostles (old legend); it was not a direct communication from Christ (against Grundtvig); but it was a gradual development which issued into the *Old Roman Symbol*. In its present form it dates from a text used at the close of the fifth century. Philip Schaff in his attractive way of writing, gave the following estimate of this creed: "It is by far the best popular summary of the Christian Faith ever made within so brief a space. It still surpasses all later symbols for catechetical and liturgical purposes, especially as a profession of candidates for baptism and church membership. . . . It is intelligible and edifying to a child, and fresh and rich to the profoundest Christian scholar." "At the same time", he observes, "the very simplicity and brevity of this creed makes it insufficient as a regular public doctrine for a more advanced stage of theological knowledge." Yes, the differing churches and sects of today cannot be united, doctrinally and theologically, merely on the basis of the "ecumenical creeds". The Church grows in the understanding of the Scriptures. Creeds, to be sufficient as a bond of union after the Reformation, have to contain statements concerning matters on which the phrases of the Apostles' Creed in the meantime have received different interpretations. To make the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed the basis on which to unite the denominations "would be equal to compelling the grown and matured man to return to the state of development of the child." On this situation we shall hear more later.⁸

2. *The Nicene Creed*, as it is in use today is very different from the form it received at that first ecumenical council at Nicea in 325, with its theological phrases and damnatory clauses directed against the Arians. To-day we use it in its "Nicene-Constantinopolitan" form as it was adapted for the services of the sanctuary.⁹ The

⁸ Cf. Neve, *The Augsburg Confession* (Layman's edition of 1914), p. 32: "Why is the Apostles Creed not enough?"

⁹ As to the details of this development see our *Introd. to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 64-70.

Nicene Creed gives expression to the relation of the Son to the Father before creation, in which the redemption through Christ was wrought, and it furnishes the foundation for the Church's doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁰

3. The so-called *Athanasian Creed*, of unknown origin, is composed of two parts:

Part I presents the doctrine of the Trinity as it was developed and completed for the West by Augustine. The emphasis here is not upon three persons in the manner of historic hypostasianism as this had received favor in the East with constant danger of leaning to a subordination of the Son to the Father, but in Augustinian fashion it is emphasized that the Godhead of the three persons "is all one", they are all one God. All have equal glory and majesty, all are uncreated, incomprehensible, almighty. None is before or after the other. They are declared to be "co-eternal" and "co-equal". The procession of the Holy Spirit, therefore, is not only from the Father, as the East had taught, but also from the Son (*filioque*). This became a permanent point of division between the East (John Damascus) and the West (Augustine).

Part II of the Athanasian Creed deals with the post-existence of Christ, that is, with the problems relating to the historical, incarnate person and life of the Savior, (The Nicene Creed had expressed itself on Christ in his pre-existence and eternal relationship to the Father). The Athanasian Creed, in this second part, presents the Chalcedonian Christology in abbreviated form.¹¹ It discusses the relation of the two natures in Christ. The distinction is made between nature and person. In Dr. Schaff's report: The *Logos* assumed not a human *person* (else we would have two persons, a divine and a human), but He assumed human *nature* which is common to us all (cf. art. 3 of the Augsburg Confession); hence He redeemed not an individual man, but all men as partakers of the same nature. The result of the incarnation, then, was that Christ is not a Nestorian (or Antiochean) double Being, with two persons, against the Christology of

10 On the development of this dogma compare the writer's *History of Christian Thought*, Book I, chap. 9: "The Doctrine of the Trinity."

11 Cf. Schaff, *Creeds* I, 30-34.

Theodore of Mopsuestia; nor a compound monophysite (Eutychian) double Being; but He is one person, both divine and human, as was taught by Cyril of Alexandria. His humanity included (against Apollinaris) even the human soul. To avoid the doctrine of a double personality the position was taken that Christ's human nature had no independent personality of its own (*anhypostasia*), but that His divinity which took the initiative in the act of incarnation is the root and basis of His personality. The Lutheran dogmaticians, later, preferred to call that an *enhypostasia*.

Note: The practical interest in this whole thought-construction of the Greeks was that the work of Christ, His redemption of our race, was wrought by the *one divine-human person of Christ*, the infinite merit attaching to the fact that His humanity was in *personal union* with His divinity. On this teaching which was followed by Luther there arose controversy: Zwingli saw here the danger of docetism regarding the full humanity of Christ.¹²

III. Departure Into Denominationalism.

1. Early in the Church's history there were sectarian movements such as Ebionitism, Gnosticism and Marcionism. These were out of harmony with the Rule of Faith. There were also sects that were Christian in character, although differing from the practice of the Church. We refer to such as the Montanists, Novatians and Donatists. These, however, could not maintain themselves. One after the other went out of existence. But sects of the early Church which exist up to this day are the Nestorians and the Monophysites. They had refused to yield to the settlement with regard to the two natures of Christ at Ephesus (431). Of these we shall speak in our review of the "Schismatic Churches" at the close of Chapt. I, on the Eastern Churches. But although they have survived, it must be said that they have dropped out of sight in the current of the Church's history. The churches that must have our special attention in this book are the *living* bodies of Christendom.

2. The first great schism occurred, after a number of preparatory developments. The East and the West

¹² Cf. our *Introd. to the Symbolical Books*, p. 139.

separated in 1054. From that time on we speak of an Eastern Orthodox Church and of a Roman Catholic Church. Neither of these two great churches is the *original apostolic* church which each claims to be. In our Chapters I and II we shall see that both bear the character of special churches.

3. The Reformation of the sixteenth century brought two other churches into existence: the Lutheran and the Reformed. The issues for the departure of Protestantism from Rome had been altogether in the field of soteriology and related topics.

How are we to estimate this very deplorable split of Protestantism into a Lutheran and Reformed camp?¹³ We will not be justified in looking upon this separation as just an historical accident that might have been avoided if Luther had been less insistent upon a few special points, or if Calvin on some points had followed Wittenberg. The permanency of the division, after union endeavors which have been attempted through more than three centuries, without arriving at a real union, carries its own lesson.¹⁴ It will not do today to speak of Protestantism as the *Church*, and of Lutheranism and Calvinism as mere *differences of emphasis*. These are much more than types; they are distinct churches, each with its own genius, its own historical character, its own "spirit". While Lutheranism and Calvinism have many things in common which distinguish them from other churches, the followers of Luther and Calvin are each established upon a consistent doctrinal system. These two differing doctrinal systems of historic Protestantism have always produced differing types of individual piety and of general church life. Each of them has its own apprehension of the Gospel, its own appeal through the pulpit and practical guidance, its own advantages and disadvantages, its own way of dealing with problems of the Church and of society. A matter of special interest for us will be the problem of Church Union, not only between Luth-

¹³ In Chap. VI, Sec. I, 1, in another connection, we have tried to analyze the differences of Zwingli and Calvin (separately) from Luther. Here we describe very briefly the difference between the Lutherans and Reformed as churches.

¹⁴ Cf. our book *The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union*, after this to be cited by the words "Union Movements," pp. 49-80.

erans and Reformed but of all churches. Of this we shall speak in *Appendix A* to this book.

IV. Ought There Be a Distinction Between Church and Sect?¹⁵

There are many church people who think that this question offers no difficulty once Christians abstain from calling each other names. But no matter how appropriate or inappropriate in many cases the application of the distinction may be, the fact remains that the Church in its estimates, and Christian Symbolics in its criticism, cannot avoid thinking and speaking of "church" and "sect". The problem is, however, a very vexing one, especially when it comes to defending this distinction in absolute statements. Ought distinction be made?

In response to a suggested inquiry by my students, as part of our work in comparative symbolics, the late Dr. A. G. Voigt of the Lutheran seminary at Columbia, S. C., answered as follows:

In this country the word sect is widely used as an equivalent for a section of the whole body of Christians. But that is not its real meaning. For in the use of the term a sense of disapproval and disparagement is implied, as we feel when we call anything sectarian. We must start with the idea of the Church as a unity and in its cath-

¹⁵ Literature: Here we are extracting from our article in the Lutheran Church Quarterly, January, 1934. There is a good little article on "Sect" in the **Lutheran Encyclopedia**, Jacobs and Haas. The article in the **PRE: A. Hauck, Protestantische Realencyclopaedie** vol. 18, 159-66, on "Sektenwesen in Deutschland" by G. Kawerau is very helpful. H. Schmidt's **Handbuch der Symbolik**, 1890 f., offers a thoroughgoing discussion on the subject (pp. 460-488). See further W. Rohnert, **Kirche, Kirchen und Sekten**, 5, 1900, pp. 2-32; 135 ff., and F. Loofs (1902) and H. Mulert (1929) in their **Konfessionskunde** on "Sects." Loofs and Mulert insist that there must be a reinvestigation of the old term "sects." (Loofs, p. 74, p. 8, 464-457).

We may also compare E. Troeltsch, **Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen**, 1911, translated into English, **The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches**, 2 vols., 1931, 1, pp. 691 ff. But as a most needed corrective of Troeltsch we must refer to the article in vol. 5, 399 ff. of **Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart**, 2d, 1931, (hereafter referred to R. G. G.), and the literature there mentioned. For an interesting classification of all the small "communions" and "associations" see the little book of 117 pages by C. Fabricius, **Ecumenical Handbook of the Churches of Christ**, Berlin, 1927, translated into English. In America we have E. T. Clark, **The Small Sects in America**, 1937. And for radicalism in the field of "Sects" read C. W. Ferguson, **The Confusion of Tongues**, 1929.

olicity. Dissent from the Church, especially in doctrine, causes sect, which is derived not from the word *secare*, to cut, but from *sequi*, to follow. Hence it is not a group cut off, a section, but a group following some leader. This generally implies some subjectivity as contrasted with catholicity. Hence we may properly speak of churches and sects.

Since the term carries with it the implication of disparagement, I have learned to become chary in its use. When I wish to express some contempt for separation, I unhesitatingly use the word sect. But ordinarily in speaking of denominations of Christians I avoid the term sect and call them communions of churches. This for courtesy. However, the word sect is a legitimate term in theological usage. Historic Christian bodies, which preserve much of catholicity, are churches; dissenting groups, which lack historicity and catholicity, are sects. A dissenting group which started as a sect, may attain the dignity of a church as its consciousness of catholicity deepens.

In this letter of a leading churchman the most outstanding points of interest were indicated. In a longer discussion of the subject he would no doubt have added other important considerations, and would, we believe, have qualified some of his statements. Here it is our purpose to describe in greater detail the characteristic of the "sect", as compared with the "church".¹⁶

1. *The History of the Term Sect.* The early Christians were referred to by the term "sect", *hairesis*, but with a meaning of reproach (Acts 24:5; 28:22). The apostles themselves employed it when they wished to warn against dissensions (II Pet. 2:1; Gal. 5:20; 1 Cor. 11:19). Later, as motives for the formation of sects in the Ancient Church, we observe especially the reaction against laxity in discipline in the case of the Montanists and Novatians, and also the protest against confusing church and state which resulted in the recognition of worldly ministers in Donatism. This reaction in the Ancient Church brought into history certain permanent traits of the "sect", which will be dealt with in the third section of this discussion.

When in 1530 Emperor Charles V closed the Augsburg Diet the "Lutherans" were spoken of as *secta*. The Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty of 1555, after the abdication of the emperor, recognized only the "adherents to the Augsburg Confession" as a "church", besides the

¹⁶ When speaking of the Church universal, we shall use a capital C, and when regard is had to the church as a visible organization we shall use a small letter throughout this book.

Roman Catholic: the Calvinists, the Anabaptists, and the Socinians were not included. But in the peace treaty after the close of the Thirty Years' War (1648) the Reformed also were recognized as a church. Other religions (Mennonites, Socinians) were still excluded. These were now the "sects"; but because of their peaceful and respectable character tolerance of them was soon safeguarded by special grants. Later we have in Germany the Moravians and still later, as new foundations fostered by England and America, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Irvingites (Apostolic Church), the Darbyists (Plymouth Brethren), Quakers and others. The Weimar constitution of August 11, 1919, finally put all these on an equality with the Lutherans and Reformed, as far as the state is concerned. In the official church law of Germany, especially after the "state church" was converted into a "people's church", the term "sect" naturally became meaningless. From this fact, however, the conclusion must not be drawn that the Protestant (historical) churches in modern Germany, Lutheran and Reformed, are now indifferent to the subject. The rise of sectarianism since the revolution of 1918, has alarmed widely, and they are seriously discussing the distinction between "church" and "sect".

In England there was a severe conflict between the "dissenters" and the Anglican Church. First the Presbyterians, then the Congregationalists in a further development from an oligarchy to individualistic spiritualism, then the Quakers and the Baptists as fully matured spiritualists were regarded as dissenters, that is, of another faith. Since Calvin, the differences on the church government question have had a confessional significance in England which was never felt in Lutheranism. All these opponents of the Anglican Church were spoken of as "Nonconformists".¹⁷ Because of their radical rejection of certain traditional elements in the church service they were "Puritans". It seems that outside of the conflict between Anglicanism and Nonconformity the term "sect" has been little used in English church literature. Even an organization such as the Salvation Army is spok-

¹⁷ Cf. H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity*, 2 vols. 1912-1913.

en of as a "denomination". There is no article on "sect" in the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. But England has had and has today among her denominations many which were or are "sects" pure and simple, such as the Family of Love, the Erastians, the Quakers, the Plymouth Brethren, the Irvingites, etc.

American writers have shown a growing interest in the study of our own very numerous groups of Christians. The United States is the only country which has been publishing decennially at public expense such an extended work as the two volumes on *The Religious Bodies*. The theological schools of the Lutheran Church in America have, all of them, been teaching "Comparative Symbolics" on the background of a distinction between church and sect.

Outside of the Lutheran Church in America the term "sect" is also used, but as a rule it is done as if it were derived from *secare*, cutting into sections of equal importance. I refer to *A Study of the Sects* by H. H. Lyon (Unitarian), Boston, 1891 and to the book by H. C. McComas (Presbyterian), *Psychology of Religious Sects*. The unconscious recognition of the principle of ecclesiastical distinction between church and sect, also outside of Lutheranism in America, may be seen in the way Professor W. W. Sweet (Methodist), in his book of American Christianity (1930), speaks sympathetically of the Holiness organizations as "small sects" (p. 501). And Charles F. Ferguson (not a clergyman), appends to his very interesting book on *The Confusion of Tongues* (1929), a "Brief Dictionary of Sects". We mentioned that just recently (1937) the Rev. Dr. E. T. Clark gave us a book of 310 pages on the *Small Sects in America*. We shall refer to this book at the close of this special study, and again later.

2. *The Necessity for our Distinction*. Our query, then, must be answered in the affirmative: There must be a distinction between church and sect. All churches have their own sects. Some have many, some have few. There will be sects as long as there is a Church. Troeltsch spoke of the "*Sektentypus im Christentum*". One can speak of "a law in sect formation". There are in-

dividuals who are "born sectarians", and these, impelled by a common motive, may unite. Sects rise and fall with the strengthening or weakening of the Church. Sometimes they have a mission in calling attention to the shortcomings of the Church. Some cease to maintain their sect character when the Church or the churches reform on the points that called them into life. In some cases they then develop back into the character of the original type against which they reacted, or they pass out of existence. The holiness people, together with many of the evangelistic groups, have gathered in the "Church of the Nazarene" and will become a coördinate part with others in the Methodist family. A very similar development is constantly going on in the smaller groups of the Baptist family. The rationalizing, "modernistic" wave of the last decades has altered the originally "evangelical" character of the American Congregationalists so that this body for the present has lowered itself sufficiently to be able to absorb several of the old rationalistic streamlets (the American Christian Convention and many of the Cincinnati Protestants). They now recognize the Universalists, and, as the writer was told by a prominent Congregationalist theologian: "It is only a question of time when the Congregationalists must do the same with the Unitarians."

We repeat: each church has its own sects. The Eastern Orthodox Church, Russia especially, has had them. Rome has had a number of off-shoots, and as we have seen, German Protestantism also has had a history in this respect.¹⁸ In Great Britain and America the sects exert a very marked influence upon public life.

3. *The Characteristics of Sectarianism.* How may we summarize the outstanding characteristics of sectarianism? It is not possible to answer this question in a way to which all groups will agree. It is our convic-

¹⁸ The new impulses toward the formation of sects which appeared especially after the Weimar reorganization in Germany, are discussed by the following writers: K. Algermissen, *Christliche Sekten und Kirche Christi*, 1928 (Catholic); H. Petrich, *Unsere Sekten, Freikirchen und Weltanschauungsgesellschaften*, 1928; P. Scheuerlen, *Die Sekten der Gegenwart und neuere Weltanschauungsgebilde*, 4, 1930; G. Kroenert, *Zur Psychologie des Sektentums*, 1930; and W. Koehler, *Wesen und Recht der Sekten im religiösen Leben Deutschlands*, 1930.

tion that it must be answered from the standpoint of historicity and catholicity and of teaching in agreement with a sane interpretation of Scripture and with the analogy of faith. But before beginning our enumeration of the characteristics of sects it may be well first to characterize briefly the "church" in distinction from the "sect".

The historical churches are results of the very great, epoch-making events in the Church's history. Each of them has a theology of its own, which is marked by historicity and by a deep-going organic consistency in doctrine and practice. They claim that their baptized children are under the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit through the influence of the Word and Sacrament. There will be cases where the necessity of a special conversion must be stressed, in the process of which the powers of regeneration will then function. But the "church" will reject the idea that the individual is supposed to have received no grace before such a "conversion" has taken place. Just as the prodigal son knew of a time when he was yet a child in his father's house, so the sermons and all the pastoral work of a church will remind men of that relation once established in holy baptism. Under normal conditions this relation simply needs to be kept up under careful nursing with the Word of God, and the result then can be expected as described in Mark 4:26-28: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

This description gives us the character of a church in distinction from that of a sect. We are now ready to consider the special traits of the sect:

1) Many sects are small in numbers. Following a leader in the reaction against a dead orthodoxy, against worldliness in a doctrinally evangelical church, they separated themselves from their group, refusing to serve as leaven in the meal. But not all of the disaffected could see that it was their duty to leave a church. Later, under different conditions, brought about by great witnesses for the truth or by truly evangelical revivals, the

separatists found themselves without the mission which they had sought. They remained small, they dwindled and in many cases lost their identity. There are cases where a separating group could claim that it had been forced out of the church. And there are also instances where due to special circumstances in the age of its origination a schismatic body grew and became a strong denomination. This, however, has been exceptional.

2) Many are the cases where persons of evangelical persuasion added to the position which they held in common with the parent group certain peculiar tenets touching the form of organization, the method of conversion, and the teaching and mode of baptism; demands regarding holiness—"the second blessing"; public profession of sins; foot-washing as a condition of membership; theories on Christ's advent; observance of the Sabbath, etc. The stress which was laid upon such special tenets, particularly the manner in which these were proved from the Scriptures, and the fanaticism with which they were propounded and made the shibboleth of church membership have illustrated the character of sectarianism in the Church. Sectarianism manifested itself in points such as the following: the tendency to lose sight of the right distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, and especially the entire confusion of law and gospel; the unexegetical and untheological use of Scripture; the break with the doctrinal experiences of the Church in her historic confessions as results of the evangelical movements during the ages; the subversion of the sacraments by making them acts of man instead of means of grace through which God works on man; the discrediting of infant baptism and the rejection of the fact that regeneration is an act of God in which man is the recipient and God with his grace the acting factor.

3) All writers on comparative Christian Symbolics agree in naming as the outstanding motive for most of the sectarian movements the endeavor to represent visibly and tangibly a congregation of the truly regenerated. The revival practice is the means of realizing this goal. Donatism in the Ancient Church, in many cases coupled with ideas of Novatianism and Montanism, was the historical fore-runner of this same tendency. Article 8 of the Augsburg Confession would not be acceptable:

"Although the Church is properly the congregation of saints and true believers, nevertheless, since in this life, many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled therewith, it is lawful to use the sacraments, which are administered by evil men . . ." On this subject Luther wrote as follows: "God keep me from the church in which there are nothing but saints! I want to be and remain in the church where there are the faint-hearted, the weak and the sick, who know their sin, misery and wretchedness."

4) As a mere illustration of the difference between church and sect we refer to the matter of proselyting. There are Protestant churches in England and America which send missionaries to the Lutheran countries (Germany and Scandinavian countries). As an ecumenic and catholic church the Lutherans would feel that they have no historical call to send evangelists to a country such as, for instance, Great Britain.

5) Closely related with the endeavor to be a visible representation of a holy people there is the tendency on the part of some to be separated from the world and from the duties to the state. We enumerate: Not to vote and not to accept office in a state which does not formally in its constitution profess Christ; not to make declaration by oath; not to take up arms and go to war for the country.

6) Very different from the comparatively "evangelical" groups which have just been described are those that have established themselves upon grounds radically subversive of the Gospel. The heretical traits in these camps vary greatly. Besides those following Socinianism, we mention the Swedenborgians, the New Humanists and the people of Ethical Culture; the Christian Scientists, the Russellites, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Mormons. In addition to these we have outside of Christianity the followers of Spiritualism and of Theosophy. These have their appeal, some to the Rationalists and to the worldly, some to the legalists and others to the speculatively minded.

These facts show that without a properly historical distinction of the "sect" from the "church" there can be no truly theological presentation of the real facts of Christian Symbolics. This book does not point out or enumerate the sects. Characteristics are frequently rel-

ative. The traits are not exclusive. They overlap and combine with others. Ecumenicity may develop. The historic churches may have sectarian features.

Interesting and helpful for our American situation is the discussion by E. T. Clark (The Small Sects in America) of the "Different Types of the Sects", (pp. 25-28) and the "Characteristics of the Small Sects", (pp. 269-288). This is a very helpful monograph study. It would be more practical if the page superscriptions would follow the topic under discussion.

V. A New Method for Studying the Church Groups:

In European Universities the subject under discussion was given the name "Christian Symbolics". Because of the emphasis laid on the *comparative* feature it was fittingly called "Comparative Symbolics", after P. Marheineke, the father of this branch in historical theology (d. 1848). It was the aim of the method employed by the writers in this field to show where the different churches agree and where they disagree. The interest in those days was exclusively doctrinal. As an example of the most extreme (tabulated) type of this Symbolics we refer to W. B. Pope's English translation of G. B. Winer's *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communions of Christendom* (Clark's Foreign Theol. Library, Edinburg, 1873). Symbolics thus became a practical cross-section of contemporary doctrinal theology. Together with History of Doctrine it served as an auxiliary for doctrinal or systematic theology. Because of its practical comparative character it was very popular. Even today this comparative study of the churches as the component parts of an historical organism is much favored in the lecture system of the European universities. Dr. C. A. Briggs in his extended visits abroad, was greatly fascinated by these lectures. He collected an extensive literature on this subject for a special section in the library of Union Theological Seminary. He even published a book under the title, "Theological Symbolics" (1914). For a complete enumeration of all the books published in Germany on the former type of Comparative Symbolics see our article on, "*Development in Comparative Symbolics*", *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, April 1931, pp. 203 ff.

Following the trend of the times, however, with its new interest in all characteristics in the life of the churches, the practical as well as the doctrinal, the German universities of today have substituted the present term "Konfessionskunde" for the old term "Comparative Symbolics", indicating thereby that *all* the features which constitute the life of the individual churches and sects must be studied. This forward step towards a better method was taken by professors F. Kattenbusch and F. Loofs of the University of Halle. For a detailed review of this development see our article in the Lutheran Church Quarterly (April, 1931) mentioned above. In substance it was now taught that the inner life and genius of a church cannot be fully revealed by its historic Confessions. Symbolics must be expanded into a science to show not only what a church once was and therefore now ought to be, but what it actually is today as the result of historical development. To be sure, the treatment must include the confessional principles which have an actual life in a church body. The many "unconscious" factors of its existence, however, must also be disclosed. This reminds us of a study with which we in America are well acquainted, viz. the "psychoanalyses" of the churches, which are being made in the theological schools of today. We shall do well, however, to remember that students can be very much misled by taking all kinds of misdevelopments as normal and by looking on mere accidentals as very important. Distinction must be made between fundamental traits and mere notions. The essential traits in a communion usually have their roots in the original history of the group and in the Confessions produced by the group. This is important in the present day method of the study of churches and sects: *All* factors that characterize the life of a group must be considered. Let us indicate just a few fundamental points of interest: Is the general character of a church marked by catholicity or by tenets leading into sectarianism? Is it liturgical or anti-liturgical? Is it intellectually doctrinal or inclined toward the mystical? Is it theological or practical? What is the attitude to theological education and to catechetical instruction? Is the church conservatively denominational, indifferent, or unionistic? What is the church's appreciation of Scripture,

of theology, of preaching? What is the significance of baptism, of the Lord's Supper? What is the conception of the Church and of the ministry? Does the church foster the immediacy of the means of grace, or does it emphasize the sacramental conception? Is salvation fundamentally a gift of God or an achievement of man? Can there be distinction between good works as a "new obedience" and moralism as civil righteousness? What is the attitude to moralism and to legalism? What is the distinction between Law and Gospel? What is the type of the church's piety? What is the attitude to the relation of church and state? What is the attitude to the world? What is its stand in regard to liberalism in theology and to humanism? What principles should lead us in responding to the Social Gospel? Consideration should be given to the racial and the national influences upon religion and the church. Statistics and their meaning in the different cases are also of interest. We may here add the following points mentioned by the late H. K. Carroll, United States statistician for many years, in the introduction to his book *The Religious Forces in the United States* (1893-1912): Variety of Religion; Classification of the Churches; Denominational Titles; the Causes of Division; Analysis of the Religious Forces of the United States; The Religious Population; The Growth of the Churches; How the Religious Forces are Distributed; The Evangelical and Non-evangelical Elements; The General Statistical Summaries; The Negro in his Relation to the Church; The Characteristics of American Christianity; How the Church affects Society.

The consideration of such matters will reveal much of the difference between the old Comparative Symbolics of Doctrine and the present-day broad study of the Churches and Sects of Christendom. While it is true that neither writers in England nor in America have written much on Symbolics it must be mentioned that in 1891, H. H. Lyon, an American Unitarian, wrote *A Study of the Sects* (Boston). This little book (207 pages) of many editions or reprints was written for the popular purpose of propaganda and for polemicizing against the Faith of the conservative churches. It contained a wealth of symbolical ideas that offered a constant stimulation toward fruitful thinking on denominational prob-

lems. Professor G. Kawerau knew this book when he wrote his article on *Sektenwesen in Deutschland* in Hauck's PRE, vol. 18, p. 158, lines 40ff. Lyon derives the term "sect" from *secare* instead of *sequor*.¹⁹ It was the recent interest in the union problem which has produced a large literature on the denominational problems. H. C. McComas, *Psychology of Religious Sects*; C. S. McFarland, *The Progress of Church Federation*, 1917; The writings of Peter Ainslie; F. W. Lynch, *The Problem of Church Unity*; W. A. Brown, *The Church in America*; books on the Community Church by Lynn, Zumbrunnen, Piper, Guild. On "Religious Oddity" cf. T. O. Johnson, *Some Modernisms*; C. W. Ferguson, *The Confusion of Tongues*; E. T. Clark, *Small Sects in America*.

Among the sources for such study, as far as North America is concerned, the official publication, *The Religious Bodies in the United States*, deserves highest praise. The decennial publication of this great work should by all means be continued. Great Britain also needs such a work. In continental Europe the continually appearing books on *Konfessionskunde* are supplying that need. In the United States the many monographic studies of churches, such as we have used in this book, furnish much valuable material.²⁰

The matter of *comparison* in the present-day historical type of Christian Symbolics is a vexing question. The scholars do not want to dispense with it, even though they agree that the topically comparative and doctrinally tabulated method of Winer (Graul, Rohnert, Guenther, Monson) had to be abandoned. True, this topical method offered a convenient way for polemics, but the much needed historical approach does not receive its right. In Europe they dismissed it gradually, slowly enlarging the historical features (cf. Koellner, Matthes, Plitt-Schultze, Oehler, von Scheele, Schmidt, Noesgen, Kunze, Engelder, Briggs). Still the men of the *Konfessionskunde* feel that the comparative feature as an auxiliary for systematic doctrine, is of great importance. But how is it to be done after the topical method has disappeared?

¹⁹ Cf. our discussion of Churches and Sects and note the literature.

²⁰ For further publications in America, see *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, 1931, pp. 206ff.

We have become convinced that the solution of the difficulty lies in a certain distinction that must be made. Comparison must be made only where it is historically motivated. One can and one must compare between Eastern Orthodoxy and Rome; also between Catholicism and Protestantism; between Lutheranism and Calvinism; between conservative Protestantism and Socinianism. But it is unhistorical and unnatural, for instance, to compare the conservative Protestantism of the Reformation with Methodism, except with regard to the distinction between objective religion and its subjective type, the purely educational and the purely evangelistic types. This, however, is a distinction which reaches into the genius of many groups. Similarly, the different attitude among the denominations to the concept of baptism calls for a comparative discussion. The attitude toward grace, also, and no less the question of its mediation to the soul, constitutes a comparative problem full of lessons for practical church work, as is shown in our discussion of Quakerism (Chap. XI). The relation of faith and reason also calls for comparative discussion (Chap. XII).²¹

VII. The Quotation of Scripture.

This is another question of dispute. The Scripture proof regarding the doctrinal differences was abandoned by Marheineke. In our article, referred to above, we wrote the following: "Outside of a few popular works which we have quoted above, there is in the whole literature on Symbolics not one author who uses Scripture polemically or apologetically as was done in the department of confessional polemics in the post-Reformation age and in the seventeenth century. Guericke, Philippi, Noesgen and recently W. Walther, were the most conservative among the Lutheran writers on Symbolics, but on this point they were no exception to the rest. They all knew that the reliable interpretation of Scripture for use in a given point of denominational comparison is not quite so simple as the preceding age had taken it to be. Therefore they left the actual discussion of doctrinal

²¹ For a fuller treatment of this matter see our article in the *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, 1931, pp. 210f. Marheineke, the father of this branch declared that there must be over the treatment "the peace of history" (*der Friede der Historie*).

topics in *their details* to Systematic Theology which is based upon the results of exegesis. Furthermore, there is observable all through the history of Comparative Symbolics an attempt to steer clear of the exclusively topological method. This tendency in itself has had a neutralizing effect upon the employment of Scripture proofs in discussing denominational differences." True, there are *historical* Scripture proofs in the history of the churches and sects; these may be discussed. But in Symbolics there is no time for critical investigation. This belongs to exegesis and to dogmatics.

All Christian Theology, however, has its roots in the Word of God to man. In the *doctrinal* section of this chiefly historical guide, therefore, we cannot work without the references to Scripture. Let the student realize, however, that a very essential part of Scripture-proof lies in the Scripture as a whole, in the "Analogy of Faith" (Rom. 12:17), in Christ, in the Gospel and in the right relation of Law and Gospel. For this proof the contexts are imperative.

Chapter One

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AND RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

I. The Eastern Orthodox Churches

Literature: In the following titles we limit ourselves to books and articles of frequent reference. (For literature on specific points, especially also the Russian Church, see the footnotes): **W. Gass**, *Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*, 1872. **F. Kattenbusch** on *Orientalische Kirche* in *Hauck's Protestantische Realencyklopaedie*³ (PRE), vol. 19, 437ff. **A. A. Stamouli** on *The Eastern Church* in the *New Schaff Herzog Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, 49ff. **Kattenbusch**, *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Konfessionskunde*, 1892. **F. Loofs**, *Symbolik oder Konfessionskunde*, 1902. **W. Walther**, *Symbolik*, 1924. **H. Mulert**, *Konfessionskunde*, 1926. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (revised, beginning with 11th ed.) on *The Orthodox Eastern Church*. **P. Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom*, vols. 1 and 2. **E. J. Kimmel**, *Monumenta fidei ecclesiae orientalis*, 2 vols. 1850. **Jon Michalescu**, *Die Bekenntnisse der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche*, 1904. **W. F. Adeney**, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, 1908 and 1923. **A. Fortescue**, *The Orthodox Eastern Churches*, 1905 (from the Roman Catholic point of view). **Diomedes Kyriakos**, *Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen*, 1902. **Karl Beth**, *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer*, 1902. **Stefan Zankow**, *Das orthodoxe Christentum des Ostens*, 1928. **G. B. Howard**, *The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches*, 1892.

1. *The General Name "Greek Catholic Church"* has been much used. But the adherents as a whole do not use it themselves. It would not fit their large Slavic constituency. Of 150 millions about 100 millions are Russians, and the Rumanians, Bulgarians, Syrians and others are not Greeks. The name as given in our superscription is fitting for the following reasons: (1) "Eastern" expresses their desire to be distinct from Rome; (2) "Churches" indicates the fact that they are composed of a number of independent national churches; (3) "Orthodox" expresses their pride in being orthodox.

2. How did these Churches become a Separate Group of Christendom?

The "patriarch" of Constantinople claimed equality with the Roman bishop ("pope"). Leo the Great and Gregory the Great protested. The gradually developing political separation of the West from the East was among the contributory causes for a corresponding division between the Eastern Orthodox and a Roman Catholic Church. The conflict between two candidates for the patriarchate in Constantinople (867), in which Rome took a hand in an effort to demonstrate its superiority, led to a division which became complete about 200 years later (1054). Disagreement in the *filioque* controversy appears on the part of the Eastern Orthodox Churches as the chief doctrinal reason. Prominent also was the refusal of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate to recognize the Roman pope as the head of the Catholic Church.¹

3. The Constituency of the Eastern Orthodox Churches

First: The Orthodox Church under Turkey.

In 1453, Mohammed II took Constantinople. The northern part of Asia Minor together with Gallipoli was already in the hands of the Turks by 1369. By 1451, not only the southwestern parts of Asia Minor, but also European Rumelia and Bulgaria had been added to the Osman Empire. By 1481, the conquests of Mohammed II had secured Greece, Albania, Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia. By 1520, Sultan Selim I had conquered Syria and Egypt, and by 1566, he had succeeded in adding Hungary and Moldavia to his dominions.²

Soon after the fall of Constantinople a memorable meeting took place between the Sultan and the Patriarch Genadius. The latter handed the conqueror a Confession of the Christian Faith in which he attempted to convince the Mohammedan ruler that the doctrine of the

1 G. B. Howard, *The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches*, 1892.

2 Cf. F. W. Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas*, Leipzig 1893, p. 31, or Heussi und Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, 2 1919.

Holy Trinity is not in conflict with monotheism.³ The result of the meeting was that the Sultan invested Genadius with the patriarchate by delivering to him the crozier or pastoral staff and by authorizing him to assure the Greek Christians of freedom in the exercise of their religion. As a consequence, the occupant of the Constantinopolitan see was recognized as the ecumenical patriarch. He even received, within limits, a kind of civil authority as judge and administrator over all Greek Catholics in the Turkish Empire.⁴ We shall have occasion to observe that this privilege, while being a temporary help in numerous individual cases, had a detrimental effect upon the church as a whole. It contributed to the unprogressiveness and to the stagnant trait which are characteristic of the Orthodox Churches. This is not difficult to explain when once we understand that no movement was permitted beyond the *status quo*. New churches could not be built, missionary endeavors were utterly prohibited, and conversion to the Christian faith was followed by the death sentence.

In the succeeding centuries, one part after the other of the Osman Empire regained its national freedom. While the churches in these countries continued to look upon Constantinople as a kind of symbolical representation of the unity of the Eastern Church, nevertheless each nationality, following especially the example of Russia, yielded to the national need of creating a local church government responsible to its own ruler. Thus the Orthodox Church under Turkey has been a constantly diminishing factor. By the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, the Turkish population in Europe was reduced from 6,130,200 to 1,891,000 souls. The victory of Turkey over Greece in 1922, again created a different situation. Today the adherents of Orthodoxy under the patriarch in Constantinople number little more than a quarter million souls.

As to the representation of this part of the Eastern

³ On some critical questions as to the identity of persons and parts of the document see Schaff, *Creeds I*, pp. 46-50; Loofs, *Symbolik I*, p. 112; See the text of the document in Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici ecclesiae orientalis* (1842), pp. 13-20, 1-10

⁴ Kattenbusch, *KfK*, pp. 158-162; cf. Kurtz, par 67, 7.

Orthodox Churches in America we refer the student to the paragraphs below on the Orthodox Church of Greece and of Syria.

Second: The Orthodox Church of Russia.

This church dates back to 987. The patriarch residing in Constantinople was recognized as its head; but in 1448, the Russian metropolitanate was declared independent of Constantinople; this was later succeeded by a "Holy Synod" with the see in St. Petersburg (later named Petrograd), which was responsible to the Russian monarch (1721). No conversion was recognized, i. e., from one religion to another, except conversion to the National Orthodox Church. Severe measures were enforced against the Lutherans of the Baltic provinces and elsewhere, as also against the various dissenting religious bodies in the empire. All children of mixed marriages were forced to become members of the State Church.

What is the present situation in Russia? Here and in the following we are indebted to Prof. Matthew Spinka of the Chicago Theological Seminary on *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, 1927. The reader will want to compare the article by Rev. R. Burden in *The Census of Religious Bodies*, 1926, vol. 2, pp. 508 ff.⁵

After the World War came the Bolsheviks' upheaval bringing a great persecution to the whole church in Russia, including the adherents of Orthodoxy. By an order of 1917, all church property was nationalized. At a national council in Moscow (the "Great Sobor" of 1917), the Orthodox Church again elected a patriarch. This was the first council in two centuries. Tikhon, a symbol of the old regime, was elected. He was soon imprisoned because he refused to yield to the state's proposal of annexation of church ornaments; he anathematized the officials of the government; and he refused to turn over to the government the collections received by

⁵ Other literature: H. Y. Rayburn, *The Story of the Russian Church*, 1924. To these we add T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, 2 vols., 1919; A. F. Meiendorf, *Background of the Russian Revolution*, 1929. N. Berdyaev, *Russia, Religion and Revolution*, 1931. The same, *Russian Religious Psychology and Communistic Atheism*, 1932. G. P. Fedotoff, *The Russian Church since the Revolution*, 1928. J. F. Hecker, *Religion under the Soviet*, 1927. R. Niebuhr, *Religion and Communism*, Atlantic Monthly, April, 1931.

the church for the starving. Thirty-three bishops were executed and the opposition broke down.

The official church had taken the position that the atheistic and antichristian bolshevistic state was not to be recognized. But in the Sobor of 1917, there was a considerable minority which was opposed to the exclusive control of the Church by the politically conservative element. This faction was also willing to make concessions to the new measures of the Soviet government. In 1923, these opposition elements, at a new Sobor (branded as "pseudo-Sobor" by the conservatives) organized a new church administration. The protesting bishops were removed. Then the complete retirement of Patriarch Tikhon was demanded. He yielded, but he appointed as his successor the Metropolitan Agathangel. When on his way to take charge of the patriarchate, this man disappeared mysteriously. The Administration now fell into the hands of the committee which had been the leading factor in this whole struggle against the conservatives. It was constituted into a "*Provisional Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration*." The patriarchate of Moscow and all Russia was abolished. The old canon law in matters of clergy and marriage was set aside. Patriarch Tikhon was declared incapable of directing the Church. The political principles of sovietism were formally accepted. It was in this way that the left-winged "Living Church" came into existence and into power. Before this movement, however, seeds for further divisions were observable. There was a group known as the "*Churchly Regeneration Group*"; another as the "*Ancient Apostolic Church*." Later a union of these three was effected, and the name was changed to the "*Holy Synod of the Orthodox Russian Church*." They are known as "Synodists."

To complete the picture as drawn thus far, the development on the conservative side must be noted. The reaction against the extremes of the Synodist group and its 1923 convention was so great in Russia that the Soviet Government sought peace with the patriarchal party, by releasing Patriarch Tikhon and by permitting the patriarchal administration to reorganize. But in the midst of this work he died (April 7, 1925). Peter, Metro-

politain of Krutirza was selected as temporary successor (*locum tenens*). He was followed by a number of substitutes, each one acting as guardian of the patriarchal throne. The aim of the Soviet government is to keep the Conservatives from having a Sobor at which a permanent successor to Tikhon could be elected. (Spinka.)

So we see the Russian Church divided into two well-defined, mutually hostile camps, each striving for supremacy, each hurling excommunications against the other, each secure in the sense of the righteousness of its own cause.

With regard to the situation we quote again from Spinka: "The patriarchal party was not wholly free; its members do not possess the freedom of organization which their opponents enjoy, for they did not have the right to organize themselves into eparchial units like the synodical church; moreover, the hierarchs of that party were often hampered in their movements and were never wholly free from the danger of imprisonment." "The synodical party possesses the confidence of the government, and therefore a degree of freedom which disposed it to a loyal acceptance of the new conditions." (Ibid.) This is of special interest: All Orthodox Churches outside of Russia recognize without reservation the original church of which Tikhon was patriarch.

The spokesman for the patriarchal party in the *Religious Bodies* of 1926 (p. 511), on the other hand, feels confident that to this party belongs the future, because "the vast majority of the Russian clergy and the parishes both in Russia and abroad have remained faithful, while the Synodist group had lost influence and adherents steadily." But he admits: "The situation is still unsettled, and it is impossible to make definite statements about the present condition of the future of the Russian Church." After this was written the world has witnessed the awful struggle: the state arriving at the point in which it is engaged in a policy of complete extirpation of all organized religion. In addition there are internal conflicts.

In the first stage of the conflict the Orthodox side claimed a membership of 75 million. Before the revolu-

tion the official figure was 115 million. But many, very many perished during the war.

In the whole upheaval the Church of Russia had been forced to place itself upon a level with the rest of the church forces in Russia. We are thinking of the Russian sectarians, numbering about fifteen million. It may also be said that the Western sects were growing in influence and that revivals of a varying character were spreading. This was a special worry to the Federation of the Godless and to the communists.

Soon we read of new persecutions. Again we shall be guided by Professor Matthew Spinka, now by his new book: *Christianity Confronts Communism*, 1938.⁶

"Early in 1929, there occurred a radical change in the religious policy of the Soviet government, owing to the pressure of leaders of militant atheism. This was a part of the general policy adopted at the time and known to the world under the name of the 'Five Year Plan'." Russia was to be converted into a model communist state. Spinka tells the sad story of this persecution as follows: Russia was to compete with the capitalistic countries in industry, to undersell them and so to "defeat capitalism on its own ground". The peasants were made to pay the bill by forcing them to hand over such large parts of their produce that famine followed. Soon the farms were to be converted into "farm communes." All property was "nationalized." This was carried out with ruthless severity. The protesting peasants (Kulaks) were deprived of their land and livestock and houses and sent into exile "where they were confined in vast penal settlements and treated as prisoners of war or as criminals. The number of them is estimated at not less than two millions."⁷ This "huge slav labor force", our authority tells, "is deprived of all rights, its toil is unpaid and the unfortunates are treated with indescribable inhumanity. The region chosen for this purpose was mainly the Kola Peninsula, in the far north, inhabited by the Lapps and the Samoyeds." Dr. Spinka, (p. 87), on the basis of reliable reports, points to the indescribably cruel

⁶ Published in Great Britain, Trinity Press, Worcester and London.

⁷ Dr. Spinka's reference is to W. H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, p.

methods of the government to impose its will upon the recalcitrant peasants in the fertile regions of the Ukraine and of the Northern Caucasus region. These territories were deprived of so much grain that a frightful famine resulted. Officially the existence of a famine was denied and the acceptance of relief from foreign countries and other failures to comply were punished with executions in numbers so staggering that we shrink from publishing what we read, because naturally we cannot be exact in our statements. All foreigners were refused permission to enter the affected countries. Gradually the government arrived at results. An official report of 1934, showed that about 65 percent had yielded and settled on communal lands.⁸

Here we are not especially interested in the changing economic upheaval excepting in the effect it has had on the churches, not only the formerly official Orthodox Church, but also on the Roman Catholics, on the Russian Sectarrians and the sectarian churches of Western establishment: the Mennonites, the Baptists, the Lutherans, etc. The blood of martyrs flowed ceaselessly! Some of the figures are to be given below.

Neither can we follow Dr. Spinka in detail in his vivid description of the efforts and achievements regarding the "cultural front" of Sovietism in that Five Year Plan. A few of his statements, however, may here be summarized. He speaks of the setting up of a gigantic machinery of propaganda especially through the school system. The teaching staff must be a one hundred percent atheist group: "Every teacher in every Soviet school must be an active fighter for atheism of the children." (pp. 91 ff.) Children and youth are organized into groups which numerically have reached vast proportions: The press, the radio, the army—all are trained for a propaganda especially calculated to influence and to win the younger generation.

The "religious front" in Soviet Russia is naturally a matter of special interest for us in this chapter. We refer to Spinka's book, pp. 95-117. "Communists found that their doctrinaire assumption that religion would disappear as soon as its 'social root', capitalism, was

⁸ Spinka, p. 90.

pulled, proved mistaken: the sectarians, particularly the Baptists and the Evangelical Christians, increased in numbers and secured new converts even among the industrial workers." It was this observation which put fuel into the anti-religious propaganda. A veritable persecution broke out. Back of it was militant atheism; the propaganda of the Godless, with headquarters in Moscow. The young generation was to be protected against the religious poison. The sectarians of Western establishment were looked upon as especially dangerous because of their evangelistic character. Being supported by mother churches in the West, these missions were now strictly forbidden to accept aid for their up-keep "from abroad" (cf. art. 54 of the Russian constitution of 1933). In the face of the constant claim that there is freedom of religion in Russia, Dr. Spinka analyses the situation and shows how Maxim Litvinov, then the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, negotiating with President Roosevelt regarding the recognition of the Soviet Union, evaded the points of the President's special interest; the fact is (according to paragraph 17 of the later legislation, 1929) that religious organizations are allowed to use the property in their care only for "the satisfaction of their religious needs," that is not for "special prayer meetings . . . and general Bible studies."⁹ And then there was the order of paragraph 19 of the same legislation which specifies that "the bounds of the activity of ministers of cults, religious preachers, missionaries, and so forth, are restricted to the place of residence of the religious unit which they serve and the location of their respective houses of worship." This made the conducting of missionary tours impossible. The missionaries of all churches soon had transgressed this legislation in one way or another and then were objects of cruel persecution.

The Orthodox clergy was not watched quite so closely. They were allowed, theoretically, "the satisfaction of their religious needs" as long as "they do not go beyond their traditional rites or order of worship." Soon they will die and leave no successors. But, with

⁹ See Spinka's quotation of this paragraph on p. 97 of his book and note the sources of his information.

the words of Dr. Spinka, "the life of the clergy was made well nigh impossible; they were subjected to systematic persecuting measures which aimed at no less than their extermination. They were expelled, along with the Kulaks, from villages, without being permitted to take any of their possessions along. Since priests are excluded from all political and economic rights, and consequently cannot secure employment, and hence are not eligible for the all-essential bread ticket, their expulsion from villages was tantamount to dooming them to begging and slow starvation" (p. 103). In their abject poverty they were further starved by taxation, personally (cf. p. 104), and their congregations made to pay unreasonably for the use of the churches, now owned by the state. The larger churches, cathedrals have been converted into museums (p. 107). Training of a priesthood is not allowed. The aim of it all is the up-rooting of all religion, no matter how the advocates of Russian conditions may camouflage the situation.

Horrifying in its details is the story of this Russian persecution, a persecution which is unequalled in church history. According to official figures published by the Soviet Government itself, a total of 14,000 churches and chapels were closed in 1935, and 3,700 priests, preachers and other servers of the churches were "condemned, 29 of them to death." The *Observatore Romano* reported in the same year (1935) that 67 bishops and about 18,500 priests have died in prisons and concentration camps.¹⁰ At the time of the Tsar, Russia had 73,141 churches of all faiths, chapels and cloisters of men and women included. Of 430 orthodox churches in Moscow only 26 still exist. The plans of the Federation of the Godless provide for the total annihilation of churches and clerics in the near future. Metropolitan Peter Krutizki had become the head of what remained of a government for the Russian Church. In 1936, he was sent to Siberia. He died the following year. His place was taken and is still occupied by Metropolitan Sergius as *Locum Tenens*. He has definitely recognized the Bolsheviki government as the

10 With this agrees also A. Deissmann, *Una Sancta*, 1936, p. 24f.

State. By this he roused the opposition of a part of the bishops and of the Orthodox masses.

We are not blind to the many shortcomings of Eastern Orthodoxy in all the countries of its existence. These lie in the direction of formalism, of sacramentalism, of hierarchy. But the followers of this type of religion, in their very soul and in the depth of their being, are from their ancestries up, trained to a singular receptiveness for symbol and for liturgy, frequently with an emphasis upon things, we admit, which to the people of more subjective religion seems to be magical and tends to superstition and to idolatry. (See our discussions below in Sec. VIII.) But have not the evangelical types of religion in Russia all been under similar condemnation? Lutherans, Reformed, Baptists and Mennonites. After all, the leading factor in this persecution without parallel has been the hostility to all religion as cultivated by the Federation of the Godless. Now we read of revivals of religion in Russia, although with the admission that they "do not move in church forms". They are, then, without roots in the national and social life. In closing let us take note of a remark by the late Professor Adolph Deissmann of the Berlin University (as referred to): The Eastern Church "after all had served the old Russia as a good mother providing a home without which these millions of souls would have been without all spiritual support."

It must here be added that the political change after the World War resulted in a number of new formations of Russian Orthodox constituencies outside of Russia: (1) The Orthodox Church in Poland with five million souls, all Russians; (2) the Orthodox Church in Lithuania with about 75,000 souls, almost all Russians; (3) the Orthodox Church in Latvia with about 240,000 souls, of which two-thirds are Russians and one-third Letts; (4) the Orthodox Church in Esthonia with 200,000 souls, of which 150,000 are Esths and 50,000 Russians; (5) the Orthodox Church in Finland with about 22,000 souls of which 5000 are Carles and Finns and 17,000 Russians; (6) in Russia itself the Orthodox Church of Georgia with 2,500,000 souls, mostly Georgians. These are independent of such Russian church government as remains.

As to the Orthodox Church in America see below "Supplement" II.

The bolshevistic terror caused many Russians to leave their fatherland, and today one finds these refugees, estimated to be about two millions, scattered over the whole world. So, outside of the Soviet Union, a Russian Orthodox diaspora church is in the building.

The Balkans and the lands outside of Europe, in which are Russian Orthodox parishes, are under the jurisdiction of a "Bishops Council" in Sremsky Karloutsi in Yugoslavia. It consists of 20 to 22 bishops and meets once in every two years. A Bishop's Synod of 5 to 7 bishops functions as a permanent body. To this so-called Church Council belong also the parishes in West Europe and North America. The head over this scattered constituency is Metropolitan Eulogius under the Patriarch of Constantinople, with residence in Paris. This Metropolis consists of about 100,000 Russian emigrants and others in its membership.

Supplement I: Schismatics and Sectarians in Russia.

The two must not be confused. In Russia today the *Schismatics* are called "Raskolniki", but the *Sects* (the Chlysti and the Molokani) are never thus designated. The following offers a brief characterization of the two types.¹¹

1. *The Russian Schismatics* (in 1895 about twenty millions in number) were the persistent opponents of Tikhon's reformation of the old liturgical formulas. (See VII, 2, 3.) They regarded these changes as an irreverent meddling with holy words and customs. The doctrinal fidelity of these schismatics to the creedal standards of the Orthodox Church has never been questioned in Russia. They were hyper-conservative with regard to the old phrases and rubrical directions. It is the official church that calls them Raskolniki; but the title which they apply to themselves is "Starovertsy" (old believers).

¹¹ Literature: A. F. Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, 1887. C. K. Grass, *Russische Sekten*, 1907. F. C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*, 1921. W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* 2, 1923. Cf. the article "Raskolniken" in PRE, 16, 436 (note the large literature here given).

Soon, however, these schismatics found themselves divided into two principal groups. They had been believers in the "apostolic succession" of the priesthood. The one group known as the "Popovtsy" or "priestly" group, built up a priestly class by receiving renegade priests who had deserted the official church and come into the Raskol. The other group, called the "Bezpopovtsy," or "priestless" group, came to the conclusion that there was no apostolic succession left in the world, and that no valid priesthood existed. Further subdivisions followed. So the Raskol as a whole appears as an amorphous mass of very divergent bodies all of which are out of communion with the state-church.

2. *The Sects in Russia.* There are in reality only two outstanding heretical sects, the Chlysti and Molokani. The Duchoborzi represent a transition to the latter.

a. *Chlystendom* is ecstatic Christianity. It is believed that under the influence of the Holy Spirit as the ecstatic principle the members of the body are set in motion. The divine service begins with orderly movements, which increase with the rhythm of exciting hymns or melodies, terminating in frantic demonstrations. The prophets and prophetesses are especially inspired. Overcome with convulsions, they foretell with frothing mouths the future of the congregation and its members. The spirit-bearers possess the power of imparting the spirit to others by breathing upon them, singeing their tongue, or by swallowing their saliva.

Of Jesus they teach that He became the Christ at His baptism when the fullness of the Spirit came upon Him. So, in imitation of Christ, the Chysti believe that by a forty-day fast a prophet can become a Christ and a prophetess a Mother of God. Gradually every congregation claimed or aimed to have its Christ and its Mother of God, and a "God-Sabbaoth" or a Christ of the highest rank became the head of a greater district of congregations.

Asceticism is much stressed and dancing in religious worship is considered good because "it weakens the flesh". Flagellation, once common but now abandoned, was a concomittant of dancing. Abstinence from sexual intercourse, also among the married, is looked upon as

the condition without which no one can receive the Spirit. Meats and all exciting victuals, as well as alcoholic and other stimulating beverages, are prohibited.

The Chlysti possess a great similarity with the Mes-salians (or Euchites), the Bogomiles and the Phimdag-iagites.¹² Prof. G. Ficker-Kiel, in writing on the last named sect, offers the hypothesis that Chlystendom is an old Byzantine heretical form of Christianity, which entered Russia contemporaneously with the Orthodox Church.¹³

b. The *Molokani* (milk-drinkers) were thus called by the Orthodox Christians because they used milk on the feast-days of the church. They themselves claim the name "Spiritual Christian."

There is about them an element of Biblicism, coupled with Puritanism. They did not originally oppose dogma of the Church (Trinity, Christology). But they objected to the liturgy, also to the two sacraments as taught by the Church. They prefer to meet in private houses or simple parish houses, insisting that the Bible says nothing of churches. The sermon and public exposition of the Scriptures are excluded, although by much joint-reading they make themselves well acquainted with the contents of the Bible. Distinction between the Old and the New Testament was ignored. Their interpretation of the Bible is allegorical, or, as they call it "spiritual," but without any regard for the principles of evangelical Christianity. This led them more and more into a number of tenets which put them out of harmony with the conceptions of historical Christianity.

A physician, Dr. Ale Prochanov, the University of Dorpat, a man of Unitarian persuasion, was a leader in the movement. He published a journal, "Der geistige Christ" (St. Petersburg and Tiflis). An All-Russian Congress of this sect (1905 in Ashchanka, Crimea) adopted a "*Glaubensbekenntnis der geistigen Christen*." At that time they discussed the question of "whether Christ had ever lived." This was six years before A. Drews gave his famous lectures on that subject.

¹² See the Church Histories and the Encyclopedias.

¹³ G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten, ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, 1908. Cf. Ficker in RGG1, 4, 1581; cf. RGG2, 4, 1241.

c. *The Duchoborzi* seem to represent a transition from the Chlysti to the Molokani. They have many traits in common with the latter. C. Grass, the special authority on Russian sects, remarked in his afore-mentioned discussion of the Duchoborzi: "They hardly deserve the interest which Russian investigators have given them." Quite a number of them became converted to the views of Leo Tolstoi, and under the lead of several of his followers some 8,000 emigrated to Canada (1896). About 10,000 remained in the region of the Caucasus; others are found scattered throughout Russia.¹⁴

Note: The Stundists are not a real Russian sect. They represent a Biblicistic and pietistic-evangelistic movement, and are found largely among German colonists in South Russia. They had emigrated from Wuerttemberg and brought with them the Biblicistic influences from A. Bengel and the habit of gathering in "Stunden," for purposes of devotion. Their center was about Odesa. They have suffered horribly in the Russia persecution.¹⁵

Supplement II: The Russian Orthodox Church as Represented in America.¹⁶

As for back as 1792, missionary work was done in Alaska. At Sitka there was a cathedral and the seat of an ecclesiastical consistory. After the transfer of Alaska to the United States, the headquarters of this work were removed from Sitka to San Francisco. There had been a Russian Orthodox Church in New York as far back as 1876. For many years this Russian Church has acted as foster mother to the Orthodox Churches which come into existence through immigration from other countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Syria). It took care of many of the Uniat churches (see below under B) and kept them from uniting with Rome. The Russian Church on this side of the water was an "Eparchy" of the mother-church in Russia. In 1895, a theological sem-

¹⁴ Cf. PRE, 16, 424

¹⁵ See RGG, 5, 863 and the theological encyclopedias.

¹⁶ See the U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1916, pp. 258-261. Compare Watson's Year Book of the Churches of 1923, also the NSH, 4, p. 53f, and now the Census of 1926, pp. 512-514

inary was founded in Minneapolis, Minn., which was transferred in 1912 to Tenafly, N. J., and later in 1922, to New York City. Under the care of the "Eparchy" there are six districts, including one in Canada and one in Alaska. Our census of 1916, credits it with 169 congregations (as over against 59 in 1906) and 99,681 members (as over against 19,111 in 1906). The Eparchy is headed by a consistory with headquarters in New York City.

To these statements the following must now be added: The "Synodist" group (see above) has also a representative in America, claiming to be the rightful archbishop of the Russian Church in America. But such right is contested. Legal proceedings are under way. We read the following in the Religious Bodies of the U. S. Census (p. 513): "One of them, representing the Synodist group in Russia, has secured legal possession and use of the Russian cathedral property in New York City, but has virtually no following either among the laity or the clergy. . . . Apparently the great mass of Russian parishes, clergy and faithful in this country will adhere to the patriarchate in Moscow and its American representative or successor, rather than to the representative of the reformist synod of Soviet Russia. The other claimants have neither legal nor ecclesiastical standing nor followers in sufficient numbers to require separate mention."

This report from the census seems to be of great historical significance for the future of the immigrants of the various nationalities adhering to the Eastern Orthodox faith: "The most promising and hopeful development in the history of the Russian Church in America is the present logical movement toward the union of all Orthodox Catholic congregations in America, including the Russian, into one united American Orthodox Catholic Church body, to be governed by an American Synod representing all national groups in this country. The Russian bishops in America under the archbishop loyal to the patriarchate of Moscow have authorized and established such an organization, independent and autonomous in authority, administration, and jurisdiction, but at one with the rest of the Eastern Orthodox Catholic

Churches in faith, doctrine and polity, discipline and practice.

"As this is written, this new organization, 'The Holy Eastern Catholic and Apostolic Church in North America', has only just begun the work of reorganizing and consolidating the divided congregations of the various Orthodox Catholic groups under the independent authority of its North America Holy Synod. When this work has been done the third and permanent phase of Russian and general Orthodox Catholic history in America will begin, with one American Orthodox Catholic Church, rather than a multitude of diverse and divided factions of foreign national missions. The Holy Synod of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church in North America publishes from Brooklyn a bi-monthly magazine of 80 pages in English, called the 'Orthodox Catholic Review'. It has also published in English and several foreign languages the Constitution of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church in North America and Related Documents of the North American Holy Synod, and it is preparing other literature for pamphlet publication in English and foreign Languages" (pp. 513, 514).

Conferences of the bishops of the Orthodox Churches in North America are held. At one of these (at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1936) a church order was adopted which had been agreed upon in 1935, in Karlovtsi, Yugoslavia, by the "Bishop's Synod," which is the government of Eastern Orthodoxy outside of the Soviet Union, North America, including Canada and Alaska, with the Metropolitan Eulogius at the head, is thus recognized as part of the extra-Soviet organization of the Russian Church. But while this work is independent of Soviet control, it is not "independent and autonomous in authority administration and jurisdiction" of the patriarchate of Constantinople, but it exists under the above mentioned Metropolitan, with residence in Paris, who functions as a vicar of the Patriarch in Constantinople.¹⁷

Third: The Orthodox Church of Greece.

As a church independent of the Constantinopolitan

¹⁷ Compare this with our discussion of the review of Russia.

patriarch, it came into existence in 1833, after Grecian freedom had been regained from the Turk in 1830. The government of the church is vested in a Holy Synod presided over by the Archbishop at Athens. The actions of the synod must have the sanction of the civil government. On the old church statistics in Greece see the PRE, p. 168 ff. In Greece, about the beginning of the century, there were approximately two million adherents of the Orthodox Church. But the last war between Greece and Turkey resulted in the agreement that the Christians of Turkey be transferred to Greece and the Mohammedans of Greece, to Turkey. This arrangement increased the Christian population in Greece to about six million, of which 30,000 cannot be claimed by the Eastern Orthodox faith.¹⁸ On the historical state-church conditions in the old Greece see Kattenbusch.¹⁹

The "Greek Archdiocese of North and South America" has its headquarters at 140 East 72nd. St., New York City, and is composed of immigrants from Greece, and the Greek Islands of the Aegean, Constantinople, Smyrna, and other parts of Asia Minor. It is under the ecclesiastical supervision of the Holy Synod in Athens. According to the U. S. census of 1926, it has 153 churches with 119,495 members, now served by 150 priests. Its official paper is the "Church Herald," published at 273 Elm St., Astoria, L. I., where there is also a "Greek Seminary of St. Athanasius."

Fourth: The Orthodox Church of Yugo-Slavia.

Yugo-Slavia is the enlarged kingdom of Serbia, formed after the war by annexing parts of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It consists of Old Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Banat Croatia, Slovenia and Slavonia. It is known officially as the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." All these parts represent 95,628 square miles with an estimated population of 11,337,686 souls.

A few words on the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church must be given. All of these countries became a part of the Turkish Empire, but in the course of time

¹⁸ Cf. RGG2 2, 1458.

¹⁹ KfK. p. 172-176, cf. RGG2 as cited.

they managed to break loose.²⁰ After these events the Orthodox Church of Serbia severed its relation with the Constantinopolitan patriarch, reorganized, and appointed a metropolitan residing in Belgrade and responsible to the crown as head of the church.²¹

By a proclamation of 1918, the Eastern Orthodox Church in Serbia lost its privileged position. All religions received equal rights. The present Yugo-Slavia has 2,866 parishes with 2,457 priests (according to the Near East year-book of 1927), with near to six million adherents to the orthodox faith. It has four and one-half millions of Mohammedans, 217,000 Protestants and 41,000 Catholics of the oriental rite.²²

Immigrants from Serbia to America have formed a Serbian Orthodox Church in the U. S. A. (443 West 22nd. St., New York City). Its aim is to gather the immigrants from all Jugo-Slav communities into its organization. The membership amounts to 13,775 souls, in seventeen churches of urban territory. The general supervision rests with the archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church in the U. S. A. The priests receive their education in Europe, but they are given additional training in the Russian Theological Seminary in New York.²³

Fifth: The Orthodox Church of Rumania.

The Rumanians inhabited Moldavia and Wallachia north of the Danube. They came under the sovereignty of Turkey, but at the same time they enjoyed a Russian protectorate which saved them from a Moslem oppression under which the Christians in most of the other Balkan states suffered. In 1856, the two principalities were united into what became in 1881 the present kingdom of Rumania. To Rumania was now added Transylvania (Siebenbuergen) with its approximately 700,000 adherents to the Orthodox faith; also other parts of the West (Buckowina, Dalmatia) which were inhabited by Rumanians and which had belonged to Hungary up to

²⁰ See the various encyclopedias; also the Historical Atlas, 1893, by F. W. Putzger.

²¹ Loofs p. 115 ff; Kfk. 176-180.

²² Cf. RGG2, 5, 442.

²³ Cf. Watson's Year Book, 1925.

the end of the World War. In 1864, the Greek Catholic Church of this country—that is, Rumania in the process of construction—was severed from the Constantinopolitan patriarch. A Holy Synod was created at the head of which there are two archbishops (for Hungary-Wallachia and Moldavia respectively). Six theological seminaries and one university at Bucharest take care of the education of the clergy. The Orthodox Church, with 13,000,000 followers, is of course the recognized state-church. Besides there are many Roman Catholics and Protestants. (See the various encyclopedias.)

Insofar as America is concerned, the immigration of adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church from Rumania has increased since the World War, and a number of such communities have been gathered into Rumanian Orthodox Churches under the general supervision of the Russian Church with headquarters in New York (as indicated above). The church has 18,853 members in 35 churches.²⁴

Sixth: The Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

The end of the fourteenth century saw the old Bulgarians losing their existence as a state and becoming a part of the Turkish Empire. We read of their conversion at an early time (863). The Bulgarian Church became a center of conflict between Rome and Constantinople.²⁵ Nevertheless the Eastern Orthodox theology prevailed.²⁶ The government of the church then passed into the hands of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. Later on the spirit of nationalism engendered an opposition to the Orthodox clericals (1872), which was favored by the Turks. As a result, the Orthodox of Bulgaria were given a Slavic church government under an exarch who, however, was obliged to reside in Constantinople under the surveillance of the Osman government. With the peace treaty of San Stefano, Bulgaria became again a politically united nation with close relations to East Rumelia and to the parts of Macedonia still under the sovereignty of the

²⁴ Cf. Watson's Year Book, 1925, and U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, II, 1926.

²⁵ See Kurtz, p. 73, 3.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 175, 4; 207, 3.

Turk. The National Orthodox Church of Bulgaria numbers about five million souls.²⁷

Immigration to the United States of America began after the Macedonian insurrection of 1903. It increased with the aggravation of political conditions in the Balkan peninsula (the two Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913). These movements also brought many immigrants from Bulgaria proper and from East Rumelia to America. While exact figures are not available, it is claimed that the total exceeds 100,000. Many are to be found in the Canadian Northwest. Headquarters are in Indianapolis, Indiana.²⁸

Seventh: The Orthodox Church of Albania.

The Albanians constitute a race which has held to language and traditions with the greatest tenacity. At the outbreak of the World War this country had a population of 800,000 souls. Two-thirds of these were Moslems and the remaining one-third was Christian. Half of these Christians are Roman Catholics, while the other half belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Church.²⁹

Their emigration to America is of recent origin. It is claimed that there are 100,000 in the United States and Canada. The Greek Catholics among these are under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Russian Church with headquarters in Worcester, Mass., with branches in other cities of the nation. The priests officiate in the Albanian language.³⁰ For further information address the headquarters of the Russian Orthodox Church, New York City.

Eighth: The Syrian Orthodox Church.

When Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turk (1453), the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch were made subject to the patriarch at Constantinople in political affairs, while in religious matters they were all regarded as equal and coördinate.³¹

²⁷ See the various encyclopedias; Kattenbusch, p. 183ff; Loofs, p. 116; the article in the PRE., vol. 3, p. 553 ff; and the corresponding article in the NSH.

²⁸ See Rel. Bodies, p. 490 and cf. Watson's Year Book.

²⁹ Cf. Colby, New International Year Book, 1921, p. 73.

³⁰ Rel. Bodies, 487; Cf. Watson.

³¹ See Kurtz, p. 67, 7.

Emigration to North America has proceeded from the communities in Syria connected with Antioch and Jerusalem.³²

IV. The Confessional Basis (Primary and Secondary Sources)

First: Primary Standards:

1. The Nicene Creed in its "Niceno-Constantinopolitan form." (Cf. Neve, "Introd. to Symbolical Books," pp. 66-71).

2. The Decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils.

3. Chief theological authority: John Damascus and the theologians quoted by him (such as Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen).

4. The Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian without the *filioque* are also accepted standards.

5. Attitude to the Scriptures.

a. The question of the *extent of the canon* in the Eastern Orthodox Churches is not easily answered. On this point there is no consistency in the tradition of the Church. Certain Apocrypha are counted as part of the Canon, but their number differs from the Roman apocrypha and also from those attached to the old editions of Luther's Bible. However, the synod of Jerusalem in 1672 (see below), quoted as authorities the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, the History of Bel and the Dragon, the History of Susanna, the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Sirach. Metrophanes (see Schaff, Creeds I, 52 f.) counts only 22 canonical books of the Old Testament and excludes these from the apocrypha. To his mind the Apocalypse was not received by the Church among the canonical and authentic writings, and therefore should not be used for proving doctrine. Philaret, in his larger catechism, recognizes twenty-two books in

³² Rel. Bodies, 1926, reports 30 churches with 9,207 members.

Note: For up-to-date information on the present constituency of all parts of the Eastern Orthodox Church see especially H. Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, pp. 84-89. See also pp. 89 ff. on the present situation of this church after the World War. A large literature is springing up on this subject. We desire to call special attention to the informative publications of Prof. M. Spinka of the Chicago Theological Seminary in connection with the University of Chicago.

the Old Testament and twenty-seven in the New. He also eliminates some of the Apocrypha.

b. *The Old Testament* is received in the Septuagint. Translation into the language of the common people is not prohibited.³³ Russia always had a popular version of the Bible, first in the old Slavic, now in the modern Russian. Still, the people, guided by their inborn trait of conservatism, have always been averse to the translation of the Bible into vulgar tongues. In Athens in 1903, such a Bible translation was the cause of a revolt.³⁴

c. *Inspiration*. The divine character of the Bible (*Hagia Graphe*) is strongly emphasized. God is regarded as the author, because the Holy Spirit illuminated the sacred writers. (PRE, 16, 449, 40; cf. NSH).

d. *The reading of the Scriptures on the part of laymen* is discouraged on the ground that laymen cannot fully understand it, especially certain Old Testament passages. The Confession of Dositheus discourages and even prohibits the general and indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures.³⁵ Theologians alone are to have unhindered access to the Scriptures and full freedom to read. The laymen ought to hear only what the Church has selected.³⁶

e. *Tradition is the norm for interpreting the Scriptures*. This tradition, however, as we have seen, is the Constantinopolitan Creed together with the decrees of the seven ecumenical councils, and in general the teaching of the Greek Fathers during the first eight centuries as it has been summed up by John Damascus. When Protestantism in the sixteenth century forced the Eastern Orthodox Churches to a decision, the following declaration was made: "We pray you again to receive the Scriptures as they have been interpreted by the Church and as they have been confirmed by the seven ecumeni-

³³ See the article "Bible Translation" in the PRE, vol. 3, 118 ff; cf. NSH.

³⁴ Kattenbusch, in PRE. vol. 14, 455, 10, 20, 27. Cf. the very lucidly written little book by Miss E. Kephale on the Church of the Greek People, 1930, p. 87ff.

³⁵ Cf. question one of the four appended to the eighteen decrees of the Creed of Jerusalem; and see in PRE, 2, 700-3, the article by G. Rietschel on "Bibellesen und Bibelverbot."

³⁶ PRE, vol. 14, 455, 30ff.

cal councils and other particular synods. For we must not remove the eternal boundries made by the Fathers.”³⁷ And again: “We must believe without doubting in the Scriptures, but not otherwise than they have been interpreted by the Catholic Church.”³⁸ A more recent writer of the Eastern Orthodox Church, N. Milas, says: “In Scriptures we have *Jus Divinum*, but as regards doctrine, it is to be derived from the symbolical books.”³⁹ So, then, regarding the relation of the tradition to Scriptures, the Eastern Orthodox Churches occupy in principle the same position as Rome. And still there is some difference. It may be expressed as follows: (1) To Rome tradition is a constantly flowing fountain; (2) To the Eastern Orthodox Churches it is a factor limited to the ecclesiastical deliverances of the time from 325 to 787.⁴⁰

Second. Symbolical Documents of Later Origin and Secondary Character: At the time when the Eastern Orthodox Churches developed into a particular denomination, they produced several Confessions. It cannot be said that these are the result of any special religious experience, neither are they the fruit of any penetrating theological research. For this reason they do not take rank with the great historical Confessions produced by Protestantism nor with the Decrees of the Council of Trent on the Roman side. They are not the result of a religious movement. Neither do they have the authority of real symbols recognized by the whole church.⁴¹ These later confessions are:

1. *The Confessio Orthodoxa by Peter Mogilas* (1640). This Confession was written at the time when the Eastern Orthodox Churches were agitated by a double movement. The first was the attempt of the Jesuits in Constantinople (under the protection of French ambassadors to Turkey) to bring about a union with the Roman Catholic Church. The second was the endeavor

37 Cf. *Acta et Scripta Theol.*, Virtemb, 1584, pp. 142, 260.

38 *Confessio Dosithea, Decretum 2.*

39 *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenlaendischen Kirche*, 1897, p. 76.

40 Cf. Kunze, *Symbolik*, 1920, p. 26; Loofs *Symbolik*, p. 126.

41 On the conception of symbols in the Eastern Church see Kattenbusch in *PRE.* 14, 449, 52; *NSH* 4, 50, col. 2; Graul-Martens, *Distinctive Doctrines*, p. 123; Loofs, *Symbolik*, 13.

of Patriarch Cyril Lucar to have the Eastern Churches adopt a Calvinistic Confession written by him. (See below, sub. c). The catechism of Peter Mogilas, Metropolitan in Kieff, expresses the reaction of the Eastern Churches to these innovations. Its contents are in the form of a catechetical exposition of the Constantinopolitan Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and the Decalogue. They are directed more against the Protestant influence than against Rome. This catechism is a mere reproduction of the doctrinal decrees of the ecumenical councils, and therefore offers no further development of the ancient dogma. After revision by a Russian provincial synod in Kieff, it was first adopted at a provincial synod in Jassy, Moldavia, 1642, where it received the signatures of the leading dignitaries of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Literature: The article on "Mogilas" by Gass (**P. Meyer**) in *PRE*, vol. 13, p. 249 (59-250 (10); **Schaff**, *Creeds* 1, pp. 58-101; 2, 275,400; **Winer**, *Comparative View*, p. 13; **Matthes**, *Comp. Symbolik*, p. 127; **Oehler**, *Symbolik*, p. 76; **Guericke**, *Christl. Symbolik*, 3rd. ed., p. 144 f; **Schmid**, *Handbuch der Symbolik*, 1st. ed., p. 41; **Noesgen**, *Symbolik*, p. 126 f; **Loofs**, *Symbolik*, pp. 120, 122f, 163; **Briggs**, *Theol. Symbolics*, 1914, p. 201; **Kunze**, *Symbolik*, 1922, p. 26f. On the text see **E. J. Kimmel**, *Libri Symbolici*, 1843, pp. 45-132 ff. There is also a German translation by **J. B. Frick** under the title "Der groessere Katechismus der Russen," 1727.

Note: The later catechisms of the Russian Church have been constructed on the basis of this Confession. We mention especially the one by Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, which has been in use since 1839. It has been translated into English by R. W. Blackmore, Aberdeen, 1845, in his work "The Doctrine of the Russian Church;" and in this form it is given by Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom*, 45-542, abridged in vol. 1, 72-73. There is also a German translation under the title "Ausfuehrlicher Christlicher Katechismus der Orthodox-Catholischen Orientalischen Kirche," St. Petersburg, 1850. The "Small Catechism" is an extract from the larger by Philaret. These catechisms of Philaret have entirely displaced the *Confessio Orthodoxa* of Peter Mogilas.⁴²

2. *The Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, or the Confession of Dositheus, 1672.* In our discussion of the *Confessio Orthodoxa* above, we referred to the attempt of Patriarch Cyril Lucar of Constantinople to bring about the recognition of a confession in which he aimed to engraft Protestant doctrines of Calvin's type upon

⁴² See the introductory note by Schaff, *Creeds* 2, 445.

the old Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol.⁴³ The attempt ended in complete failure. Dr. Schaff writes of Cyril: "He stood on dangerous ground, between vacillating or ill-informed friends and determined foes. The Jesuits with the aid of the French ambassador at the Sublima Porta, spared no intrigues to counteract and check-mate his Protestant schemes and to bring about instead a union of the Greek hierarchy with Rome."⁴⁴ Finally in 1638, he was strangled to death at the order of the Sultan. His doctrines were anathematized by his successor and by the synods of Jassy (1643) and Jerusalem (1672). For a critical review of his life and all the pertaining literature see the article "Lukarius" by Ph. Meyer in the *PRE*, II, 682-690; cf. the *NSH* on the same name.

At this last mentioned synod the Patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem offered in defense of Greek Orthodoxy a confession directed against Calvinism as it was still held by many admirers of Cyril Lucar. It was adopted and signed not only by its author, but also by sixty-eight Eastern bishops and ecclesiastics, including some of Russia.⁴⁵

V. Present Doctrinal Character of Eastern Orthodox Churches:

(1) Among the *attributes of God*, His kindness is emphasized at the expense of holiness. There was no temptation to predestination as with Augustine, Luther, Calvin. God's foreknowledge is employed to explain the mystery. The East at the time before Augustine and Pelagius was defective on sin and grace.⁴⁶ Historically, this trait in the Eastern Church is to be explained by the fact that the early Greek fathers were called upon to oppose the fatalistic views of Stoicism which

⁴³ See the text in Kimmel's *Monumenta*, pp. 24-44. This confession has received a fine introductory treatment by Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom I*, 54-57.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁵ The text of this confession is published in Greek and Latin, side by side, by Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 2, 401-444 (taken from Kimmel's *Monumenta*, Part I, 425-483), after he had given in vol. 1, 61-67, a brief historical account and an abridgement of this document.

⁴⁶ *Conf. Orth.* 20; *Conf. Dosith.* 3; *Phil. Cat.*, 122ff.; see Schaff, *Creeds*, 2, 310, 403, 464; Cf. Walther, *Symbolik*, 1924, pp. 45f; cf. 13, 33.

taught that man's actions are the result of fate; of Gnosticism, which taught that men are by nature either spiritual, psychical, or carnal and that regeneration is not an ethical, but a natural process; and of Manichaeism, with its doctrine that man came into being as a creation of the evil principle and is therefore evil from the beginning.⁴⁷

2. There is an intense interest in the *Trinity* and *Christology*. It is John Damascus against Augustine. The opposition is to the *filioque*: The Father is the source of the Trinity. Hence much of the old hypostasianism and subordinationism was left to go into the Eastern Orthodox dogma. Kattenbusch remarks: "As soon as this term (Trinity) is mentioned, there comes life into every Greek and Russian, and he shows scholarship and acumen."⁴⁸ The Western Church affirms that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and from the Son* (*filioque*). In this it followed Augustine who took his doctrine of the Trinity, as expressed in the first part of the *Symbolum Quicunque*, and drew the logical consequences from the coëquality of the Son with the Father. The Eastern Church affirms that the Spirit proceeds from *the Father alone*. Its theologians contend that the Western conception of a double procession degrades the Deity by admitting two active principles, which is dualism. The Eastern Church emphasizes the beginning sentence of the Constantinopolitan (Nicene) Creed: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty." And while this Church also believes that in one Divinity there are Three Persons and that they are coëqual, still it insists that the Father must be thought of as the source of the Trinity, which can be done only by believing that the Spirit proceeds solely from the Father. The West did not concern itself with the metaphysical aspects of the Trinity, but followed the practical needs of piety, desiring to think of the Godhead in His relation to redeemed humanity. Therefore it corrected the Creed by inserting the *filioque*. This was abhorred by the Eastern Church—not only because of the implied doctrine—but also because the Niceno-Constantino-

⁴⁷ See Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte* 2, 1, 463, 492.

⁴⁸ PRE., vol. 14, p. 454, 25.

politan Creed as a formula is regarded as a sacred part of the "Holy Liturgy."⁴⁹

3. *Anthropology*: Creationism is confessed—much in harmony with Rome's teaching on the subject. The corruption of man through the fall and a natural depravity through Adam, which can best be explained on the theory of traducianism, was never favored in the East and is discredited today. There is about Eastern anthropology an atmosphere of Semipelagianism.

The views on the creation of man are very speculative, following the pseudonymous Dionysius the Areopagite (see below, 6, on the mystical-liturgical trait). Among these we mention the decided emphasis on Creationism.⁵⁰ The view is that man's soul would die with the body if, following traducianism, it should be propagated through the seed of Adam. On the original state of man and the condition of his will after the fall, there is much similarity with the teaching of Rome. In the fall, man did not lose the freedom of his will, that is, the power of alternative choice in spiritual matters. Grace is not a creative factor as with Augustine, but merely auxiliary. Original sin is simply an inclination to evil. The roots of Eastern teaching along this line are to be found in the Semipelagianism of the earlier centuries. This position has always established a certain relation to Socinianism.⁵¹

4. *Mediation between God and man*: Christ is called the only mediator. Still there is belief in the invocation of Saints, especially of Mary ("Mother of God"). Images are used but never graven, carved or cast. Angels have a high position: they are in a "heavenly hierarchy." See on Dionysius the Areopagite below.⁵²

VI. Doctrinal Characteristics (continued).

The interest is liturgical. See below the "Holy Lit-

⁴⁹ Cf. *Confessio Orthodoxa*, question 9, 71; *Confessio Dosithea*, *Decretum* I; Philaret's *Catechism*, question 242, printed by Schaff; *Creeds* II, pp. 282, 401, 481.

⁵⁰ *Confessio Orthodoxa*, question 27; Schaff, *Creeds* II, 308.

⁵¹ See Noesgen, *Symbolik*, 1897, p. 196; for creedal sources see *Conf. Orth.*, question 27; *Conf. Dosith.*, *Decretum* 6, 14; Philaret's *Catechism*, question 168; Schaff, *op. cit.*, 307, 407, 418, 470.

⁵² Philaret's *Catechism*, 187, 516; Schaff, *op. cit.* 2, 435, 320, 472.

urgy." This was different during the first five centuries: the East was then the standard-bearer in theological speculation. How is it today?

1. *The services* address themselves not to the will but to the emotions and feelings. The sermon is pressed into the background. How different from the time of Chrysostom! It is an effect of the persecution which these churches underwent, creating an inclination toward passivity and mysticism. The church's large constituency of the more reflective Greeks gave way to the Slavic races with their inclination to passivity and mysticism. Mystical and liturgical services appealed to them more than those of a more homiletical nature.⁵³

2. This is also characteristic: *The East never collected its own confessional writings*. The collections by Kimmel, Schaff, and Michalescu are private undertakings. Conclusion: there was no deep interest in doctrine! The dogma served merely to furnish forms for liturgy. There was no interest in the great problems of the Reformation connected with sin and grace. Here the East had nothing to offer. The later adjustments in new confessions bear the marks of poor theology. Kattenbusch remarks: "There is no great interest in doctrine. It elicits no language of the heart. The life of the church does not draw from the substance of its doctrines."⁵⁴

3. The fact is that the Eastern Church is reposing in a state of *theological stagnation*. This condition had already set in with John Damascus. When the Reformation came, it kept the Eastern Church from participating in the great endeavors to solve the problem of sin and grace. Concerning God and Christ the dogma was complete, but it was defective on man and the order of salvation. The East was little troubled about justification, vicarious atonement, imputation, predestination, conversion and regeneration. So when the great doctrinal revolution of the sixteenth century broke, the East had nothing positive to offer. Yet, after the movement had become history, it could not evade an expression on an adjustment to the matters contested between the Re-

53 Cf. Noesgen, *Symbolik*, p. 123; Schmidt, *Handbuch der Symbolik*, p. 21.

54 PRE, 14, 455.

formers and their Roman antagonists. But it was an artificial adjustment which bore the marks of a poor theology.⁵⁵

VII. The Trait of Conservatism is the Source of a Number of Characteristic Features. We shall specify the following:

1. *A commendable constancy.* The late Prof. W. Walther of Rostock in his "Symbolik" (1924) writes: "The conviction of having preserved the Faith in its originality and of yielding to no innovation gave to the Eastern Church in the past that remarkable power to resist conversion or accomodation to Mohammedanism and to endure the most cruel persecutions." The West frequently failed in that perseverance. When the West came in contact with the Mohammedans, especially during the Hohenstaufian age, and observed some ethical excellencies which seemed to be wanting among Christians, it experienced a real temptation to make concessions.⁵⁶

2. *The results of this conservatism can also be seen in the following three directions:* (1) Certain practices which were peculiar to the earlier centuries were maintained—immersion at baptism, anointing in connection with baptism, common bread at the communion, participation in the communion by children. (2) The Eastern church has kept itself free from a number of Roman errors: It rejects the hierarchial system, especially its culmination in the pope. It does not claim world dominion. It does not deprive the laity of the chalice. It does not have the Roman multiplication of masses nor the *Corpus Christi* procession. The sacrament of repentance does not rest upon those juridical conceptions which mar the religious character of this institution in the Church of Rome. Indulgences are not known. Divorce is not prohibited under all circumstances. The doctrine of purgatory is rejected. (3)

⁵⁵ See Oehler, *Symbolik* 2, p. 68; New Schaff-Herzog, 4, 49; Meusel, *Kirchl, Handlexikon* on "Griechische Kirche," 3, 78f.

⁵⁶ It was during the thirteenth century that the story of the "Three Rings" originated, upon which Lessing later built his "Nathan der Weise." This story offered the suggestion that, inasmuch as no one knows which ring is genuine, all are alike: or, between Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, one religion is as good as another.

This conservation, however, has frequently degenerated into a hyper-conservatism with *emphasis on small matters*. Every reformation is to be resisted, even if it be a reformation for the purpose of leading back to what was really original. The old liturgical books had suffered manifold changes under the hands of copyists. Patriarch Nikhon of Moscow desired to restore the original text of 1667. But many millions wanted to keep what they considered to be old. The differences were all of a very non-essential nature. Formerly the name of Jesus had been read as Issus; now it was corrected to read Jisus. Formerly it had read in the Constantinople Symbol "begotten, but not made"; now the "but" was to be omitted. Formerly the *Gloria* was followed by a twofold Amen; now it was to be threefold. Formerly the sign of the cross had been made with the forefinger and the middle finger; now all three fingers were to be used. On such insignificant matters a large schism occurred which lasts up to the present day. (See PRE, Raskolniki.)

VIII. The Mystical-Liturgical Features.

1. *The Mystagogical Trait:*

a. *The Greek Mind:* Here the historian observes that highly speculative trait of the Greeks. (Socrates identified virtue with knowledge. Paul, I Cor. 1, 22: "The Greeks seek after wisdom." The theologians of the first centuries were first of all seekers after and defenders of the truth: Faith was to become knowledge.)

But also another trait is observable: The Greeks felt the need of mysteries: to reveal, to hold, to objectify and to keep the truth living. The mysteries and symbols were to support the mind. So the dogma was followed by the mystery; the soul submerges in the immediate be-holdings. But the worshipper must prepare himself for receiving the spiritual suggestions of the mysteries. Here is a psychology which explains much in the mystical-liturgical interest of the Eastern Churches.

b. *The Writing of the Areopagite* contributed to making the Eastern Orthodox Churches a peculiar mystical-liturgical group. On Dionysius, the Areopagite and his system, see our "History of Christian Thought." The

Mystagogical trait in Eastern Theology (Chap. 13, 1).

2. *The Holy Liturgy* is the factor which expresses the real character of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Characterization: "The Holy Liturgy"⁵⁷ is a religious drama which exhibits before the eyes of the worshippers the economy of salvation, symbolical acts and forms.

The elevated front-part of the church represents the "Holy of Holies" of the temple. In its center stands the "holy table" or altar, which is built of stones. It is called the throne, because it is here that Christ is mysteriously present.

The liturgy itself is based on the Biblical history of the creation, the fall, the age of the patriarchs, the story of Israel, with special reference to the prophecies, and the life of Jesus after the Gospels. This history is acted out by priest and choir with all the reading and singing in the language of the people. The aim is to symbolize the general course of revelation, and particularly to present Christ as prophet and priest in His suffering. The service culminates in the unbloody sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist. We can best describe the peculiar character of this service by quoting the following paragraph from NSH 4, 52: "It is symbolical throughout. Not only does one of the antiphonal choirs, which perform during the act, represent in some mythical way the cherubim, but the whole act is, in its every feature, a symbolical representation of the Passion: Five loaves are laid on the altar, each stamped with the sign of the cross and the inscription, 'Jesus Christ conquers'. The officiating priest selects one of them for the sacrificial lamb; and with a symbolical reference to the soldier who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear, so that the blood and the water flowed from the wound, he cuts the loaf by thrusting the holy lance—a knife in the form of a lance—into it, while at the same time the deacon pours the wine and the water into the cup. Under somber dirges the elements are then carried in a solemn procession, headed with many lighted candles and much incense burning, through the whole church and back again to the altar where they are deposited like the body of Christ in the

⁵⁷ Among the confessional expressions we refer to Philaret's *Catechism*, question 315 ff; see Schaff, *Creeds* 2, 495 ff.

tomb. A curtain is lowered before the altar; and, unseen by the congregation, the elements are consecrated, while the choir is chanting the Lord's Prayer. When the curtain is drawn, the altar represents the tomb from which Christ has risen; and while the choir sings a hymn of praise, the elements are presented to the communicants without any special formula of distribution. The whole service is one allegory. The priest as one of the hierarchies (see above) is the *mystagogos*; and as such mediates in putting the worshipper in connection with the highest hierarchy—with the angels and with Christ as the head of it all. The worshipper is kept in constant expectation of what follows next. The aim is to stir the imagination and to impress the emotions. In this way the people are to be sanctified."⁵⁸

3. *The Sacraments of Mysteries*: The impression should not be left, however, that the Holy Liturgy is the real and only means of grace. No more should be said of it than that it is a form of worship in which, through rite and allegory, the truth of the dogma is enacted before the worshipper. The real means of grace are in the sacraments of mysteries.

These are seven in number. Philaret in his catechism enumerates them as follows: (1) Baptism, (2) Unction with Chrism, (3) Holy Communion, (4) Penitence, (5) Orders, (6) Matrimony, and (7) Unction with Oil.⁵⁹ He gives the following definition of a sacrament: "A mystery or sacrament is a holy act through which grace, or in other words, the saving power of God, works mysteriously upon men."

We shall now characterize briefly the teaching with regard to each of the sacraments.

Baptism is very important among these mysteries. It is necessary to salvation, and is therefore to be administered to children and infants. This is in agreement with Romanism and Lutheranism. The work of Baptism confers the removal of sin, original sin in the case of children, and actual sin in the case of adults. The faith necessary to baptism is defined as consent to

⁵⁸ See Kattenbusch in *PRE.* vol. 14, 464, 13ff.

⁵⁹ Question 285; Schaff, *Creeds* 2, p. 490.

the teaching of the Church. Thus the magical character of Baptism is in evidence.⁶⁰

Unction with Chrism follows immediately on baptism, as its concluding part, and takes the place of confirmation in the Roman Church. Philaret's Catechism finds the Scriptural basis of this sacrament in the following passages: John 2:20-27; II Cor. 1:21-23; Acts 8:14-16. Philaret suggests that, instead of the original imposition of hands by the Apostles, their successors introduced the unction with chrism as practiced in the Old Testament. (Exodus 30:25; I Kings 1:39). It is taught that this sacrament communicates "the gifts of the Holy Ghost for growth and strength in spiritual life."⁶¹

The Holy Communion or Eucharist surpasses in importance all other mysteries. It is the chief sacrament in the Holy Liturgy. The Eastern Church differs from Rome in celebrating this sacrament only once a day in an individual church. The "Table" or "Throne" on which the elements are consecrated must have been consecrated by a bishop. In the act of consecration the Holy Spirit through the officiating priest, transubstantiates the bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ. The Real Presence, it is taught, remains after the communion. The purpose of this sacrament is twofold: (1) It is a communion in which the communicant is so united with the Body and Soul of Christ as to become the very Body of Christ; (2) It is the unbloody sacrifice of our Lord offered for both the living and dead. Leavened bread is used to signify the life in Christ's body. The wine is mixed with water to remind us of his suffering. Children are permitted to participate in the communion. The bread is put into the wine, and distribution takes place with a spoon.⁶²

Penitence is defined by Philaret as follows: "Penitence is a sacrament in which he who confesses his sins is, on the outward declaration of pardon by the priest, inwardly loosed of his sins by Jesus Christ Himself."⁶³

60 Cf *Confessio Orthodoxa*, question 102, *Confessio Dosithea*, Decree 16; Philaret's *Catechism*, question 288 ff; Schaff, *Creeds* 2, 375, 423, 425, 490.

61 Philaret, question 307 ff; Schaff, *Creeds* II, p. 494.

62 *Conf. Orth.*, question 104; *Conf. Dosith.*, *Decretum* 17; *Phil. Cat.*, question 315ff; Schaff 2, 380, 427, 495.

63 Question 351; Schaff 2, 500

While the doctrine of this sacrament is about the same as in the Roman Church, yet the priest functions much less as the judge, and serves more as a spiritual adviser.⁶⁴

The Sacrament of the Holy Orders, Philaret defines thus: "Orders are a sacrament in which the Holy Ghost, by the laying on of the bishop's hands, ordains them that be rightly chosen to minister the sacraments and to feed the flock of Christ." There are three degrees—bishop, deacon and priest. "The deacon serves at the sacraments: the bishop not only hallows the sacrament himself, but has also the power to impart to others, by the laying on of hands, the gift and grace to hallow them; the priest hallows the sacraments in dependence on the bishop." The characteristic difference from Rome is that here the priest does not function as the maker and dispenser of the sacraments—which is the work of the Holy Ghost—but is only the mediating agency (*mystagogos*) and therefore merely announces what is to take place.⁶⁵

Matrimony as a sacrament is based on Ephesians 5: 31-32, as in the Roman Church; but it differs from Rome in that it can be dissolved in case of adultery.

Unction as a sacrament is based on Mark 6:13 and James 5:14-15. The minister of the sacrament is a priest. The material of the sacrament is pure olive oil. The recipient must first confess all his sins to the priest. The anointing is accompanied by the prayer asking for the desired benefit. Unction in the East differs from that in the West in that it is administered with a view to the recovery of the sick, while in the West it is looked upon as the "last sacrament" for the use of the dying; hence its name in Romanism as *unctio in extremis*.

Literature: Kattenbusch, KfK, pp. 393-447; *Pre* 14,465 ff.

IX. Contacts of the Eastern Orthodox Churches with Other Churches.

1. With the Roman Church. After Constantinople

⁶⁴ Conf. Orth., question 90, 113; Schaff 2, 368, 391.

⁶⁵ Conf. Orth., question 109; Schaff 2, p. 387; Noesgen, 407; Schmidt, p.

was taken in 1453, there followed a period of internal conflict for the Church of the East. Few of the Patriarchs ended their days in possession of their sees. The Roman Church saw in all this dissension a splendid opportunity for herself. Numerous letters and many missionaries were sent to the East in the hope that the Anatolian Church might be brought under the sway of Rome. The attempt, however, was not very successful except in the Southwestern Russian province. Due to Jesuit influence the Union of Brest was brought about in that province in 1596. When invited to attend the Vatican Council, in 1869, Patriarch Gregory VI flatly refused. In 1894, Pope Leo XIII sent out a bull on the Reunion of Churches, to which the Ecumenical Patriarch responded by recalling the various errors of Rome. By assuming a kindly attitude toward the Eastern Church Rome seeks to pave the way for a future reunion of the two Churches.⁶⁶

2. *With the Lutheran Church:* In 1559, Melancthon held a conference with the Patriarch Joasaph II; and in 1576, the Lutherans of Tuebingen held another with Patriarch Jeremias II. But these attempts at union were unsuccessful and nothing came of them.⁶⁷

3. *With the Reformed Church:* Patriarch Cyril Lucar, who had long been a resident of Geneva, became greatly enamoured with the Reformed Church. It was his express purpose to bring about a union between the Reformed and Orthodox Churches. But the other Orthodox bishops opposed him and thwarted his schemes. It cost him his life and his Church reëstablished herself in a new Confession.

4. *With the Moravians:* In 1731, Zinzendorf made an attempt at union. But this, like the former, failed completely.⁶⁸

5. *With the Anglican Church:* Various attempts at "rapprochement" with Anglican Churches have been made. The earlier endeavors, however, met with negligible success. But in recent years, since 1920, some noticeable advances have been made and these pave the

⁶⁶ Kurtz, *Church Hist.*, 3, 5 175, 4.

⁶⁷ Schaff, *Creeds I*, 51-52; also Kurtz, *Ch. History*.

⁶⁸ See p. 5, 3, b; also Kurtz, *Church History*, 3, p. 152, 2.

way for further union in the future. This whole matter is of sufficient importance to justify a brief review.

During the year 1716-1725, gestures toward "rapprochement" with Orthodoxy were made by the Non-juror Party in England. The matter was again pressed by the Oxford movement in 1862. In 1867, the Archbishop of Canterbury sent a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the whole Anatolian Church. His purpose was to clear the way for a mutual understanding between the Churches. To that end he also sent a copy of the Book of Common Prayer in modern Greek. His feeling was that, since the *lex orandi* is the *lex credendi*, the Patriarch would therefore be enabled to draw the doctrinal spirit of Anglicanism from the Prayer-Book. At the same time he invited the Eastern bishops to assist in consecrating an Anglican Church at Constantinople. To this the Patriarch responded in a very amiable manner, but characterized many of the doctrines contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles as being "very modern." In 1888, at the time of the 900th anniversary of St. Vladimir's conversion, the Anglican Archbishop Benson sent a letter of greeting to the Russian Church. On replying to this letter the Metropolitan of Kieff asked what should be the grounds for the "rapprochement?" The archbishop replied that (1) Intercommunion would be established and (2) would follow the unity of doctrine. This was an exact reversal of the Orthodox mind on the subject. By 1899, the only success that had been attained was the arrangement whereby proselyting should be stopped, and whereby *in casu necessitatis extremae* the members of one obedience might apply to the clergy of the other obedience. The matter of union was however kept before the minds of both churches by the friendly visits exchanged by the leaders of each. The year 1906, finally saw the birth of the Anglican and Orthodox Society, which later on became the Anglican and Orthodox Association. In 1912, a similar society was established in Russia under the approval of the Holy Synod.

But the Great War of 1914-1918, did more than anything to bring the two Churches closer together. When the Austrians and Bulgarians occupied Serbia, the Ser-

bian Church entrusted its seminarians, who had escaped, to the Anglican Church. This contact with the Serbian Church opened up an avenue to union which had hitherto been closed. By the arrangement just noted it has happened that many of Serbia's future priests have been trained, at least partially, in Anglican Seminaries. Such a situation renders possible a closer relationship and a greater opportunity for union than ever before.

These contacts have also been strengthened by numerous conferences which have been held between the English, Serbian, Greek and Roumanian Churches. In fact, a permanent committee has been appointed to consider all matters on the subject of union.

Difficulties: Up to 1922, there were two things which stood in the way of union between the two churches. They were (1) the Orthodox uncertainty as to the validity of Anglican Orders; and (2) the absence of dogmatic agreement. But in that year the first difficulty was removed. In July 1922, Meletios, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to inform him that the Holy Synod, which he represented, had finally recognized the validity of Anglican ordination. While this recognition could not be authoritative for all Eastern bodies, nevertheless it was significant in that it had proceeded from the "Primatial Throne of the Eastern Orthodox Churches." In August 1922, the Ecumenical Patriarch addressed an encyclical to the Presidents of the particular Eastern Orthodox Churches, urging their consideration of this matter on which the Synod had already decided. In February this matter was considered by Damianos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who informed the Archbishop of Canterbury through telegram and letter that Anglican orders were considered valid from the viewpoint of the Holy Synod of his Patriarchate. In the same year Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, wrote to the Ecumenical Patriarch saying that the Holy Synod which he represented found no obstacle to the recognition of the Anglican ordination. The following reservation was made, however: "While intercommunion (sacramental unity), by which any person would be able indiscriminately to receive the Sacraments at the hands of an Anglican, even though he adhere to the Orthodox dogma, is reserved until such time as dogmatic

union between the two Churches, Orthodox and Anglican, is brought about."

The special difficulty, then, is dogmatic disagreement. In this matter the Anglican Church is rather between two fires. On the one hand it has been reaching out to the Orthodox Church to whom definite concessions must be made. On the other hand, it has been courting the Roman Church which will likewise make certain demands. It will be impossible to yield to the one without closing the door on the other.

In this connection an important psychological fact must be remembered. Anglicanism and Romanism possess a temperamental affinity in common, both are Western Churches. On the contrary this cannot be said of Anglicanism and Orthodoxy, because the latter is an Eastern Church. This difference in temperament was one of the psychological causes of the first schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches. It will be hard to overcome. It is quite hazardous to make prophecies; but one cannot help feeling that there will be organic union between Anglicanism and Orthodoxy.⁶⁹

II. The Schismatic Churches of the Orient.

In our "Introductory Matter" there was a brief reference to the first departure into denominationalism. The issue on which the first divisions into differing religious bodies occurred was the relation of the divine to the human in the two natures of Christ.

At the ecumenic councils of Ephesus, 431, and at Chalcedon, 451, the differences between the Antiochian (dyophysitic) and the Alexandrian (monophysitic) schools of Christology in the ancient church had received an official settlement. Theodore of Mopsuestia whose view was voiced by Nestorius, had stood for Antiochian dyophysitism, i. e., for the teaching that the relation between the divine and the human nature in Christ had been like that of an outward connection; a relation like

⁶⁹ For the whole question as reviewed here see Kurtz, *Church History*, English ed. 3, No. 175, 5; Schaff, *Creeds*; C. B. Moss, "The Body is One," Chap. 4, pp. 84-85, Macmillan edition 1920; Bell, *the Documents on Christian Unity*, Oxford University Press, 1924; and many articles that have appeared in connection with the Lausanne Conference of 1927. See also Mülert, *Konfessionskunde*, pp. 155-60.

that between a man and his coat, or between a house and the one dwelling in it, or to use a modern illustration like two boards glued together. The new Alexandrian School, on the other hand, with Cyril of Alexandria and Eutyches as leading theologians, inclined to the opposite "monophysitic" teaching—that the relation of the divine and the human natures in Christ is that of a mixture, the blending of two substances into one, like water and wine, so that we can speak of the two natures only *in abstracto*, before the incarnation ("Christ is of two natures, not in two natures," Cyril). After the incarnation had taken place there is only one divine-human nature. The important element of truth in the position of Cyril was that the relation between the human and divine in Christ as God-man is *organic*, issuing into Luther's emphasis upon the personal union (*unio personalis*) of Christ as Saviour.⁷⁰

But neither of the extremists in the Ancient Church were satisfied with that settlement at Ephesus and Chalcedon (The "Chalcedonian theology," was summarizingly expressed in the second part of the so-called "Athanasian Creed"). They separated themselves from the official Byzantinian Church and have ever since existed as schismatic organizations. Both of these sects became national churches. The Antiochians are represented to-day in the Nestorians or "Syrian Christians," also in the Armenians; the extreme New Alexandrians are represented in the Jacobites of Syria, and in the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia and in the "Thomas Christians" on the West coast of India who since 1665 turned from dyophysitic to the monophysitic type.

Literature: F. Loofs in his *Symbolik*, 1902, pp. 77-108, offers a remarkably discriminating review. Cf. F. Kattenbusch, *Kfk*; H. Mulert *Kfk*, pp. 133-139. See also Adrian Fortescue on "The Lesser Eastern Churches" in his book *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, 1905; I. Silberman, *Verfassung und gegenwaertiger Bestand saemtlicher Kirchen des Orients*,² 1904. Also Adney *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, 1908; Kyriakos, *Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen*; Bliss, *The Religions of Syria and Palestine*. See also the articles in the leading encyclopedias.

As to the individual organizations in the two groups the following may be offered:

⁷⁰ See Neve, *Intr. to the Symb. Bks. of Luth. Ch.* 2, 75-79; Cf. Schaff, *Creeeds* 1, 30-34, 39; Cf. Mulert, *Kfk*. 73.

I. The Antiochian (Nestorian) or Dyophysitic Group.

1. The "Syrian Christians."

Originally, they occupied large territories. They survived the transition of rule from the Sessanides to the Mohammedans (battle at Kadesia, 637), and they had Bagdad as see for their patriarch. They also survived the taking of this city by the Mongols (1258). Still a century later their patriarch presided over 27 metropolitans, and the church occupied many congregations throughout central Asia, toward China. But after the Mongolian ruler had embraced Mohammedanism, in the fourteenth century, and when Turkish rule spread over Asia, in the fifteenth century, many of these Nestorians were forcibly converted to the Moslem religion. Other losses were suffered to Rome (see below the Uniat Churches). In 1898, the Russians took over a part of the remnant and led them into their own church. In consequence of all these losses not more than some 150,000 were known to be members of this Nestorian church when the World War broke out.

Doctrinally, the old Nestorians adhered to the Antiochian Christology as described above. Today, however, even the clergy is ignorant of the old issues. Their symbol is a form of the old Nicene Creed—not the "Constantinopolitan."⁷¹ The situation is, of course, nothing but a survival of an ancient attitude. Sermons are unknown. The services express no living principles and have no influence upon the public life. They are uninterpretably liturgical and theurgic. In comparison, however, with most of the Eastern liturgies they are distinguished by brevity. The priests administer all kinds of superstitious formulas in the various situations of life.

Literature: **Loofs**, pp. 80-86 and **Kattenbusch**, pp. 226-233 as referred to. **A. Grant**, *The Nestorians or the Lost Tribes*, London, 1841. **W. A. Wigram**, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, 1910. The same author, *the Assyrians and their Neighbors*, 1929. **J. Stewart**, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*, 1928. **J. Perkins**, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia*. See also the articles on the Nestorians in the **PRE** Cf. the **NSH** and the **Britannica**.

⁷¹ Cf. Neve, as cited, pp. 64-69.

II. The Monophysitic Group.

1. The Armenian Church.

a. The Armenian Church was very decidedly a national church, interpreting and supporting the nation and its aspirations. While existence of the nation was endangered by powerful political neighbors, dangers of the earlier centuries were successfully survived. After a period of great prosperity (885-1045), however, the national independency was permanently lost, the territory having been distributed between Turks, Russians and Persians. Then, in more recent times (1895 and 1896), and again during the World War, there came the great persecution and massacres, systematically incited and carried out by the Turk. This has reduced the once strong nation to a very small remnant. The patriarch (*Katholikos*) of the Armenians has his see in Edschiamatsin on Russian territory, a city which is especially sacred to all Armenians. There the oil is consecrated with which the Armenians of all regions are anointed in baptism.

b. The Armenians were the first people which, as a nation, received Christianity. This was the work of Gregory, the Illuminator (d.331). Mesrob (d.441), then gave to his church a translation of the Bible, for which he invented a national alphabet. It was the beginning of a golden age of Armenian literature. At an early time, the Armenian church found itself out of harmony with the ecumenic councils that followed Nicea, and therefore it had no part in the final settlement of the Christological problems at the synod of Chalcedon (451), which they condemned at a synod in 527.⁷² They did it from a standpoint of monophysitism, but it was largely the influence of Western theology to which they objected. Doctrinally, they were established upon the theology of the "great Cappadocians."⁷³ Their teaching on the Trinity and Christology was regulated by a form of the old Nicene Creed, which eliminated the Constantinopolitan features, and they took this symbol as it was interpreted prior to the synod of Chalcedon. On other

⁷² Kurtz, 64, 3.

⁷³ Cf. Loofs, 92.

doctrinal subjects, the church attempts to follow the Scriptures. But on sin, grace and redemption there were the superficial views of Semipelagianism. With regard to sacrament and elements of worship, there is much practical relation with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Their services are less theatrical, but they last from 2 to 3 hours. 189 days of the year are given to fasting. The destruction of their civilization carried with it the degeneration of a formerly flourishing theological science.

It is claimed that the membership of this church was once 30,000,000. Schaff in "Creeds," speaks of three and a half millions. We read of one million in the republic of Erivan.

Literature: F. Kattenbusch, 205-212. Loofs, 86-95. Fortescue, The Armenian Church. H. Petermann, Reisen im Orient, 2 vol. Leipzig, 1860. E. Ter-Mimassiantz, Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen, 1924. G. Bell, Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin, 1913. The same, Amnraht to Amnraht, 1911, ed. 1924. O. H. Paray, Six Months in a Syrian Monastery, 1895. On the political and church history of the Armenians in the olden times see the review in RGG, vol. 1, 533 ff. Zer Mikelian, Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen, 1892. M. Ormanian, L'Eglise Armenienne, 1910. Dowling, The Armenian Church, 1910.

Note: There is a branch of this church in the United States of America: 29 churches with 28,181 baptized members (Rel. Bodies II, 1926). Doctrinal position: The Nicene Creed without the "filioque" clause. The canons and councils of Nicea, Constantinople and Ephesus. The Chalcedonian Creed is not accepted in its definition of the two natures of Christ, but the church is "explicit in teaching that Christ was God and man." (Declaration in Relig. B.) The Church's tradition is the norm of Scripture interpretation. Seven sacraments are accepted with baptism by immersion and the eucharist in both kinds. Mariology is practiced, but the immaculate conception is not taught. Auricular confession is compulsory.

2. The Jacobites.

The Monophysites of this name were most numerous in Egypt. From there they spread to Abyssinia. But there was another very important center in Syria, the patriarchate in Antioch.

Splitting up into factions (Syrian, Julianists, and a mediating party) they were in danger of disintegration. Then it was that a monk, Jacob Zanzalus, called Baradai (d. 578), ordained as bishop of Edessa and the whole East, stepped in and during a life of travel for almost forty

years gathered and united them and provided them with an ordained clergy.

A more detailed study turns our attention to the Jacobites in Syria, Egypt (Copts) and Abyssinia:

a. The Syrian Jacobites cover the territory in Mesopotamia, Irania, Syria, Kurdistan. They are said to number 80,000 communicants. They are found in Tur Abdin in especially large numbers. Near Nisibis there are about 40,000. Excepting their Christology they are in doctrine and cultus much like the Eastern Orthodox Church. But their level in civilization and in religious and ethical respects is very low.

Note: It is from this section of the Jacobites that there has been a considerable immigration to America. The Census of Rel. Bodies of 1926 counts 3 congregations with 1,407 members, all worshipping in the Syrian language.

b. The *Copts in Egypt* were once a flourishing church. But the Arabian-Islamitic invasion since 632, spelled its gradual decay. In the Southern part of Egypt many have gone over to Mohammedanism (since 644 when Islam invaded Egypt). In the Northern parts there are still coptic cities and villages; in Alexandria are 58,887, and in Cairo 86,635 souls (U. S. Census 1917). The patriarch residing at Cairo stands at the head of a carefully organized clergy. Monasticism is strong. There is much emphasis upon fasting (seven months of the year). The custom is to pray seven times the day. But with all this there is an entire absence of vital religious life. The general practice of circumcision and abstinence from pork is said to be entirely independent of Jewish influences. (The census of 1917, gives the number of all the Copts in Egypt as being 867,069. There has been a considerable revival among the Copts since the entry of American missions in 1854. Formerly the whole service was in Coptic; latterly they have introduced preaching into their service, and some of their preachers are filled with truly evangelical ideas. For a brief review of this history see *RGG*², vol. 4, 774 ff. or other Encyclopedias. Butcher, *Story of the Church in Egypt*. Vlieger, *Origin and Early History of Egypt*.

Literature: A. G. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, 2 vol. Oxford, 1884 and 1902. G. Graff, *Ein Jahrhundert*, 1923.

c. The *Abyssinian Church* of three and one-half million adherents stands historically and practically in close relation to the Coptic church of Egypt, notwithstanding the independency of Abyssinia. The metropolitan is appointed by the Coptic patriarch at Cairo. Special features can be seen in the following: (1) the Sabbath is observed besides the Sunday, due to Jewish influences. (2) There are two groups of Monks: the followers of Antonius and Eustathius. These were formerly opposed to each other; now they are united under one head (after common adoption of the Sabbath, which was demanded by the Eustathians). (3) Their Bible contains 81 books, among them Jewish and Christian Apocrypha. (4) The character of the church as a state institution has, by decree of Jegus John (1880), created a condition according to which all residents of the country, including Jews and Gentiles, are *de jure* Christians. The number of churches, clergymen and monasteries is very large. A student of the country (Rohlf's) found a monastery with almost a thousand monks. The religious life in this church is as low as in the rest of these churches. Loofs closes his characterization with the remark: "The church in Abyssinia renders illustrations of the fact that it is not state favor that creates the life of a church."

Literature: A. J. Rolfs, *Drei Monate in der Lybischen, Wueste*. Cassel, 1875. Flad, *Dreizehn Jahre in Abyssinia*, Basel, 1869. Glases, *Die Abyssinier in Arabia und Afrika*, Munich, 1895. G. K. Rein, *Abessinien*, 1918. Hyatt, *The Church in Abyssinia*. J. Colbeaux, *Historie politique et religieuse d l'Abyssinie*, 1928. E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Aethiopia*, 1928. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales*, 15 vols. 1903-1917.

4. *The Thomas Christians*, on the West coast of India, trace their origin back to the apostle Thomas. Half of them are united with Rome. They were originally Nestorians. But under the influence of special conditions (cf. Loofs, *Symbolik*, p. 107), since 1665, they have turned to the monophysitic type of Christianity and are now to be counted with the Syrian-Coptic-Abyssinian group.

Literature: G. B. Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, Oxford, 1864. W. German, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Guetersloh, 1877.

III. Eastern Churches in Union With Rome.

The claim of the pope to rule over the whole Church led already in the Middle Ages to many endeavors to subject to his authority the schismatic churches of the Orient. The religiously and economically impoverished condition of these churches permitted occasional successes.

Such unions were brought about by concessions from both sides. Rome always demanded absolute recognition of the pope as the head of the Church, since the Vatican Council also of his infallibility, and of the Roman Catholic dogma in general. But it conceded to these churches their own organization, the use of their language and rites in worship, the marriage of the priests and the peculiarities of their religious life. The aim, however, was always at a full union with Rome also with regard to practice. The propaganda is carried on by the monastic orders through schools, hospitals, occasionally also through monetary aid.

Literature: A. Pichler, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident*, 2 vols., 1864-65. W. Koehler, *Beitraege zum Verfassungsrecht der sog. "uniert-orientalischen" Kirchen*, Darmstadt, 1896.

In the following we offer a brief enumeration of the churches of this group:

1. *The Chaldean Church* (official designation of the Nestorians united with Rome). The territory is Cilicia and Russian Armenia. The patriarch, appointed by the pope, resides in Mosul. A constituency of 70,000 is claimed.

2. *The Syrian Catholic Church*, an insignificant section of the Jacobite Church, functioning under a patriarch at Antioch. It is said to have 35,000 members.

3. *The Coptic-Catholic Church* in Egypt and Abyssinia. The first efforts at a union began already in the 14th century, but they did not materialize until Pope Leo XIII in 1895, succeeded in establishing a patriarchate in Alexandria. The membership in Egypt is about 30,000, in Abyssinia 20,000.

4. *The Thomas Christians* were forced into the Roman Catholic Church by the Portuguese (aided by the Jesuits). This was in the 16th century. Then the Hollanders came and gave them the liberty to return to

their church. A remnant retained their connection with Rome. They number 440,000.

5. *The Maronites* are a special people centered about Lebanon in Syria. It seems that they were originally Monophysites. Then they accepted that mediating formula of one will in Christ (Monotheletes). After the union council at Florence (1445), Rome established connections with them, a relationship which has gradually led into a certain union. The patriarch resides at the monastery Kanobin. The constituency is given as 206,000 in Syria, 2300 in Palestine, 1000 in Cyprus, 15,000 in Egypt, 150,000 in America (RGG, vol. 5, 1364). In the past already the Maronites succeeded in maintaining a certain independency over against the Turkish rule; since 1920, they have established themselves as a republic.

Literature: See the complete information given in the article "Maroniten" in **PRE.** 12 355-64 (cf. the corresponding article in the *New Schaff-Herzog*). As further literature we mention **Churchill**, *The Druses and Maronites under Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860*, London, 1862; **H. Petermann**, *Reisen im Orient*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1860; **E. Robinson**, *Palestine*, III, 744 ff., also article in the **Bibliotheca Sacra**, 1843, pp. 209-13.

6. *The Armenian-Catholic Church.* The success of Rome among the Armenians has been small. The RGG gives the number at 150,000, but most of these Armenians live outside of Armenian territory in Western centers of commerce. The work among these scattered Armenians and for them has been carried on chiefly through the Mechitarist order with headquarters at Venice and Vienna.

Note: Other union churches within Eastern Orthodox territory are maintained by Rome; (a) among the Ruthenians, especially in former Galicia (3½ millions); (b) among the Rumanians (1 million); (c) among the Bulgarians (13 millions); (d) also organizations in Greece, Turkey and Lower Italy.

Chapter Two

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Because of continuous conflicts since the Reformation the **Literature** on this subject is very large. The references here must be to a few especially convenient sources of information. The article "Roemische Kirche" by **E. Kattenbusch** in the *Protestantische Realencyklopaedie* (PRE), vol. 17, 74-124 is of exceptional value. Compare the English version in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* (NSH). Among the works of Comparative Symbolics we shall have references to **A. Moehler** (Catholic), to **F. A. Philippi**, **G. F. Oehler**, **K. F. Noesgen**, **F. Loofs**, **W. Walther**, **H. Mulert**; **E. H. Klotsche** offers an exhaustive and valuable treatment in his *Christian Symbolics* (1929), based more exclusively upon the confessional sources, pp. 57-132. Compare the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 23, "Roman Catholic Church". See also **Phillip Schaff**, *Creeds* I, 83-191; II, 77-274. Although out of date now, we must not overlook **K. A. von Hase's** brilliant "Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik" (7th ed. 1900; translated into English 1909). Quite usable even today is **F. H. Foster**, *The Fundamental Ideas of the Roman Catholic Church*, 1899. We have had much occasion to quote **F. Heiler**, *Der Katholizismus*, 1923; also to refer to **A. Koeberle**, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung*³, 1930 (in English translation under the title: *Quest for Holiness*², 1937).

On the Roman Catholic side: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1909. *The Religious Bodies*, II of 1916 and 1926. **Karl Adams**, *Das Wesen des Katholizismus*², 1925. We quote from the *Catechismus Romanus* as a standard guide; from the *Canons and Decrees of Trent* after **Phil. Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom*, III; cf. **J. A. Froude**, *Lectures on the Council of Trent*, 1896. We quote also from **W. Wilmers**, *Handbook of the Christian Religion*, translated from the German, 1892; compare the "*Baltimore Catechism*"; **J. Deharbe**, *Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, 1901.

For strictly scientific quotations of Roman Catholic utterances through the ages see **C. Mirbt**, "Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Roemischen Katholizismus", 4th ed., 1925. With regard to sources of Roman Catholic authority see our discussion "What sources should be used for the presentation of what Rome teaches" (Sec. II, 3, of this chapter).

The English text of the Lutheran Confessions, in the *Book of Concord* (BC), to which there must be occasional reference, is with few exceptions the same in the "Peoples Edition" and in the "Triglotta". As to Luther's writings E means the Erlangen and W the Weimar Edition.

Part One. Roman Catholicism as an Organization.

I. General Characterization.

1. *The Term "Catholic"*. Rome, today, in claiming to be the "Catholic Church," interprets the term "Catholic" to signify that as a church she is the *una sola*, the *only* Christian church, the true church; all others are schismatic and heretical organizations.

But the claim of Rome cannot stand before the tribunal of historical investigation. Ignatius and the early church fathers, in using this term, simply meant to say that the Christian Church is *universal*. The pope in Rome had as a rival the patriarch of Constantinople, and the world situation aided him in finally winning out in the competition. It is true that the early church fathers (Irenaeus, Tertullian) looked upon Rome as the standard-bearer of tradition. But the Church of the Old Catholic age was opposed to giving the Roman bishop any special authority. The position of Tertullian is expressed in the following words in which he discusses the reliability of the Church's traditions: "If you are near Achaia you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia you have Philippi . . . if you can turn to Asia you have Ephesus. If you are bordering on Italy, you have Rome where also we have a convenient authority."¹ And when the Roman bishop Calistus (217-222) presented himself to the public with such titles as *pontifex maximus* and *episcopus episcoporum*, Tertullian answered with scathing sarcasm.² Then came Cyprian with his burning desire to safeguard the unity of the Church. Sharing the general belief that Rome was the church where Peter had been bishop, he applied Matt. 16:18, which speaks of Peter, the bishop of Rome as the Rock, "in order that the Church may be shown to be one".³ But his view was this: The other apostles had entirely the same honor and power that Peter had—Christ had given his commission to Peter only as a representative of all Apostles.⁴ According to Cyprian, there-

¹ Mirbt 4 p. 23, 1, 21.

² De Pudicitia 1: cf. 15-21.

³ De Unitate Ecclesiae, 4

⁴ Mirbt 4, p. 28, lines 51ff.

fore, Rome represented the unity of the Church universal. But with all his emphasis upon the unity of the Church (of which unity Peter is merely representative), Cyprian refused to recognize any special authority of the Roman bishop over other bishops.⁵ With regard to all the bishops, he quoted the words of Christ: "He who hears you, hears me."⁶ He even put Matt. 16 in comparison with the failing of Peter in Gal. 2. All of this shows that in the opinion of Cyprian the special significance accorded the Roman Church did not include the claims such as Bishops Callistus and Stephen of Rome were making. Even at the fourth ecumenical council at Chalcedon (451) the bishops of Constantinople and Rome were declared to be of equal rank and authority. In the end the supremacy of Rome was recognized. But this surely was a very human development, as history shows. The story of St. Peter's bishopric in Rome is a legend.⁷

Rome, then, is a special church within Christendom, in which a specifically Roman element has prevailed. Since 1523, all popes have been Italians.⁸ In times past Rome did not deny this feature of her character. At the time of Luther the Roman Catholic Church was generally regarded to be only one part of the Church of Christendom, the "Roman Church." Even the Council of Trent spoke of confessions employed by the "Roman Church," and the form of oath adopted by that council demands "true obedience to the Roman pope." And the Vatican Council of 1870, added to the "*sancta catholica Apostolica*" the name "*Romana*."

2. *Conception of the Church.* A very characteristic difference between the Roman Church and Protestantism comes to the fore in the definition of what the primary nature of the Church is.

The Lutherans say the Church is "properly speaking" the "Congregation of saints and true believers" (Augsburg Confession, Cf. articles 7 and 8). The Reformed Church defines the Church as "the congregation of the elect". (See Calvin's Institutes IV). The In-

5 Cf. Ep. 74, 59, 2-14; 67, 5

6 Ep. 66, 4

7 When by "church" we mean one of the historical churches then we use the small c; when the Church universal is meant then we use capital C.

8 C. V. Lobkowitz, *Statistik der Paepste*, Freiburg, 1905, p. 60.

dependents formulate their definition upon the basis of the local church, i. e., a regenerate church membership (Baptists, Plymouth Brethren). The Roman Church also had to express herself on the membership of the Church and arrived at statements which would make the Church a mixed body (*corpus mixtum*), comprising, under the pope, the good and bad; all that are called and baptized. Such conception would make the church as visible and tangible as the Kingdom of France and the Republic of Venice.⁹ The Roman Catholics do not distinguish between the visible and the invisible Church.

But the characteristic difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism on the Church, which we have here in mind, has not yet been touched by referring to these different definitions. As a starting point for characterizing Rome's concept of the Church as distinguished from that of the Protestants we want to point out the following: The Protestants in describing what the Church is, primarily, look at *the members in whom Christ through the Holy Spirit is working*. So they arrive at the "congregation of saints." But to the Romanists the Church is primarily an *institution* which had its beginning when Christ appointed twelve apostles with Peter as their visible head. They look upon the Church as existing before the individuals as an authority first residing in Simon Peter when the Lord said: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church."

Another difference between Rome and Protestantism appears when the question is asked: Who belong to the Church? Here the Protestant Churches, which see its essence in the true believers, distinguish between these true believers and those attaching themselves to the Church and the means of grace in a merely outward way, being hypocrites and evil.¹⁰ This distinction is summarily rejected by Rome.¹¹ The Roman dogma is that to the Church belong all baptized Christians who

⁹ Bellarmin, in *Disputationes de controversiis, De eccl. mil.* 3, 2. *Codex juris canonici*, 1917, Can. 87.

¹⁰ Cf. Art. 8 of the Augsburg Conf.

¹¹ See Loofs *Symbolik*, referring to the declaration of Pius IV; cf. Denziger's *Enchiridion* 6, par. 1378; also in par. 1287-93, the declaration of Clement XI; and Decrees of Trent 6, canon 28.

accept outwardly the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, use its sacraments, submit to its government, even though they lead a vicious life.¹² Only the non-Christians, the heretics, the schismatics and the ex-communicants are outside the Church. Frequently the baptized "heretics" have been claimed as being responsible to Rome, "so that they can be summoned, punished and anathematized." The Church has the right to use force.¹³

The Roman concept of the Church is easily understood when we remember what was said above, namely, that primarily the Church is an institution and an authority, a government. If this is the case then there must be those who are obligated to submit and obey, whether they do it willingly or unwillingly.¹⁴

II. The Roman Church as a Hierarchy.

The Roman Catholic Church is governed by a body of ecclesiastical rulers organized in ranks and orders.

1. The head of this hierarchial organization is the Pope as successor of Peter and "Vicar of Christ" in the Vatican. The rule of the incumbent of St. Peter's primate over all the faithful is absolute. He is infallible in all matters of faith and morals (see note below). As such his doctrinal authority is superior to the ecumenical councils. He appoints the bishops and holds jurisdiction in all of the more important cases. He alone can call an ecumenical council and determine its programs. The validity of its resolutions depends upon his sanction.¹⁵

Note: The *Infallibility of the Pope* was decreed by the Vatican Council (1870). Before this decree, it took ecumenical councils to guarantee the infallibility of a dogma. But this was always a difficult procedure, because such a council called for a representation of the

12 Cat. Rom. I, 10, 6 ff.

13 Cf. Canon 1557 of the New Canon Law; also Pius IX in his Syllabus of Errors of 1864, No. 1572.

14 A. A. Moehler's *Symbolik* 10, 1921, p. 419; W. Walther, *Symbolik*, pp. 68-70; Loofs, *Symbolik*, p. 220; Plitt-Schultze, *Grundriss der Symbolik* 6, 1921 p. 32; H. Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, p. 187 ff.; E. Klotsche, *Christian Symbolics*, pp. 95-97; *The Catholic Encyclopedia* on "The Principles of Authority," vol. 3, 754; note especially pp. 756-57; cf. vol. 15 on "Unity", p. 179.

15 Mirbt 4, pp. 542, 560.

Church from all parts of the world, and this was dangerous because of the possibility of discordant voices. The Vatican Council, in declaring papal infallibility in all matters of dogma and morals, succeeded only against an impressive minority, which resulted in schism.¹⁶ This dogma was simply the logical development of the old doctrine that councils cannot err, against which Luther protested for the first time in the disputation at Leipzig 1519.¹⁷ Luther, in the Smalcald Articles, judged the actual situation correctly which was finally created by the Vatican Council, when he said: "The pope boasts that all law exists in the shrine of his heart (*in scrinio sui pectoris*), and whatever he decides and commands in his churches is spirit and law, even though it be above and contrary to Scriptures and the spoken Word."¹⁸

2. Next in the hierarchy under the pope and appointed by him are the *Cardinals*, at present seventy in number. The full number, however, is hardly ever filled. Most of the cardinals reside in Rome as a college surrounding the pope, some live outside as bishops. The *Codex Juris Canonici* gives to them twenty-four special privileges over the cardinals residing in Rome. The cardinals residing in Rome elect the pope. They preside over the various "congregations" (boards).¹⁹ "Any questions arising in any part of the church in whatever country which are not settled within that particular territory, are referred or can be referred to one of these congregations, which then passes upon the question and makes its recommendations to the pope."²⁰

3. We are told by the Roman Catholic contributor to *Religious Bodies*: "The highest office of the regular hierarchy, next to the pope, is that of *Patriarch*. There are 14 patriarchs, most of them in the East, including those of Constantinople, Alexandria (Latin and Coptic Rites), Antioch (Melite, Maronite, Syriac and Latin Rites), Jerusalem, Babylon of the Chaldeans, and Cilia

16 Cf. Chap. III on The Old Catholics.

17 See Mirbt 4, p. 643.

18 Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, 754. In the *PRE*, vol. 21. See C. Mirbt on *Vatikanisches Konzil*, pp. 445-474.

19 See this enumeration in the U. S. Census, *Religious Bodies*, II, 1916.

20 Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia* on "Roman Congregation"; also *Annuario Pontificis* (the papal Year Book).

of the Armenians. There are also the honorary patriarchs of Lisbon, and the East Indies, the West Indies and Venice. However we must remember that these patriarchs have a titular significance only. They are to remind the many people and races that the Christians in these regions are claimed by Rome.

4. Then there are the *Archbishops*. An archbishop has the care of his archdiocese and has precedence and a certain limited competence in his province. All these intermediate dignitaries are watched so that the Roman monarchy of the pope be not endangered. Since the Vatican Council, however, the danger in this direction is not great.

5. Of more practical importance for the church in its actual work are the *Bishops*. Within each diocese, authority is invested in the bishop, although appeal may be made to the archbishop, or to the apostolic delegate, and in the last resort to one of the "Congregations" in Rome. (According to the Official Catholic Directory of 1939 the United States has 1 apostolic delegate, 19 archbishops, of whom 4 are cardinals, 111 are bishops and 33,540 priests.) Up to the time of the Vatican Council the bishop in general possessed, in principle, or practically, at least a certain independent power (*potestas jurisdictionis*). But the Vatican Council made the bishops once and for all "delegates of the pope."²¹

6. The man in immediate touch with the faithful is the *Priest*. He is responsible to the bishop and to the pope. He has authority to administer the sacraments and to give absolutions. Admission to the priesthood is through the sacrament of ordination, which gives the recipient an indelible character. All members of the hierarchy are ordained priests.

7. In addition to the hierarchy proper, there is the whole army of *Orders and Congregations*.²² These are of two kinds—the monastic orders, the members of which take solemn vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, and the religious congregations of priests and various brother-

²¹ Cath. Encycl., 15, 308.

²² Hembocher, *Die Orden und Congregationen* 2, 1907, 3 vols. Loofs *Symbolik*, pp 231-53. PRE, vol. 17, 98-102 Religious Bodies II, 1926, p. 1270; cf. ed. of 1916.

hoods and sisterhoods. All of the clerics, as classified in the preceding sections, are monks and have taken the monastic vows. Originally the monastic ideal lay altogether in contemplation and asceticism. But today the watchword is: Service for the Church. For this purpose special tasks are distributed among the various orders. The Benedictines cultivate the studies and the arts. The Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans work for subjecting the world to the power of the Church. The Redemptorists are the home missionaries. The sisters care for the sick, etc.

III. Rome's Aim to Rule Through Political Means.

1. Rome has always possessed a *machinery for exerting political influence*. In the thirteenth century the popes were the overlords of several kings. Even today the Roman Catholic Church wields a strong international influence with which the modern states have to reckon.

In contrast to the polyglot cast of Protestantism, Rome had the advantage of a common language—Latin. During the Middle Ages Latin was the universal language of the scholars in western lands. This fact helped to produce one type of Christian thought, and together with the pronounced religious character of the medieval age, it greatly aided the Roman Catholic Church in developing its power.

2. *The claims of sovereignty* that were advanced by the pope developed by degrees. We cannot here go into details of history. The actual beginning of this sovereignty through an act of the Carolingians, the story of the "donation of Constantine" and the events of the nineteenth century which finally swept away this "*Patrimonium St. Petri*," must be studied in the church histories and encyclopedias.²³

Upon the incorporation of the "holy city" with other parts of the **papal dominion** into the United Italy (1870) the Popes Pius IX and his successors assumed the role of prisoner in the Vatican. By a special law the Italian states gave to the pope the rights of a sovereign, a body-guard, a postal and telegraph service, free ambassadorial

²³ Cf. Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, par. 46, 10; 82, 1; 185, 3.4. **PRE** vol. 17, 87f. **Loofs**, *Symbolik*, p. 254, 55. **Anre Gerand**, *The Lateran Treatise*, pp. 571-584. **History** for ready reference, vol. 5, **Early Vatican History**.

communication with foreign powers, the absolute right of property of the Vatican, embracing 15 large salons, 11,500 rooms, 236 stairs, 218 corridors, two chapels, several museums, archives, libraries, large beautiful gardens, etc. as also the Lateran and a summer palace and an annual income free from all burdens and taxes of 3,225,000 Lires. But to the end of his life Pius IX refused to accept this money. He never passed beyond the precincts of the Vatican.²⁴ By speaking of the pope as a prisoner "behind the iron grating" (Kurtz) the benevolence of the faithful in all countries was stimulated for contributing the "St. Peter's penny" to the support of the pope which represented an infinitely larger income than the above mentioned sum deposited by the state. At the death of Pius IX (1878) his heirs claimed the unpaid donations of twenty million Lires, but were refused by the courts.

Not so long ago (1921), the world was surprised by a *new development in the relationship between the Italian state and the Vatican*. The discussion was opened by Mussolini when he said: "I maintain that the Imperial and Latin tradition of Rome is represented today by Roman Catholicism." The problem was to find a way to keep the pope as the bishop of Rome and Vicar of Christ while persuading him to renounce his political claims to the former church state. Late in 1927, representatives from both sides met to discuss the problem.

Agreements of the greatest importance were finally signed on Feb. 11, 1929. The treaty provided that the papal see should renounce all claims to temporal sovereignty over Italy except 160 acres to be known as the Vatican City. This agreement created a foundation on the basis of which the pope could now work for political representation at the courts of the different countries. Italy provides for the linking up, directly, with other states also, of telegraph, telephone, radio-telegraph, and postal service. It recognizes passports and visa to and from the Vatican City. Italy, however, is to be left out of international difficulties which may arise between the nations and the Vatican City. It was also provided that in the new state the pope was given complete ownership, absolute power, sovereign jurisdiction both in domestic and international affairs. A financial agreement stipulated that Italy should pay immediately a large sum to the papacy (750,000,000 Lires or about \$37,000,000), which was to be followed by the payment of one billion Lires. A concordat regulated the economic, social and educa-

²⁴ See Mirbt 4, p. 466 ff.

tional relationship between the two states. Subsequent events have shown that the papacy and the Italian government differ in the interpretation of certain clauses of these agreements.²⁵

IV. Attitude Towards the State.

The Roman Catholic Church is established upon principles originally proclaimed by Gregory VII (1073-85).²⁶ He admitted that in their temporal affairs, the states should be governed by the temporal authorities, but he insisted that they must ultimately be held responsible for their actions to the pope. Gregory's action of dethroning Emperor Henry IV and releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance has been consistently defended by the Roman Catholic Church. It was declared to be "normal," i. e., correct in principle by Pope Pius IX in his *Syllabus Errorum* (1864).²⁷ In fact, every 25th of May the Roman Catholic clergy is obliged to offer a breviary prayer of praise to God for Pope Gregory's action.²⁸ Innocent III (1198-1216) was very definite and successful in the re-iteration and application of the principles laid down by Gregory VII.²⁹ Boniface VIII in his bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302)³⁰ confirmed the teachings of Gregory and Innocent in his doctrine of the "two swords." The spiritual sword, he claimed, is used by the

25 References: *Current History*, vol. 30 (1929), brought articles by Eloise Ellery as follows: *Mussolini Defines New Relation of Church and State*, pp. 339-341; *Italy and the Vatican Ratify Settlement of the Roman Question*, pp. 704-709; *The Constitution of the Vatican City Comes into Force*, pp. 940-943; *The Pope's Dramatic Emergence from the Vatican*, pp. 541-566, interpreted by a Catholic and a Protestant and the text of the document in vol. 31; and an article by Eloise Ellery, *The Italian Sovereign's Historical Visit to Pope Pius XI*, pp. 799-800. Cf. also *The Literary Digest*: Feb. 16, 1929, *The Papal State Nearer*, p. 28; Feb. 23, 1929, *Rome Makes Peace with Rome*, pp. 7-9; Mar. 8, 1929, *The Vatican's Puzzling Problem*. Also *The Outlook*, Feb. 20, 1929, *The Vatican as a State*, p. 295; Mar. 20, 1929, *Religious Freedom in Italy*, p. 455. Also *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 143, *The Italian Treaty with the Vatican*.

26 See C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* 4, p. 154 ff. "Contra illos, qui stulte dicunt, imperatorem excommunicari non posse a Romano pontifice."

27 See Mirbt, as cited, p. 450 ff. Denzinger 12, 1571.

28 Walther, *Symbolik*, 79.

29 See Mirbt, as cited, pp. 175-178, *Decretale "per venerabilem"* and *Decretale "Novit"*; cf. Kurtz, *Church History*, par. 96, 9, 17.

30 Mirbt, as cited, pp. 210, 211.

Church and the temporal by kings and soldiers, but only according to the will and with the permission of the spiritual authority. "If the temporal power deviates from the way it shall be judged by the spiritual."³¹ The Canon Law which is in force today declares: "The Roman bishop has the right to judge those holding sovereignty over nations, as well as their sons and daughters and their nearest heirs."³²

But the successor of Pope Pius IX, Pope Leo XIII, in his bull *Immortale Dei*, expressed himself in a more conciliatory way. He admitted without reservation that Church and State have each their independent spheres: "Whatever, therefore, in things human is of a sacred character, whatever belongs either of its nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls or the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority."³³ Leo XIII, however, did not correct the above mentioned teaching of Gregory VII, of Innocent III, and its interpretation by Boniface VIII, quoted above and incorporated in Denzinger and the *Codex juris*. But it should not be overlooked that the phrase "shall be judged by the spiritual power" is elastic and for the Rome of our day needs not to mean what Gregory, Innocent and Boniface meant by it for their age, namely to proceed against a straying worldly power with anathema and interdict covering a whole country; in an age such as ours it may be interpreted to mean a *moral* judgment so that it would not be so very different from what was maintained by certain Protestant groups in the pursuit of their ideal of theocracy. Modern Catholics do not want to revive the inquisition. That has been declared again and again, although one can never tell what may again become possible. But the Roman Catholic Church will not abandon its doctrine of the superiority of the

31 "Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, indicabitur a potestate spirituali." Cf. Denzinger 12. For an English translation of the pertinent part of this bull, see J. H. Foster, as cited, pp. 143 ff.

32 *Codex juris canonici*, canon 1557, par. 1, 1.

33 Translation by Allen Sinclair Will, biographer of Cardinal Gibbons. It is difficult to decide where the spheres of the two overlap. See the Catholic Lexicon, vol. 14, p. 251.

Church over the State, simply because that would do away with its conception of the Church and, since 1870, also with papal infallibility. Boniface, in his *Unam Sanctam*, cited Jeremiah 1:10: "Behold I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms," etc. This also will be found to be true: The above quoted papal declarations of old may find a different application in the different countries and times. Rome has the gift of adapting itself to different situations. In a Roman Catholic country it resisted the separation of Church and State (as in France in 1906), but in strongly Protestant countries it favors separation of the two spheres.

Cardinal Gibbons in his sermons in the Baltimore Cathedral spoke with greatest approval of the relation between Church and State as it exists in America. He said: "The question arises which is the best arrangement: the spiritual union of Church and State or the mutual independence of both. I have nothing to say in regard to other countries, but our own friendly relation of Church and State is the best for us." "I do not wish to see the day when the Church will revoke and receive government aid to build our churches or subsidize our clergy. For then the civil rulers might dictate the doctrines we were to preach . . ." ³⁴

V. Attitude Toward Scientific Pursuits.

1. Relation of philosophy to theology. Rome still takes the position that "philosophy is the handmaid of theology," that it is subordinate to theology. Philosophy as well as other sciences must recognize divine revelation as guiding principles for the investigators.³⁵ But what is divine revelation? To this the simple answer reads: "What is presented to be believed as divinely revealed by the Church."³⁶

2. In order to prohibit and to prevent the circulation of teachings contradictory to the dogma of the church an *Index of Prohibited Books* is issued. In the Vatican, under the chairmanship of a cardinal, there

³⁴ Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, Archbishop of Baltimore, vol. 2, pp. 316-19.

³⁵ Cf. Denzinger 12, 1557, 1561. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, 31-38.

³⁶ Denzinger 12, 1541.

is a "Congregation of the Index." "Its office is not only to examine the books submitted, to prohibit them, and to concede dispensation, but also officially to investigate whether writings of any kind that should be condemned are being circulated, and to remind the ordinaries how solemnly they are bound to condemn pernicious writings and to denounce them to the Holy See."³⁷ Any one who knowingly reads forbidden books, who keeps them, prints them or protects them, makes himself an object of excommunication. Periodical literature is covered just as well as books.³⁸ The priests have instructions to ask questions on this matter at the auricular confessions. It is easy to understand why even non-Catholic publishers, desirous of holding their Roman Catholic subscribers, are reluctant to admit into their columns materials which might cause their writings to be included in the Index.³⁹

3. *The result* of this attitude of the Roman Church to free investigation is: (1) It forces scholars to employ arguments which they do not really accept. (2) It leads to the acceptance of the doctrine of a double truth. (What is true in philosophy is wrong in theology—Duns Scotus, William Ockham). (3) The independent investigation of scholarship is kept from exercising its purifying influences on theology. Scientific endeavor, under such curtailment, is bound to be impotent to cultivate a spirit of sane progressiveness in philosophy and theology. (4) Many in the Roman Catholic Church are led to ignore secretly or openly such unreasonable prohibitions and thus gradually turn away from the Church and from all religion. Their outward membership is tolerated, but *ipso facto* they are excommunicated. There are many such so-called members of the Roman Catholic Church. Considering the above mentioned definition of the Church as being essentially an outward organization, this is surely a very peculiar situation. These "members" are included when

37 *The Religious Bodies II*, 1916, 648. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6, 721 f. Cf. Kurtz, par. 149, 14f, (German 14, par. 147). Loofs 374 f; Hase, *Polemik*, 503, 511, 522 f. G. H. Putnam, *Censorship of the Church of Rome*, 1907.

38 *Codex juris canonici*, par. 1384.

39 Walther, *Symbolik*, p. 83.

it is claimed that the Roman Catholic Church has 300 million people.⁴⁰

VI. Statistics.

Of the 300 million members about 200 million are credited to Europe, 75 million to the Americas. The specifically Roman Catholic countries are Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Poland, Belgium. In Switzerland Rome claims one-half of the population. In Germany one-third was Roman Catholic. This situation is now changed through the accession of Austria which was predominantly Catholic. France has 40 million. Spain and Poland have each about 20 million. Ireland is largely Catholic. Mexico and Central America, the whole of South America and the Philippines are Roman Catholic. In the United States of America, Roman Catholics number 14,797,479 (according to Year Book of the Churches 1937). As to growth, Walther points out that in Europe during 15 years, the Protestants grew one per cent and the Romanists one-half per cent. But he adds that the real growth of Rome at this present time must be seen in the organization for propaganda in the larger Protestant countries, especially England, the United States and Germany. The conflict between Romanism and Protestantism is not noticed as keenly in North America as it is in Europe.

Part Two. The Roman Catholic Dogma.

I. A Few Introductory Questions Regarding Attitudes.

1. *Significance of the Dogma in the Roman Church.* A study of the dogma alone does not bring out all the essentials in Roman Catholicism. This was overlooked by the old topically comparative methods of Symbolics. The Roman Catholic theologian, Adam Moehler, called attention to this truth in his before-mentioned Symbolics. But doctrine or dogma does express part of these essentials; we may say a very fundamental part, as we learn from official Roman Catholic statements.⁴¹ The dogma is fundamental and the root of the Christian life.

⁴⁰ Cf. Walther, pp. 97-99.

⁴¹ Cf. Trid. sess. 6, 8; Vat. de fide 3.

All Roman catechisms say that man, in order to be saved, must believe (*assentire*) what God has revealed. The emphasis on revelation in the Roman Church is very strong. It is supernatural revelation and as such an expression of grace. Grace is defined, in part, as a supernatural influence of God upon man's intellect and will. Saving grace rests upon God as He is revealing Himself.

Revelation is received not only through the Scriptures, but also through tradition, and since the Vatican Council of 1870, directly through the pope.

2. *What is accepted Dogma in the Roman Church?* The answer to this question is not very simple. Adam Moehler in his once famous work on Symbolics enumerated as authoritative the following documents: The three ecumenical creeds and dogmatic statements of the four first ecumenical councils (in which, as he said, there is agreement with Protestantism) and then the following which are specifically Roman Catholic. The decrees of the Council of Trent, the Roman Catechism, the Brief Profession of Tridentine Faith and the papal decrees *Cum occasione* and *Unigenitus*, directed against Jansenism. (For certain qualifications see below, sub. 3, a and b.) But since this was written there has been the Vatican Council (1870), which established the principle that for Roman Catholics everything is dogma that the church teaches through its official organs.

The Roman Catholic dogma has two criteria: (1) the solemn decree, and (2) the fact that it is taught generally by the church.

At Trent the absolute authority of the Scriptures (as translated by the Vulgate), must be taken in the meaning prescribed by the Church.⁴² The Vatican Council reduced authoritative tradition to being, in the last analysis, what is *now* sanctioned as dogma in the church. *The rule of faith for Rome, then, is the present infallible interpretation of Scripture and tradition.* First, Scripture lost its authority through tradition; then tradition lost its authority through the office of teaching in the Church. The Jesuit, W. Willers, declares therefore:

"Neither Scripture nor tradition is the sole rule of faith; the indispensable attribute of a rule of faith is found solely in the authority of the Catholic Church."⁴³ Thus we see that Rome's "Dogma" has been a developing quantity. Doctrinal elements are in circulation—the so-called "Pious Opinions"—which are not yet obligatory dogma, but may soon become such.⁴⁴ At the time of this writing there is an effort to make the ascension of Mary, her attribute as Mother of God and mediator between God and man, a new dogma.

3. *What Sources should be used for the Presentation of Roman Teaching?* What is included when we speak of the Roman Catholic Dogma?

a. The *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* are usually mentioned first. But there is uncertainty as to which councils were ecumenic. Furthermore Rome does not regard all decrees of these councils as infallible. Pope Paul V published (1608-12) a recognized list, in the preparation of which Bellarmine had assisted. Here 18 ecumenical councils were counted: (1) Nicea, I, 325; (2) Constantinople I, 381;⁴⁵ (3) Ephesus, 431; (4) Chalcedon, 451; (5) Constantinople III, 680;⁴⁶ (6) Constantinople II, 553; (7) Nicea, 787; (8) Constantinople IV, 869. Then follow the four Lateran Councils: (9) of 1123; (10) of 1139; (11) of 1179; (12) of 1215. Then follow the two councils at Lyons: (13) of 1245; (14) of 1274; (15) Vienna 1311; (16) Ferrara-Florence 1438; (17) the 5th Lateran 1512-17; (18) Trent, 1545-63. The great Reformatory Council at Pisa (1490), Constance (1414-18) and Basel (1431-49) were passed by, because they did not serve the interests of the papacy. But there has not been entire agreement on this list in the Roman Church. Some have insisted upon partial recognition of the councils of Constance and Basel. Furthermore, the fifth Council of Constantinople and canon 28 of the 4th at Chalcedon, have never been accepted. Thus we

43 Kurzgefasstes Handbuch der Katholischen Religion 5, p. 178, 181.

44 Read W. Walther, 49. Loofs, 210, 216.

45 This one was originally not ecumenical, because the West was not represented. Later, at Chalcedon (451) it was recognized as ecumenic. Cf. Neve, *Introd. to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church* 2, pp. 67 ff.

46 Here the Quinisextum 692, which the Eastern Orthodox Church accepts, is passed by.

see that there are uncertainties regarding the authority of the ecumenical councils. Today it is the voice of the pope that decides in cases of dispute.

b. *A special authority, however, attaches to the decrees of the Council of Trent.* It marks the beginning of the restoration of Roman Catholicism. Yet there were differences at Trent which failed to receive a full settlement at that council. (1) There was the difference between the Dominican-Thomistic and the Franciscan-Scotistic conception of grace. (2) Concerning the immaculate conception of Mary, there was at Trent a mere reference to the Constitution of Pope Sixtus IV.⁴⁷ But it became a dogma through Pius IX in 1854.⁴⁸ (3) Neither was there at Trent a settlement of the question whether authority in the church was to be in the bishops presided over by the pope (episcopalianism), or in the pope as presiding over his special Roman court of cardinals (curialism). This matter was decided at the Vatican Council (1870), in favor of the latter conception.⁴⁹ The deliverances on all these matters are disputably Roman Catholic dogma.

c. How are we to think of the many *papal decrees as sources* for the Roman dogma? The Vatican Council declared the pope infallible in matters of doctrine and morals. This decree had retro-active force. *But infallibility is claimed only for such papal decrees as are delivered ex cathedra* ("cum ex cathedra loquitur"). This is understood. Regarding the various decrees of the past, however, it is not always clear whether they were *ex cathedra* deliverances or not. But we are reminded that the voice of the present pope may settle all cases of dispute. Then our source of information would not be in the original historical deliverance, but in a present-day decision of the pope in counsel with his cardinals.

d. With this qualification of uncertainty in individual cases, then, we must look upon the decrees of the ecumenical councils and upon the *ex cathedra* deliver-

47 Cf. Mirbt 4, p. 243, 45. Trid. sess. 5 intr. decree 5.

48 Mirbt. 4, 447, 11.

49 See the very orientating view on this development by Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, pp. 211 ff. Cf. K. D. Schmidt, *Studien zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 1925.

ances of the pope as legitimate sources for authority in the Church of Rome. Here it would be in place to mention a work in which all these documents, decrees and decisions (above-mentioned), are collected. It is Denzinger's *Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum, quae de rebus fidei et morem a conciliis ecumenicis et summis pontificibus emanarunt*.⁵⁰ Our references are, as a rule, to the 12th edition, 1913.

e. The older authors on Symbolics usually have many references to the *Disputationes de controversiis* etc., of Cardinal Bellarmin (d. 1621). The statements in this work are distinguished for their clearness. But there is much dogma that Rome has developed since Bellarmin. We must also keep in mind that not every statement of this much-quoted writer can be relied on to have the recognition of the Roman Church of today.

f. Pertaining to *canonical law* the following two collections must be mentioned: (1) the *corpus juris canonici*, critical edition, by E. Friedberg, 1878-79; (2) The *codex juris canonici*, prepared at the order of Pius X, published since 1918.

g. Sources for *the real dogma*, in the narrowest sense (*dogma formulae*), as it is held today, are—besides the above-mentioned decrees of the ecumenic and *ex cathedra* deliverances of the pope to be seen (1) in the doctrinal teachings of the liturgical books; (2) in the principles after which the present Index of Prohibited Books are handled; (3) in the approved catechisms; (4) in the religious books for higher schools, sanctioned by the authorities of the church, such as W. Wilmers, *De Harbe*, the *Baltimore Catechism*, and others.

II. Specific Roman Catholic Teaching, Revealing Characteristic Positions and Traits.

There is no intention in this work to cover all topics of Christian Dogmatics. We desire to confine ourselves to the doctrinal principles which have been productive of the things in which Roman Catholicism marks itself as distinct from evangelical Protestantism. We must ask the reader not to take offense at the frequent com-

⁵⁰ Wuerzburg, 1854, with later editions, and after the death of the editor supplemented by Clemens Barmoost, 1911.

parison of Romanism with Lutheranism, because between these two was the special conflict. The modern *Konfessionskunde* type must not sacrifice the comparative features of the old Symbolics. But the comparisons must be confined to the churches presenting an historical conflict with each other.

1. *The Legalistic Trait in Romanism and its background. The Concept of God.* Scholasticism has drawn a wrong picture of God. The idea of an absolute self-satisfied God had been moulded into a system of legalistic moralism where God and man were placed on the same level as two contracting parties in an agreement. Luther, in his doctrine of grace for the sinner pictured God as a loving, generous Father.⁵¹ Rome emphasized God's justice; He gives to every one what he deserves. "If any one says that Christ Jesus was given of God to man as a redeemer in whom we trust, and not as a legislator whom to obey, let him be anathema."⁵² It is in this connection that the difference appears. Note the constant recurrence of such terms as "reward, merit, punishment, retribution, compensation, satisfaction."⁵³ These are all an expression of that peculiar Roman legalism. Luther liked to speak of God's grace as being free, not conditioned upon merits.⁵⁴ We shall not discuss these matters any further but refer the reader to our discussion of *The Lutheran Church*, Chap. IV.

2. *What is Sin according to Rome?* To arrive at an answer to this question we must first engage in a study of what Rome teaches on man's actual constitution (anthropology).

a. *How has the soul of man originated and what is its relation to the body?* Here Rome is in essential agreement with the Eastern Orthodox Church. Creationism is accepted as a certainty. At the conception of a human being God creates for it the reasonable soul. This soul which is immortal and, as a divine creation, inclined to be good, is joined with a material and a heterogeneous body inclining to the sensual. Thus there is from the begin-

⁵¹ Luther's Works, E. 14.49; 7, 68. 159.

⁵² Trid. sess. 4, can. 21.

⁵³ Walther, p. 52.

⁵⁴ Weim. Ed. (hereafter to be quoted by W.) XLIII, 607, 37.

ning a dualistic conflict between a higher and a lower nature in man. Even before the fall there was a conflict. In this we must note two things: (1) the material, including the sensual, is looked upon as something unholy of which man must endeavor to free himself. Among Roman Catholic theologians the views on this subject and related matters have not always been alike. This was already observed by M. Chemnitz in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.⁵⁵ (2) In the fall, so Rome insists, man's soul has not suffered that fundamental change which Lutheran and Reformed theology has described as the loss of the divine image.

b. This last mentioned second point takes us to the important question: *What did man suffer in the fall?* Here we must understand that Roman Catholic theology makes a distinction between the *natural condition* in which man was created, namely with reason and free will (*pura naturalia*) and some *supernatural gifts* that were added, namely that holiness and righteousness and knowledge of which we read in Col. 3:10, and Eph. 4:24 (*dona superaddita naturae*). And then Rome stresses that of the natural endowment, which is the real image, nothing was lost in the fall. Only the supernatural gifts, which did not belong to the image, were lost. The reply from conservative Protestantism has been that "holiness," "righteousness" and "knowledge," which are mentioned in the above two passages, were indeed part of the divine image with which man was created. We cannot so mechanically distinguish between man as a rational and free being on the one hand, and those spiritual qualities which Paul mentions, on the other, because the loss of the latter were bound to affect and influence these natural powers.

It will be correct when it has been remarked, that this stress upon that distinction in the image is a theology that has developed upon Pelagian soil. It was intended to minimize the significance of the fall and to furnish the basis for ascribing to the baptized man powers with which he himself can work out his salvation.

⁵⁵ See German edition by Bendixen—Luthardt, 1884, p. 71.

We, then, take note (1) of the fact that Rome was opposed to Augustinian and Lutheran teaching that in the fall man had lost the exercise of his *freedom* in spiritual things (*in rebus spiritualibus*; cf. Aug. Conf., art. 18). It is admitted only that his will suffered a "weakening" in choosing between good and evil so that it needs the stimulation of grace. But aided by grace man's will can effect his regeneration and secure his salvation. This is what has always been understood as "Semi-Pelagianism." And (2) we ask how was Rome's teaching with regard to the other component part of the original image, namely the *reason with which man was created*? The need of supernatural revelation for the knowledge of things pertaining to salvation is emphasized.⁵⁶ But at the same time it is taught that man's reason has the ability to arrive at "metaphysical certainty" in religious things.⁵⁷ Luther emphasized the insufficiency also of reason as Paul teaches so emphatically; the enlightenment comes with the creation of a new life (regeneration).

We must also note *what Rome teaches as to the "concupiscence" in man*. Here the following position was taken: Concupiscence cannot really be called sin. It is only a natural imperfection resulting from the composition of body and spirit in man. So some say. It constitutes a kind of tinder (*fomes peccati*), that is an occasion for temptation and sin. So others say. But as such, so all say, it offers man even an advantage because in the struggle with it he has the opportunity of earning merits for his salvation. Wilmers, pp. 236 ff., finally, describes it as "a privation of sanctifying grace." The Council of Trent did not bind the believers to a special definition on this subject, as was observed also by Chemnitz (see ante). Many of the Roman Catholic theologians have followed Augustine to whom it was "concupiscentia," as the fleshly, particularly the sexual desire. This was in agreement with the ideal of asceticism. In the course of centuries the inclination has been to more general and milder conceptions.⁵⁸ The Augsburg

⁵⁶ Denz. 1653 ff.

⁵⁷ W. Wilmers, *Handbook*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ See the review of this development in H. Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, 1927, p. 245 f.

Confession in article two on Original Sin used the term concupiscence. But by this term the Reformers meant the general depravity which is the source of evil inclinations, as Paul speaks of a "lust" that has "wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." Luthardt wrote: "It is a mistaken exegesis to confine the meaning of flesh to sensuality because Scripture numbers sins of an altogether different kind among the sins of the flesh (Col. 2:18; 2 Cor. 10:2 ff.; Gal. 3:3; 8:19 ff.) Many prominent sins would then be left out of consideration, such as pride, hatred, envy and above all the many sins flowing out of selfishness."⁵⁹

The conflict between Rome and Lutheranism pertains especially to the condition of man after baptism. The Lutherans had taken the position that in baptism the guilt (*culpa*) which attaches to man's natural depravity, is forgiven, but that this depravity itself, this evil inclination and desire, is not removed but adheres to man as long as he lives." In this natural inclination to sin which remains in the regenerated, on the basis of passages such as Matt. 5:28, Rom. 6:12, 7:17, 8:7, Luther saw the real sin (the originating sin). He said: "This sin is not committed like all other sin; it is the essential sin which does not sin for an hour or for a certain time, but wherever and as long as the person is, that long is this sin also." (*Church Postil* on Luke 2:21.) To this teaching of the Lutherans Rome protested at Trent: "This concupiscence which the apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy synod declares that the Catholic Church has never understood it to be called sin, as being truly and properly sin in those born again, but because it is of sin and inclines to sin (*quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatur*). And if any one is of contrary sentiment, let him be anathema."⁶⁰ On this Quenstedt wrote later: "Therefore, Paul, Romans 7, calls it sin fourteen times. . . . The apostle names it the law of sin warring against the law of the mind, an evil, a sinning sin." The Lutherans took the matter very seriously. Upon this dark background they pictured the much brighter light

⁵⁹ Glaubenslehre, p. 296. Cf. Neve, *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, p. 126 f.

⁶⁰ Sess. 5, c. 4.

of liberating grace: "Where sin abounded grace abounds much more" (Rom. 5, 20). To Rome this remaining evil inclination is merely something that belongs to man's nature; it does not become sin before it issues into evil acts.

c. *Actual sins and their source.* If evil inclination itself is no sin, if sin is to be seen only in the evil deed, then we are simply to avoid sinful actions, and man's ethical status before God is to be judged merely by the question: How many good and how many evil works is he doing? The whole emphasis lies, therefore, upon the sins of act. Much energy is spent upon their classification. They are divided into the sins of the heart, of speech, and of action (*peccata cordis, oris et operis*). Thus interest is taken away from the sinful condition (the originating sin) which, to Rome, has been removed in baptism, a teaching with which the Reformation could not agree. Following a distinction made in the earlier centuries, Rome has developed the distinction between:

d. *Mortal and venial sins* (*peccata mortalia et venialia*). A mortal sin must be confessed, a venial needs not. The consequences of the two are also altogether different. Venial sins, we are told, are such which do not fully employ the will, as for instance, a sudden movement of coveting desire, of the temper, of an unguarded word. But what are mortal sins? The uncertainty in answering this question reveals conflicting opinions on the subject. The council of Trent made an attempt at enumerating the mortal sins, but it had to close with the words: "and all the rest."⁶¹ The Standard Catechism offers three characterizations: They are committed in an important matter, they are done with full knowledge of their sinfulness, and with complete consent of the will.

The Lutherans have objected to the use made of the distinction between mortal and venial sins. It stands in the way of leading the sinner to a true knowledge of sin and therefore makes true repentance impossible. All sins have their source in a sinful condition of the heart. The Lutherans do not deny that out of the heart there

61 Sess. VI, c 15.

can go sins that are especially grievous and injurious (the various sins of the flesh), sins which cry to heaven, and for revenge by the civil laws (as in the case of Cain). But these and others (such for instance which affect the property of our fellowman, his name and home) must not be spoken of. The many sins of heart and tongue, of attitude and life are looked upon as natural, as more or less innocent. But the Reformers said that these last mentioned sins, among them the many which flow out of selfishness, must also be taken very seriously. The "besetting sins" must be watched, and the heart must be searched for all that deceptiveness in the estimate of sin that flows out of the blindness which is part of our depraved nature. The unity and sinfulness of all sin, with man's natural depravity as source, must be seen. To Luther this was fundamental. And upon this foundation he scrutinized relentlessly all individual sins.

Evangelical theology should not refuse to compare notes with the Roman Catholic literature which has grown out of Rome's experience in dealing with consciences burdened with the guilt of outward transgression. But it is difficult for the two sides to arrive at a helpful comparison for practice, because Rome refuses to acknowledge the natural depravity of man's heart as the source, and to acknowledge that all sin without distinction puts men under the displeasure of God. On the other hand, evangelical theology must not overlook the slavery for individual souls, which many grave sins bring, with which the conscientious pastor must deal in order to help lead men into the path of holy living. A. F. C. Vilmar, Professor in Marburg University (d. 1868), in his *Theol. Moral* I, 210 ff., was outstanding in the happy combination of both sides. Luther, when he was confronted with an atomistic concept of sin, could call it a great step forward in his development when he had learned, not what sins are but what Sin is. A solemn prayer which the Lutheran Church of today uses at the preparatory service of the Lord's Supper reads as follows: "We poor sinners confess unto thee, our Heavenly Father, that we have grievously sinned against Thee, not only by outward transgressions, but much more by inward blindness, unbelief, despondency, impatience, selfishness, uncharitableness, pride, covetousness, evil pas-

sions, and many other sins which we cannot fully understand, but which are all naked and open to thy sight. We do earnestly repent of these our offenses, and beseech thee of thy great goodness to have mercy upon us and for the sake of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to forgive us our sins, and graciously to help our infirmities. Amen." Here the many sins of the heart are put in line with outward transgression. Forgiving grace is needed for all. The twofold character of this matter has become an object of new studies by recent theologians like Schlatter, Althaus, Elert, Piper, Heim, Koeberle. The holiness movements (cf. our Chapter VII, Sec. III) also have thought along this line, but many of these have no appreciation of man's natural depravity as the source of actual sins.

III. On Man's Salvation (The Justification of the Sinner).

First: A Few Introductory Considerations.

1. When at the Council of Trent the doctrine of justification was discussed the Roman Catholic Church found herself *before a twofold necessity*: (1) The juridical conception of Lutheranism was to be met; and (2) the old differing attitudes within the Roman camp regarding the Augustinian monergism of divine grace were to be harmonized. These last mentioned differences had been expressed in the conflict between the Dominican followers of Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscan disciples of Duns Scotus. The Fathers of the council spent almost seven months settling this one difficulty. Regarding the Lutheran distinction between justification as a declarative act of forgiveness together with an imputation of Christ's righteousness, on the one hand, and sanctification as a gradual process, on the other, the council labored to find creedal statements which were to give the idea of forgiveness a subordinate place, and make the term justification to mean the gradual infusion of healing grace. This grace is communicated in consequence of merits to the performance of which the sinner is invited and encouraged under pastoral care of the Church.

2. Between Rome and conservative Protestantism there is a *difference concerning the concept of grace*.

The Reformers understood by grace the forgiving attitude of God toward the sinner, His unmerited love, His mercy, in which sin is forgiven and man declared just. They translated the Greek word "grace" (*charis*) with *favor*.

The Romanists, guided by the meaning of the Latin word *justificatio*, took grace to mean a new condition of the justified, a divinely communicated quality, a strength for the doing of good works. It meant to them an infused grace by which man is made righteous.

In the teaching of the Reformers, "grace" and "merit" stood—as also with Paul—in a relation of contrast, as terms which were exclusive, the one of the other.

Rome combined the term *grace and merit*: God starts man through impulses of His grace, enabling him from the very beginning to do work of merit. At first these acts are weak efforts: belief in God's existence, in His power and holiness, aversion against sin. They say it is meet and fitting that God should reward the little that man is doing because it is needed for his salvation (Wilmers, p. 280). Yet it is not a *real* merit; it is only a *meritum de congruo*. Faith is still in the *informis* state, it cannot exercise itself in love. But soon, with the infusion of grace, faith becomes *fides formata*. Now it can work by the motive of love, and now the good works receive a real meritorious character (*merita de condigno*). We see how in the Roman Catholic dogma grace and merit have an existence side by side. In Romanism they do not say: The more merit *the less* grace. But they say: The more merit *the more* grace, i. e., the more divine influences of grace can flow into man's life. They say: The more grace the more merit, i. e., the higher are the merits which man can earn. Surely, but to Rome the terms grace and justification mean something different than they do with Paul.⁶²

3. *The voice of Scripture* on the difference between the evangelical and the Roman meaning of justification is

62 Cf. Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, p. 254; Kattenbusch in *PRE*, 17, 111-113; Koeberle, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung* 3, pp. 187 f.

of the highest importance.⁶³ The following is to be noted: The Hebrew *hitzdiek* and the Greek *dikaion* are used in the declarative sense whenever they have reference to the justification of the sinner before God. In the Septuagint this verb is always used when the meaning is to declare one righteous or to free one from judgment (cf. Exodus 23:7; Deut. 25:1; Isaiah 5:23). In that meaning we have it in the Gospels (Luke 7:29; 16:15; Math. 12:37; Acts 13:58f; Luke 10:29); also in the letters of Paul, especially to the Romans and Galatians.⁶⁴ Romans 4:5: Sinners are counted just. Romans 3:23 and Gal. 3:10 ff: Justification is not through works. Rom. 4:5; Gal. 2:16; 5:8; 24:1; Rom. 3:26; 28:30: It is by grace through faith that we are saved. Romans 5:18; 2 Cor. 5:21 and Rom. 5:19: The ground is Christ's righteousness which is imputed to us. All these passages taken together, express the meaning of justification as a juridical act of our gracious God. Chemnitz called attention to the fact that the passages, which admit the Romanistic conception of grace and justification as a quality and an infusion, while evangelical in their place, do not deal with justification.

4. *Evangelical Protestantism cannot claim Augustine on Justification.* True, he taught as did Paul and later the Reformation: The will is in servitude and devoid of all spiritual freedom; grace alone is the creative force for the new life. But his manner of combining sanctification with justification led him into statements which favored the developing Roman dogma including even merit as the motive.⁶⁵ The process of justification goes on all through life.

5. *Augustine's predestination militated in principle against Roman Catholicism, namely against God's*

63 On this subject the writer agrees with Chemnitz, op. cit., pp. 113-122; also with the article of Vischer on "Justification in the New Testament" in RGG 2, IV, 1745 ff.

64 Cf. Vischer, 1746; Chemnitz, p. 115f.

65 Note the quotation from Augustine by W. Wilmers, p. 280. "He who created thee without thy doing does not justify thee without thy doing. He made thee without thy knowledge, but he will justify thee only by thine own will." Serm. 169 in MSL by Maurines, 38, p. 923. On Augustine with regard to justification see our discussion in *History of Christian Thought*, Book I, Chap. IX, IV, B, 4 note. For a brief and a very orientating review see O. Scheel in RGG 2, IV, 1751.

recognition of "good works" by man. This Augustinian monergism of divine grace became increasingly uncomfortable for Semi-Pelagian Romanism, as we shall see.

Rome wanted more of a free will for man than Augustine had allowed. It was needed as a basis for the teaching of merits. Thomas Aquinas (Dominican), following Augustine, had taught that God is the moving power in effecting man's conversion. He infuses into him an "*habitus*" i. e., a supernaturally implanted inclination to grace. The soul is relieved of the ungodly dispositions, and the divine qualities are infused. Thus, grace takes place in the soul, changing its "metaphysical" essence. Conversion in man is *not* to be explained psychologically, but metaphysically. Duns Scotus (Franciscan), turned far more decidedly into the ways of Semi-Pelagianism. He stressed the primacy of the will: Out of the natural power of his own free will, which original sin had left unimpaired, man can merit the graces which renew the heart. Original sin, to him, was not sin, but merely becoming sin when the will yields. It is something negative, just a lack of original righteousness; not, as with Augustine and later with Luther, a real sinful "concupiscence." Nominalism (William Ockham) sets itself to a criticism of the Thomistic-Augustinian *habitus* doctrine and gave to the will of the natural man a pronounced ability in the direction of merits. It was between these differing types of teaching that Rome succeeded at Trent (sess. 4) in constructing a *mixtum compositum* which was to be an antidote to the teaching of the Reformation on sin and grace in the doctrine of justification.

Second: Rome's Final Position regarding Justification and Sanctification, as opposed by the Reformation.

1. *Justification is no special doctrine in the system of Roman Catholic Theology.* It is just a feature in the process of salvation. The Roman Catechism has no treatment of it. The deliverances on this subject in the Decrees of Trent (sess. 6) are largely negative, being put into the form of polemics against the Reformation.⁶⁶ The

⁶⁶ See chap. 7-12.

stress here is upon the relation of justification and sanctification through good works and merits. An illustration of the subordinate place which Rome gives to justification can be seen in the following outline for the discussion of grace by Wilmers in his much quoted "Handbook of the Christian Religion." He deals first with "actual" and then with "habitual or sanctifying grace." Under the second head, where there would be the place for a doctrine of justification, he is guided by the following six statements: (1) By sanctifying grace internal justification and regeneration, together with the doctrine of divine virtues of faith, hope and charity and the Holy Ghost Himself, the author of grace, are communicated to the soul. (2) Man, obedient to the inspiration of grace, must by diverse acts dispose himself for sanctifying grace. (3) Sanctifying grace can be lost, and is actually lost by every grievous sin. (4) Sanctifying grace is preserved and increased by good works. (5) Good works are under certain conditions truly meritorious. (6) The chief object of merit is eternal salvation and the increase of sanctifying grace.⁶⁷ This outline of the system shows the scholastically developed Augustinian thought that God justified man not only (*non solum*) by forgiving his sins, but by more and more infusing the divine righteousness into his life. The definition finally adopted at Trent was this: "Justification is not remission of sins merely (*non est sola peccatorum remissio*), but also sanctification and the renewal of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace and divine gifts, so that he who was unrighteous is made righteous, and the enemy becomes a friend and an heir according to the hope of eternal life." (Chap. 7).

2. *Rome's Position was the Fruitful Source of many Errors.* That old conflict was surely not just about an academic question the settlement of which might be left to speculating and quarreling theologians. In the identification of sanctification with justification we have before us the real foundation and the motive power of the whole Roman system of ascetic self-culture and that striving for merit, against which evangelical Christianity is protesting. It is the source of that "nomistic" trait in Roman-

67 Table of contents, p. XVII; cf. discussion, pp. 239ff.

ism, of that legalistic bargaining on the part of the church and of the sinner for advantages, especially in the "sacrament" of repentance and in the manifold efforts for shortening the suffering in purgatory. Here also the unscriptural idea of the so-called "evangelical councils" has its root, namely the teaching that man may do something in excess of what God had the right to demand of him and thus merit special grace; and even merit grace which is stored up in a "treasure of superabundant works" and applied for the benefit of others. So the influence of this mixing of justification and sanctification could be traced in many directions.

3. *Position of the Reformation.* It is expressed in the text of articles 4 and 6 of the Augsburg Confession: Article 4 on *Justification*: "Also they (the Protestant Churches) teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, hath made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight. Rom. 3 and 4." And article 6 on the "New Obedience," reads: "Also they teach that this faith is bound to bring forth good fruits, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but not that we should rely on those works to merit justification before God. For remission of sins and justification are apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ attests: 'When ye shall have done all of these things, say: We are unprofitable servants' (Luke 17:10) . . ." For further studies on this subject, see our Chap. IV, Sec. IV. C.

In this distinction between justification and sanctification the Augsburg Confession was followed also by the confessions of the Reformed Churches. The Westminster Confession, though differing from the AC in making predestination the organizing principle, dealt with justification in article 11, and sanctification in a separate article, namely article 13.⁶⁸ The Decrees of Trent had a special chapter "against the vain confidences of the heretics."⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Schaff, *Creeeds*, vol. III, 626 ff. Cf. the position of Calvin on Justification and Sanctification in our *History of Christian Thought*, Book 3,

⁶⁹ Sess. 6, ch. 9.

4. On the other hand, the entire Roman Catholic system is *fundamentally a theology of uncertainty*. "The individual must remain in a state of uncertainty and disquietude as to whether he belongs to the elect for salvation, whether his confession and absolution was valid or not, whether or not he should do more good works and secure more indulgences. This state of restlessness is used as a means of education. Certainty of salvation would be looked upon as dangerous for piety and morality. One may have hope of salvation, but real religious earnestness is held to be naturally connected with constant uncertainty as to the final outcome."⁷⁰ Adam Moehler, a celebrated writer for Romanism and a pious man, declared that he always felt uneasy when coming into contact with an individual who claimed that he, by believing in Christ, had an assurance of the forgiveness of his sins. Such a person's spiritual independency appeared to him as bordering on the "demoniacal." (At Trent, the council also spoke decisively against assurance on the basis of predestination.)⁷¹

IV. Rome on the Sacraments.

1. A *fundamental difference between Rome and the Reformation* is seen in the stress which Roman Catholicism lays upon the sacraments as means of grace, and the secondary place it gives to the Word which to the churches of the Reformation occupies the chief place among the means of grace.

Rome aimed to break the significance of the Word as a means of grace by putting the Holy Scriptures and the Church's tradition side by side.⁷² Rome cares little for the Word of God as a means of grace; grace is expected from the sacraments. Still the Scriptures are used for proving Catholic doctrine, as we shall see especially in this section.

⁷⁰ Mulert, as cited, 358.

⁷¹ Sess. 6, chap. 12. cf. RGG, 4, 130.

⁷² H. Denziger 12, 666, 1636. Cf. Mirbt, 4, p. 649: "Tradition of equal value with the Word." ref. to 291, 44. The way Rome defends its position may be seen in Cardinal Gibbon's "The Faith of our Fathers," pp. 77 ff. For a brief review of this whole subject see W. Walther, *Symbolik*, pp. 87-89, and compare our discussion in Chap. IV on **The Lutheran Church**.

2. *On the Sacraments in General.* At Trent Rome made its deliverances on the sacraments in the seventh session, immediately after it had dealt with the doctrine of justification in the sixth session.

a. *Definitions:* The sacrament is marked by (1) a visible sign, (2) Christ's institution, and (3) by the power to effect holiness and justification.⁷³

b. As to the *number* of sacraments there was for a long time uncertainty. But since Peter Lombard (d.1169), public opinion in the Church settled upon seven: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Repentance, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Matrimony. The Council at Trent anathematized any one who would deny that Christ had instituted them in that number. The Scripture proof is not convincing in every case, as we shall see. The chief references have always been to tradition. It is to be admitted that in the Ancient Church much of Christian symbolism, as for instance the sign of the cross, was covered by the term "*mysterion*" or "*sacramentum*", used in a wider sense; but it is worthy of note that already Tertullian spoke of the "*sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiae*."⁷⁴ The real reason for choosing exactly these seven sacraments as means of grace lies in the carefully studied intention of constantly holding the faithful in a state of dependence upon the Church.⁷⁵

c. *Classification:* Not all of these seven sacraments are equally obligatory: The first five address themselves to all members of the church, the last two naturally do not. Again, Baptism, Confirmation and Eucharist are spoken of as being necessary above all others.⁷⁶ It is insisted that all seven are real (*proprie*) sacraments, yet the Eucharist has special emphasis because of its connection with the Mass and because it is not only a means of grace but represents a renewal of Christ's sacrifice. Again, Baptism, Confirmation and Ordination have their peculiarity in this that they communicate to

⁷³ Cat. Rom. 2.1.11 ff.

⁷⁴ Adv. Narc. 4:34.

⁷⁵ See K. F. Noesgen, *Symbolik, oder Konfessionelle Prinzipienlehre*, 1897, p. 377.

⁷⁶ Cat. Rom. 2, 1.22.

the recipient a special spiritual distinction or character (*character indelebilis*). For this reason they must be given only once and must not be repeated.⁷⁷ Of these, Confirmation, as a rule, and Ordination, must always be administered by the bishop.⁷⁸

d. *The Benefit and the Manner of its Communion*: W. Wilmers: "Sanctifying grace is conferred by the sacraments if it does not already exist; if it already exists it is increased."⁷⁹ How does this take place? According to Roman Catholic belief the sacraments work "*ex opere operato*," that means out of themselves: "*ex vi ipsius actionis sacramentalis a Deo ad hoc institutae*."⁸⁰ This, however, was declared at Trent (Can.6): that the recipient must not "place an obstacle (*obicem*) thereunto." He must have the intention of receiving the sacrament in the conception of the Roman Church and must not be living in mortal sin. This is a demand of the catechism. The administering priest also must have the intention to function in harmony with his church. (Can. 11).

e. In every sacrament there must be distinguished the *Matter and the Form*. The matter is the visible or discernible element; the form is the words used in the administration of the rite.

3. The Seven Sacraments.

BAPTISM: The *matter* consists of natural water. The use of further rites as referred to below, are added merely for illustrative and symbolizing purposes, and must not be put on a level with the use of water as the "matter" of the sacrament. The *form* of the Sacrament is represented by the words: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The Latin words are used: *Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*. The sacrament is surrounded by many rites. Bellarmin counts twenty-two. "The baptismal water is blessed in the churches every year on

⁷⁷ *Trid.* sess. 13 can. 9.

⁷⁸ Sess. 7 and 23.

⁷⁹ *Handbook*, p. 307.

⁸⁰ Bellarmini, *De sacr.* II, 1. Cf. Duns Scotus, in *libr.* IV, dist. 1, *que.* 6; *Trid.* sess. 7, can. 8.

Holy Saturday and the eve of Pentecost.”⁸¹ The special baptismal act is preceded by an act of exorcism in a manner described by the Roman Catechism, question 51. Salt is put into the mouth of the baptized to symbolize the wisdom of the one who is liberated from the world (Mark 9:50). He is also marked by the sign of the cross. Nose and ears are touched with spittle (John 9:6ff.). The baptismal act is followed by an anointing with oil to indicate the positive gift of the Spirit. The baptized is also presented with a white garment, in the case of a child with a white cloth (*sudarium*), if a little older with a white cap to indicate the innocence which baptism communicates. A burning candle is also put into his hand as a symbol of love which he is to radiate. Such are ceremonies which had come into use in the various parts of the Ancient Church.⁸² Luther himself, in his baptismal booklet, *Das Taufbuechlein Verdeutschet* of 1523, retained practically all he found in the baptismal service of the Roman Church. He did it out of consideration for the “weak consciences,” so that people should not think he was instituting a new baptism nor feel that their own baptism had not been correct.⁸³ In a second edition of his baptismal booklet, however, in 1526,⁸⁴ he omitted these ceremonies as not essential (p. 538). All he kept was exorcism, sign of the cross, renouncing of the devil.

It should here be stated with F. A. Philippi⁸⁵ that in no sacrament does the Roman Catholic Church stand nearer to Lutheranism than in baptism. The connecting link lies in the things which Roman Catholicism took over from Augustine. The fact is that Lutheranism did not develop a special doctrine of baptism. It accepted the following points in the teaching of Augustine: (1) Baptism is the sacrament for removing the guilt of the sinful condition with which man is born. (2) The inherited sinful desire (*concupiscentia*) remains as a morbid leaning to sin. (3) But with baptism, the Spirit is received for the beginning of a renovation in a continued

⁸¹ Wilmers, p. 315.

⁸² See our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. I, chap. 12, part 1.

⁸³ Cf. his *Works*, W. I. 38-48.

⁸⁴ W. I. 12, 531-541.

⁸⁵ *Symbolik*, 1883, pp. 144 f.

life of forgiveness of the daily sins, in which this morbid leaning is more and more reduced.⁸⁶ In these Augustinian points which the conservative Reformation has in common with Roman Catholicism, however, our Reformers have refused to accept also the Romish teaching that in baptism not merely the guilt of original sin has been removed by forgiveness, but that even the substance of this sin itself has been entirely removed, in connection with which Rome insists that the remaining *prava concupiscentia* is not sin anymore.

Baptism, to Rome, is one of the three sacraments which communicate an indelible character. Augustine called it a "*character dominicus*." This character forbids to re-baptize even the heretics. But it is claimed that every baptism administered in the name of the Triune God, is the baptism of the one holy Roman Catholic Church. On this basis all baptized are claimed by Rome. At the same time it is a tacit admission of the claim of non-Romanists to the Kingdom of God.

CONFIRMATION: Protestantism has never thought of Confirmation as a sacrament. It is nothing but a very helpful occasion for renewal of the baptismal covenant at a time in life when those baptized in infancy should now, at a mature age, be led to express an attitude of their own as to what they objectively received in holy baptism.

Rome has made a sacrament of it. "The imposition of hands and anointing with chrism, accompanied by suitable words, constitute the matter and form, or complete sign, of confirmation."⁸⁷ The chrism consists of a mixture of olive oil and balsam which has been blessed by the bishop. In the Ancient Church this ceremony had become a part of baptism. By the time of the Council of Florence (1439) a separation of the two acts had become the practice and Pope Eugene IV gave to it the first sanction as an official sacrament to be administered by the bishop. The scripture proof for using confirmation as a sacrament was seen in Acts 8:14-17, where Peter and John went to Samaria to lay their hands upon those

⁸⁶ We have discussed the whole doctrinal development in our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. I, chap. 12, part 1, sec. 6. Not all views of Augustine are acceptable as we have tried to show.

⁸⁷ Wilmers, p. 323.

who had been baptized that they might receive the Holy Ghost. The interpretation given to this story by stressing the communication of the Spirit at this occasion was bound to detract from the fundamental sacrament of baptism. So it became customary to speak of a communication of the Spirit at this occasion, in a higher degree.⁸⁸ Clement V considered seriously whether a special communication of the Spirit in confirmation ought to be denied. This is reflected in the fact that the Roman Catechism does not insist upon confirmation as necessary for salvation.⁸⁹

In the sacrament of confirmation there must be sponsors as in baptism. As the age for its administration the twelfth year is desired, but the demand is that it should not be administered before the age of seven.

REPENTANCE (PENANCE): Repentance follows next if we want to observe the psychology underlying the idea that care must be taken of those who after baptism have fallen into mortal sins.

Literature: The Decrees of Trent dealt with Repentance in Sess. 6, Can. 14, sess. 14. **Schaff**, II, 104 ff, 139 ff. For a convenient view of all considerations and their pertinent sources in the discussion of this "sacrament" which reaches so deep into the life of the Roman Catholic Church, see the much used little book by **V. Schulze**: *Grundriss der Symbolik (Konfessionskunde)*⁶, 1922, pp. 59 ff. Valuable materials also in **G. F. Oehler**, *Lehrbuch der Symbolik*², 1891, pp. 657-672; **Philippi**, pp. 149-156; **Noesgen**, pp. 386-390; **F. Loofs**, *Symbolik*, 1902, pp. 334 ff; **Klotsche**, *Christian Symbolics*, p. 102.

The Lutherans were at first inclined to take repentance as a sacrament. Melancthon wrote in the Apology: "Therefore Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Absolution which is the sacrament of repentance are truly sacraments."⁹⁰ Luther in his Large Catechism also spoke of it as the "third sacrament" but in closing the sentence he added "it is really nothing else than return to baptism" (*regressus ad baptismum*).⁹¹

⁸⁸ Cat. Rom. 2, 3, 2.

⁸⁹ Noesgen, p. 386.

⁹⁰ See Augsburg Conf., art. 13, "Of the Number and Use of the Sacraments." Compare the Apology in Peoples' Ed., p. 214.

⁹¹ *Ibid* p. 475. As to the Lutheran teaching on art. 12 of the Augsburg Confession, see our Introduction to Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church 2, pp. 230-240.

Rome's Scripture-ground for raising repentance to the dignity of a sacrament is chiefly John 20: 22-23: "And when he had said this, he breathed on them and said unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

It is through the detailed demands of the institution of repentance as a sacrament that *Rome exercises a great influence* over the lives of her followers. This sacrament is spoken of as the "sinner's second plank after shipwreck" (*secunda tabula post naufragium*).⁹² The process cannot be gone through "without many tears and great labors on our parts, the divine justice demanding this."⁹³ The sinner must humble himself by recognizing the Church as a juridical court and the priest as commissioned by the bishop of his district to speak justice in determining his fitness for absolution and the satisfaction to be rendered before the absolution can take place.

The words of absolution constitute the "form" of this sacrament. As to the "matter" of it, Roman theologians have felt embarrassment. The Council of Trent⁹⁴ settled it approximately by declaring the acts of the penitent himself, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction as the "*quest materia* of this sacrament."

These three acts of the sinner, contrition, confession and satisfaction (*contritio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis*), must be further discussed because it is here where outstanding differences between Rome and Protestantism appear.

1. "*Contrition* is a detestation of, and sorrow for the sins committed, combined with the firm purpose to sin no more."⁹⁵ In this "perfect contrition" as Rome calls it, there is included the earnest "purpose of amendment" which is seen in the inclining will to avoid even the "proximate occasion of sin." The motive here is the "perfect love of God for his own sake." This "perfect" contrition has the forgiveness of sin also independent of priestly absolution.

⁹² Trid. Sess. 6, can. 14.

⁹³ Trid. Sess. 14, can. 2.

⁹⁴ Sess. 14, Can. 3.

⁹⁵ Wilmers, p. 357, in agreement with Trid. Sess. 14, can. 4.

But Rome has also been recognizing an "imperfect" contrition called *attrition* which is motivated by detestation, but it is a detestation of the ugliness of sin (*ex turpitudinis peccati consideratione*), combined with the fear of hell. Of this imperfect contrition, Rome teaches that while it "cannot of itself, without the sacrament of penance, justify the sinner, yet it *disposes* him to receive divine grace in the sacrament of penance."⁹⁶

This whole argumentation in the Roman camp (of which there is a large literature) goes back to scholastic distinctions which have continued to burden the Roman Catholic dogma on this point with irremediable inconsistencies.⁹⁷

For the purpose of comparison with Protestantism it will be helpful to quote the paragraph in article 12 of the Augsburg Confession, which gives the Lutheran definition of repentance: "Now repentance consists properly of these two parts: One is *Contrition*, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is *Faith* which, born of the Gospel or of absolution believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience and delivers it from terrors." Faith, in the meaning of confidence (*fiducia*), was to the Reformation a needed part of true repentance as worked by the Holy Spirit, that is, when it was discussed in the *wider* sense.⁹⁸ Contrition is worked through the law, faith through the Gospel. In the Roman system faith has here no mention because of the before-mentioned recognition that was to be given to contrition. Rome's interest in contrition is explained by Heiler when he critically remarks that after the sinner has learned about the character of his sins he now has to *awaken* (*erwecken*) contrition. Yes, to Rome this is the work of man. Scripture teaches us that it is the work of God's Spirit. Article 18 of the Augsburg Confession says: "For this righteousness is *wrought in the heart* when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word"

⁹⁶ Wilmers, p. 359; cf. *Trid.* Sess. 14, can. 4.

⁹⁷ See the whole historical exposition of it in Loofs, *op. cit.* p. 337f. Cf. also W. Walther, *Symbolik*, p. 107 f. and J. Heiler, pp. 253 ff.

⁹⁸ Cf. also Mel's Apology, Jacobs, Peoples Ed. p. 185, par. 52.

(*sed haec fit in cordibus*). God acts and man receives. This is Augustinian against Semi-Pelagianism.⁹⁹

The objection of the Reformation to this artificial distinction between contrition and attrition, which the Council of Trent perpetuated, lay in the viewing of repentance as consisting in a number of individual works to be done through the observation of a special sacrament. Luther took repentance as a matter of the whole personality and as an attitude of the soul which goes through the whole life of the believer.¹⁰⁰ It was from this standpoint that Luther dissolved repentance as a special sacrament.¹⁰¹

2. *Confession*: Our references are to Trid. Sess. 14, can. 5, and to *Cat. Rom.* 2, 5, 35-53. Besides the before-mentioned works of Symbolics, see J. Heiler, pp. 253 ff.

The specifically Roman feature here is the relation of the confessing sinner to the priest as judge. After Peter Lombard had established the demand of auricular confession with the theological arguments, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) decreed that at least once a year, at Easter, all mortal sins of which a person had knowledge should be confessed to the priest. Not only must the sins be mentioned, but also the circumstances under which they had been committed are to be told, the priest having the right to examine by asking questions and to aid in a full confession. With the knowledge thus secured he, as a divinely appointed judge, is to say what the confessing sinner is to do to secure the divine forgiveness.

A few remarks for further explanation of this general statement may be added:¹⁰² (1) All members of the Catholic Church must confess, even the children beginning with their seventh year. Guiding helps have been published on the basis of the Ten Commandments to educate for thorough-going confessions. Questions such as the following are asked: Do you remember any grave sin which was forgotten in your last confession? Have you deliberately doubted in matters of faith? Have you on Sunday or any holy day neglected to go to the

99 Cf. art. 2 of the Formula of Concord.

100 Works, Erl. Ed. 11, 282 ff. 154 ff. 267.

101 Ibid. 9, 299; 11, 279 f.

102 In these we follow Prof. H. Mulert's *Konfessionskunde*, pp. 256 ff., and Heiler as referred to.

holy mass? Have you deliberately absented yourself from church or from religious instruction? Children are asked by detailed questions regarding sins against parents and superiors. Parents are asked concerning neglect of duties to their children. Have you been intemperate in eating or drinking, or have you in any way injured your health? (All the sins of temper in relation to fellow-men are thoroughly gone through). Have you deliberately been thinking of indecent things, looked at, or listened to, talked about, or read about such? Have you had any evil desires regarding such things? Have you done anything of an indecent nature alone or with others. State as nearly as possible how many times. With regard to property: Have you taken anything that did not belong to you? Money? How much? Have you kept something you found, although you knew the owner or were able to find him? Have you kept borrowed things? Have you deceived anybody or injured anybody in his property? Estimate the injury in money value. Have you had the will to steal? Have you contracted debts carelessly? Have you lied? Have you lied to the injury of others? Have you spread unknown faults of your neighbor? Have you exaggerated his faults? Have you caused enmity by circulating scandalous tales? Have you eaten meat on forbidden days? Neglected to observe fast days? While it is true that such a way of going into details leads to atomistic conceptions of sin and cultivates the legalistic attitude in religion—who will deny that many of these questions are highly educational in leading sincere souls into conscientious self-examination and into definite steps toward holy living. (2) All mortal sins must be mentioned. Very extensive confessions are recommended so that the priest may aid especially in distinguishing between venial and mortal sins. Intentional omission of a mortal sin makes the whole confession invalid. It is allowed, however, to make the confession of that one sin at another time, at the next confession. It may also be included at a “general confession” in the future. Such general confessions are recommended at special periods in the person’s life: At the time of marriage, or of going in business, or entering on a vocation. (3) As a rule confessions must be made to the priest of one’s own church, not to one who

has not "either an ordinary or delegated jurisdiction." The common priest receives his legitimation from his bishop. In case of grievous sins the right of absolution is reserved by the highest officials of the church, may be even by the pope. Where in such cases there is danger of death (*in agone mortis*), the common priest gives the absolution.¹⁰³ Some, in the desire to confess to a stranger, succeed in having a priest delegated to receive the confession in a place away from home. (4) In the confessional box, the priest, sitting, is separated from the kneeling confessant by a barred window, covered with a curtain which makes both parties invisible to each other. The priest is under strict duty of absolute secrecy regarding the contents of the confession. He must not even afterwards speak about it to the one who confessed, unless he is approached by him. Even if the confession involved a crime he must not make any report to the civil authorities. In case innocent parties are suffering he can refuse absolution and thus lead the guilty one to do his duty.

The Reformation turned against auricular confession. The Augsburg Confession (Art. 11) declared: "An enumeration of all sins is not necessary. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm: 'Who can understand his errors?' " Jer. 17:9, was much quoted: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Who can know it?" The Lutherans at Augsburg, 1530, approved of "private confessions." But to the demand of the Romanists in their "Confutation of the AC that a full confession is necessary for salvation," Melancthon replied in the Apology that such demand would be "snares cast upon consciences which never will be tranquil if they think they cannot obtain the remission of sins, unless this precise enumeration be made." "For when will the conscience be sure that the confession is full?"^{103½} Again: "If no sins were remitted except what were recounted, consciences never could find peace, because very many sins they neither see nor can remember."¹⁰⁴ Luther traced the Roman error in auricular

103 Trid. sess. 14, can. 7. Cat. Rom. 2, 5. 54-56.

103½ Apol. pp. 197, 13, 198, 14.

104 AC, part 2, art. 25, 9.

confession back to the old Pelagian error of taking sins as a heap of stones, and ignoring the organic relation of all sin; back to the failure of seeing the essence of sin as a condition in man's natural depravity.¹⁰⁵

Calvin wrote very sharply against the Roman practice of confession. He stressed the necessity of one brother confessing to another where he has wronged him.¹⁰⁶ This is a feature of "private confession" to which also the Westminster Confession (chap. 15, 6) gave expression.¹⁰⁷ The Reformed Episcopal Church in America has in its "Articles of Faith" (32) the following strong declaration: "Priestly absolution is a blasphemous usurpation of the sole prerogative of God. None can forgive sins as against God, but God alone." It has in the same article the statement: "Christians may often, with manifest profit, confess to one another their sins against God, with a view solely to instruction, correction, guidance and encouragement in righteousness. But in any and every case confession is still to be made to God, as well as such as offend our fellow-man as those that offend him alone."¹⁰⁸ In these statements we miss the very solemn general confession of sin as followed by a public declaration which in the Lutheran Church takes place at the preparation of the congregation for the Lord's Supper. (Chap. IV).

Note: For a comparison with the Lutheran position on this subject see our treatment of the "Group Movement" (Buchmanism) in the Appendix to this book, under C, to the close of the article.

3. *According to Rome, Absolution must be followed by works of satisfaction.* For a penitent soul feeling his or her sin as a burden there is something very impressive in this closing part of the Roman Catholic process of penance, which we are now discussing: By a prayer on the part of the priest the penitent has been aided in making full and sincere confession in which all the special sins are enumerated and the works of satisfaction have been specified. Then follows in Latin the solemn declaration of the priest who speaks in the name of the Church: "I absolve thee of thy sins in the name

105 Smal. Art., ut supra, 10.

106 Institutes III, 4, 9.

107 Schaff Creeds, III, 632.

108 Schaff, 826.

of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen."¹⁰⁹

Of what kind are the imposed works of satisfaction? In former ages they were very severe. And in the earlier centuries of the Church they had to be completed before absolution was given. From Heiler we learn that today they consist almost entirely of prayers, occasionally of some "good works," such as fasting, the giving of alms, etc.¹¹⁰ He proceeds: "The penitent is ordered to pray 'for repentance' a rosary, or five times the Lord's Prayer for the poor souls in purgatory, seven Ave-Marias in honor of Alcisius, or the Laurentian Litany in honor of the May queen."¹¹¹ It is taught that by virtue of the "communion of saints" in the Roman Catholic Church one person can do a work of satisfaction for another.¹¹² Regarding the whole question of redeeming the satisfactions, promised before the act of absolution, the following is certainly very peculiar: "Although the penitent is bound to accept and perform the penance enjoined, yet its non-performance does not render the sacrament invalid, provided only the penitent had the intention to perform it."¹¹³

Estimate of the Roman Catholic Institute of Repentance.

Luther, speaking of his own experience called it "a great torment."¹¹⁴ Heiler criticises the "stern legalistic character" of this sacrament. He says: "Private Confession is the great means of education in the Catholic *Gesetzesreligion*" (p. 253): "The indifferent need to be shaken, the dull-minded to be stirred, the weak to be

¹⁰⁹ See the details of this whole process by Heiler, pp. 252-261. We have been quoting Heiler and shall further quote him because he was once a Roman Catholic and is therefore informed. In the famous book which this young Protestant professor of the University of Marburg, a pupil of Soederblom and representative of the Historico-Religious School, wrote on "Catholicism" he shows, together with definite criticism, much admiration of certain features of the system. There is much in this book with which we cannot agree. Recent writers in Germany on *Konfessionskunde*, however, declare that not until all churches and sects have been written on in the manner of this book will we be ready to produce a *Konfessionskunde* such as we should have.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Trid.*, sess. 6, can. 14.

¹¹¹ Heiler, p. 259 f.

¹¹² *Cat. Rom.* II, 5, 16.

¹¹³ Wilmers, p. 260.

¹¹⁴ *Smalcald Art.*, III, art. 2, 19.

supported, the immature to be led, the wavering to be steadied, the doubting to be taught." Favoring an institution like this in the church, he suggests that the blessing depends upon its administration by "strong religious personalities." (p. 268). This reminds one of Origen's demand "to find a man whether clerical or lay, who has the Spirit, who is devoted to the service of God and who is like the merciful high-priest Christ, as were the apostles."¹¹⁵ Heiler points to the early ages in Christian history when the pious souls in their troubles of conscience confided to a brother, especially to a saint (who needed not to be a priest), thus gradually developing what became an organized practice for spiritual help among the monks who applied it for moral education to the masses of the people in Germany, France and England. Its use as well as its abuse is a matter of history.¹¹⁶ The abuses were of such a nature and so rooted that the Reformation was forced to a radical change.

Excursus on Indulgences.

Indulgences have regard not to remission of *guilt* (*reatus culpae*), but to a remission of temporal *punishment* following the sins forgiven in the sacrament of repentance. These temporal punishments are still to be suffered by the souls in purgatory.

How may these poor souls be relieved? "There exists in the Church a real deposit or treasury of the satisfactions of Christ and of the saints. . ." The satisfactions of Christ were superabundant; and the saints . . . do not themselves need all the satisfactory value of their good works and sufferings. Thus the Blessed Virgin did not require any satisfaction, since she had no sin to atone for. Other saints required but little; the rest of their satisfaction is superabundant. Now, these superabundant satisfactions are the common possession of the Church. . . The Church—in the first instance the pope, its supreme head—has power to apply these satisfactions to individuals, and thus to remit the temporal punishment due to sin. "Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." The teaching is that the Church, that

115 Cf. R. Seeberg, *History of Doctrine*, Eng. tr. I, 158 f.

116 R. Seeberg, as referred to II, 41 ff. 81 ff.

is the pope, is commissioned by Christ to administer this treasury of merits. (Matthew 16:19).¹¹⁷ This, in the simple words of a recognized Roman Catholic handbook, is an outline of the teaching on indulgences, as decreed at the Council of Trent. It was here ordained "that all evil gains for the obtaining of indulgences be wholly abolished." But we are told that "if at times alms-giving is prescribed as a condition for gaining an indulgence, the indulgence is in that case no more purchased for money than heaven is purchased by any other alms given with a view to eternal salvation."¹¹⁸

Indulgences, remitting the temporal punishments of sin may be obtained for oneself, but they can also be secured for shortening the suffering of the dead in purgatory. Heiler quotes as "point of departure" for the development of the indulgences the practice of the martyrs in the Ancient Church to give to the lapsed in the state of penitence letters (*libelli pacis*) recommending them for an early reconciliation.¹¹⁹ Rome aims to safeguard the Christian character of the indulgences by referring to the stress which has always been laid upon the Catholic doctrine of fellowship in the mystical body of the Church (I Cor. 12, 26); the weaker members which are capable of only little, are supported by the spiritually strong.¹²⁰ Wilmers declares: "The Church militant on earth, suffering in purgatory and triumphant in heaven, forms one body in different states in regard to its last end." Conservative Protestantism also believes in a "communion of saints," which includes the Church militant with the church triumphant. But is there biblical reality to the assumption of a state of purgatory where the saints on earth and in heaven can contribute to shorten the time of suffering for souls in such state?

The Reformation rejected Rome's whole argumentation by the following objections which may here be summarized by Philippi:¹²¹ (1) This Roman teaching on indulgences adulterates the article of justification through

117 Wilmers, p. 361.

118 Wilmers, p. 362.

119 Op. cit., p. 273.

120 Chemnitz, as cit. I, 428-453. Cf. the Articles on "Ablass" in RGG, I, 60; Walther, pp. 70, and 110; Heiler, p. 272.

121 Symbolik, p. 200.

Christ, namely by putting works and performances in place of saving faith. (2) It minimizes the all-sufficient satisfactory work of Christ by leaving a part of the punishment for sin to be taken care of by the sinner himself. (3) It is fundamentally opposed to the Scriptures which teach that Christ earned for us the full and the whole salvation which is one of free grace for all who believe.¹²²

In the Roman Catholic Church of today the indulgences are still the means through which the crude popular piety is expressing its needs. In the individual and much varied indulgences there is very much that is exceedingly offensive to evangelical ears: We read of brotherhoods, congregations, pious associations, which, as such, are privileged with rich indulgences. The brothers of the blue scapular for instance, have a "perfect indulgence" which "removes all punishment for past sins as often as they pray six *Pater Nosters*, six *Ave Marias*," etc. It is such easy conditions that make the indulgences popular. The uttering of the name "Jesus" brings a release of twenty-five days. The addressing of a fellow-Christian with the words "Blessed be Jesus Christ" is followed by one of fifty days. The words "Of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost," accompanied with the sign of the cross draws fifty days; but it will be one hundred days when used with the blessed water. A like release is attached to many other brief expressions. The saying of prayers to the heart of Jesus, to Mary, to the protecting angel, to certain saints have the reward of three hundred days. Certain prayers in prescribed repetitions by aid of the rosary count for seven years, some for sixteen years. By multiplications, in the so-called psalter, it runs up to fifty years, etc. Constantly repeated sentiments of piety are thus to be impressed upon the mind.¹²³ The aim is spirituality. The invitation is by the reward of a work. The indulgences are used as means which work automatically. In itself the practice represents, as Heiler puts it, "a deplorable degradation of prayer." "The mysterious communion of the soul with the divine

¹²² Read the confessional testimonies regarding "purgatory" and "indulgences," guided by the topical index of the Symb. Books (Peoples Edition or Triglotta). Compare Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, as referred to, pp. 428-453.

¹²³ For examples see Heller, p. 274 f.

becomes an outward doing of man, and is degraded to a mechanical means and an instrument through which debts for sin are paid off, indeed to a problem of arithmetic where, by adding and multiplying, the souls are counting debit and credit with the eternal and holy God."¹²⁴

Among the working "congregations" in Rome, surrounding the pope and presided over by the cardinals, there is also one on indulgences. This congregation made a declaration in 1840, according to which it is the real meaning of the Church that the actual effect of the indulgences must be left altogether to divine mercy.¹²⁵ This delivery seemed to admit that the seekers of indulgences are held to be largely superstitious in their expectations. But does not the church itself encourage such expectations?¹²⁶

THE EUCHARIST (LORD'S SUPPER, SACRIFICE OF THE MASS): This sacrament is to Rome the most distinguished of all. It is a study of such importance for our seminaries that we must allow a larger discussion for it. The Council of Trent dealt with it in the 13th session (eucharist) and again in the 21st session (sacrifice of the mass). The *matter* of this sacrament consists of unleavened wheat bread, which must have been the bread at hand at the feast of "unleavened bread," and of wine mixed with water, to typify the water and blood flowing from Christ's side on the cross. The *form* is seen in the words of consecration: "This is my body" and "This is the cup of my blood," etc.

In order to understand all the chief features of Roman teaching on this sacrament, we must discuss its component parts separately.

1. *Transubstantiation*: Bread and wine are changed or converted into body and blood of Christ. The Council of Trent called this process "transubstantiation."¹²⁷ It was a term that had first come into use by Stephen of

124 Op. cit. 271 f.

125 RGG 2, 1, 62.

126 Beringer, *Die Ablassse, ihr Wesen und ihr Gebrauch* 12, 1900, gives on p. 850 a complete list of all indulgences. The differing values of indulgence prayers in terms of time and repetition are published in the devotional books.

127 Sess. 13, can. 4.

Autun and others in the 12th century. The act takes place through the officiating priest who, by virtue of his ordination, consecrates the elements, bread and wine, by speaking over them the above-mentioned words of institution (the special "form" of this sacrament).¹²⁸ The process as such is called a miracle, performed by divine omnipotence. This doctrine had been made a dogma by the Lateran Council in 1215, which later was confirmed by the Council of Trent.

Speaking of the act of transubstantiation, attention should be called to a *difference between Rome and Lutheranism*: In the Romish Church the real presence, through transubstantiation, is worked at each celebration anew through the priest's words of consecration. According to repeated statements of Lutheranism the words of consecration are to be recited only as part of the liturgy. They do not *create* the "real presence" which takes place through the original "words of Jesus Christ, which he spake at the first institution." "As to the consecration, we believe, teach, and confess that no work of man or declaration of the minister produces this presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but that this should be ascribed only and alone to the almighty power of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹²⁹

2. From the act of transubstantiation we turn now to a discussion of Rome's teaching regarding *the fact of Christ's bodily presence* as a result of that priestly act of consecration. There is now physically present upon the altar the real Christ: No bread and no wine anymore; only the forms (species) of the elements remain, together with such things as taste, smell, etc. (*accidentia*). It is a bodily presence which is independent of the use of the sacrament.¹³⁰ Even after the communion "Christ continues to be present under the species of bread and wine as long as these species themselves continue to exist."¹³¹ Rome knows herself as the church of the physically present Christ. The Roman Catholic Christians look upon the Protestant churches as lacking what

128 Trid. Sess. Cf. Loofs, p. 328, 3.

129 Formula of Concord: Part I, art. 7, par. 8; cf. Part II, par. 121

130 Trid. sess. 13, can. 4 and 7

131 Wilmers, 333.

makes the church a house of God. The body of Christ, in the form of a consecrated wafer, remains upon the altar. This wafer is kept in an adorned receptacle, called tabernacle or monstrance. Before it stands a red burning lamp. It is this really present Christ that draws Rome's faithful into the churches, outside of the regular services. In order that also during the week they can come in and "visit with Jesus" the churches are left open until night. Nothing humanely possible must be left undone to stimulate among the faithful the worship and adoration of the Christ upon the altar. Certain orders are making it their chief aim to worship the Christ presented in the monstrance. The public "Elevation" of the consecrated wafer took its beginning in 1217.

Since 1279, there developed the *festum corpus Christi* which has come to be regarded as the highest of Roman Catholic festivals of the church year. At this festival, on a Thursday, sixty days after Trinity, the monstrance, according to a decree of Trent, is to be "borne reverently and with honor procession through the streets and public places." For what purpose? At Trent the answer was given: "Indeed did it behoove victorious truth to celebrate a triumph over falsehood and heresy, that thus her adversaries, at the sight of so much splendor, and in the midst of so great joy of the universal Church, may either pine away weakened and broken; or touched with shame and confounded, at length repent."¹³²

For comparison the following is here to be interpolated: On the fact of Transubstantiation Eastern Orthodoxy agrees in the main with Rome. What is the teaching of Lutheranism? The Formula of Concord quotes an acceptable concession made by the theologians of Upper Germany to the Saxon theologians at Wittenberg in 1536: "With bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, offered and received." (FC, Art. VII, par. 14 or Peoples Ed. p. 603, 14). Luther who had signed the Wittenberg Concord, would have been satisfied with this statement, if the other side had held to it. It did not and therefore he used the strong words in the Smalcald Articles. (Smalcald Art. Peoples Ed. p. 330 or Part III, 6.) The point of interest

was, as we saw, that the real presence is not created magically through the consecrating formula of a priest, but was made through Christ's original institution. It is also to be noted the words of Christ: "This do as often," etc. are not an instruction to the priest to effect transubstantiation or to convert the elements into the physical Christ; they are simply to express that the "real presence" at the Supper can be claimed only during the administration of the sacrament. The elements were never "changed" or "converted" or "transubstantiated" into the physical Christ, but they remain at all time what they are, namely bread and wine. It is in the light of this teaching in the Formula of Concord that article ten of the Augsburg Confession on the Lord's Supper must be read.¹³³

3. *The Sacrifice of the Mass is logically and de facto to be distinguished from the sacrament of the altar as eucharist.* The final delivery on the mass at the Council of Trent, took place in session 22, Sept. 17, 1562, while the statements on the Eucharist, including transubstantiation, had been made more than ten years earlier, namely, Oct. 11, 1551. (The Council opened 1545 and finished 1563.)¹³⁴

The development of the eucharist into an offering had its history. Originally it had the significance of an offering of praise (*sacrificium laudis*) from the lips of the congregation in the bringing of bread and wine. But soon the real act of it was not seen in the offering of the congregation but in the dedication of those gifts for the use in the eucharist by the prayer of the bishop, so that Cyprian could say: "The bishop now imitates that which Christ did, and he offers the true and full sacrifice in the Church of God the Father."¹³⁵ Later the doctrine of transubstantiation followed.¹³⁶ The Roman Catholic

¹³³ The Lutheran teaching on this subject can best be studied by reading chapter 7 of the **Formula of Concord**, both in the Epitome and the Solid Declaration. Cf. our Introduction to the Symbolical Books 2, pp. 210-225; also our History of Christian Thought, Book I, chap. 6.

¹³⁴ Regarding the distinction between the two deliveries, see the works on Symbolics by Philippi, p. 178, Oehler, p. 632 and Noesgen, p. 394 f. Cf. Kattenbusch in his fine article on the mass, written from the standpoint of the History of Doctrine in Hauck's PRE, 12, 690, lines 35 ff.

¹³⁵ Epistles, 63:14.

¹³⁶ We have presented the details of this development in our History of Christian Thought, Bk. I, chap. 12, part 2.

dogma is that the body of Christ, which was offered on the cross of Calvary, is offered anew to God by the priest in an unbloody manner. Wilmers says: "When by the words of consecration He made His body to be present under the species of bread and His blood under the species of wine, He placed Himself equivalently in the state of death, by the mystic separation of His blood from His body." (p. 343 f.) Again: "On the cross the blood of Christ was really shed, and his soul was really separated from His body, He really died; while in the Mass there is no real shedding of Blood, no real death but only a mystic shedding of blood, a mystic death." (p. 345 f.) "The mystic shedding of Christ's blood, or symbolic death, consists in the distinction and separation of the species" (bread and wine). "Christ no longer actually dies; but he undergoes an external change, which is in some way equivalent to death." (p. 346) Still it is "a real sacrifice" (*vere propitiatorium*)¹³⁷ an offering of sacrifice, an unbloody repetition of the original sacrifice.¹³⁸ Rome also has the thought that it is not only Christ whom the priest offers in the mass, but the whole congregation of believers of whom Christ is the head is offered to God. This was an Augustinian idea.¹³⁹ In all these and other endeavors of explanation there is much confusion of thought.¹⁴⁰

The *passages of Scripture* which are quoted, do not prove the Roman teaching of the mass as a sacrifice. The words of Christ, "This do" which Rome takes as a command to the disciples to perform the transubstantiation and to offer Christ as a sacrifice as He himself was doing, are simply His exhortation to use the Holy Supper as a sacrament of communion. Ps. 110:4: "Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (used by Wilmers, p. 344) does not mean, since there are in Scripture no real *sedes doctrinae* for a divine command a repetition of the *sacrifice* on Calvary. The much

¹³⁷ Trid. sess. 22, can. 2; cf. Heiler, p. 398.

¹³⁸ The **Roman Catechism**, 2.4.69 ff., offers expressions considerably stronger than those at Trent in the direction of the conception of a real repetition of Christ's original sacrifice.

¹³⁹ See our **History of Christian Thought**, Book I, ch. 12, 2, 7, b.

¹⁴⁰ See quotations by Loofs, p. 329 f. Walther, p. 98 f. Mulert, p. 274 f. Klotsche, p. 106 ff.

quoted passage in Malachi 1:11: "And in every place an incense of food shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering" has no reference to a "sacrifice of Christ," but to an oblation of the people to God for proving the sincerity of their hearts. Luther declared in the Smalcald Articles, second part, sec. 2: "It is only an invention of men, and has not been commanded by God; and every invention of man we may discard, as Christ declares (Matthew 15:9): "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

As to "*tradition*" on this subject it must be remembered that the history of the varying concept of the eucharist in the Ancient Church does not present doctrinally logical developments in which the fathers, one taking up the work of the other (as in Trinity and Christology), succeeded in creating a recognized dogma.¹⁴¹

What is the practical purpose of the Mass? What are the benefits? We are told: "The sacrifice of the mass is offered to God in praise, petition, thanksgiving, atonement."¹⁴² (1) The mass with the significance of "atonement" is closely related to the satisfaction "for the remission of venial sins, and the temporal punishment due them" (Ibid. p. 348). It is declared to be of aid in the case of mortal sins by strengthening faith in the priest by absolution which took place in the sacrament of repentance. (2) The mass, as a sacrifice for atonement, can also be offered for the souls suffering in purgatory. This has become one of its chief uses. With this reference to the atonement, it is declared to have the significance of the application of the original sacrifice of Christ on Calvary to the individual. God is to be reconciled and to be placated anew. (3) At Trent there was also an expectation of "natural blessings." This became the object of the above mentioned "petitions." Many believers in Roman Catholicism have always been willing to pay for offerings that would bring temporal advantages in certain conditions of life (sickness, travel and the like).

141 See PRE, Vol. I, 47, lines 12 ff.; also 44, lines 38 ff. Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. I, chap. 12, 2, B.

142 Wilmers, p. 347.

(4) The masses can also be read in honor of saints for soliciting their prayers.¹⁴³

The objection of the Reformation was, first of all, that the one sacrifice on the cross was complete and sufficient and that the Lord's Supper was not instituted for being a new sacrifice.¹⁴⁴ Melancthon's Apology, chap. 3, art. 6, (89) which says that the Romanists are making an *ex opere operato* work of it.¹⁴⁵ On this teaching the protest of the Reformation in all quarters was so very outspoken. It was looked upon as being in a special sense an adulteration of the Gospel.

Since 1881, there have been the *Eucharistic Congresses*. Their aim is demonstrative and for propaganda. The first congress of this kind took place in 1881, in Lille, France. Others were held in Metz (1907), London (1908), Cologne (1909), Montreal (1910), Lourdes (1914). None were held during the World War. Then they were resumed with like display in Rome (1922), Amsterdam (1924), Chicago (1926), Sidney (1928), Buenos Aires (1934), Manilla (1936), Budapest (1937), New Orleans (1938).

We close our discussion of the mass with a few observations concerning the liturgy accompanying the celebration.¹⁴⁶ Gregory the Great, in his *Canon of the Mass*, conserved many valuable liturgical gems of the Ancient Church, also regarding the sacrament of the altar. But it is often spoken of as a continually repeated Sacrifice (*quoditimum immolationis sacrificium*) of Christ for our redemption. The Gregorian liturgy, officially sanctioned at Trent (Sess. 22, Can. 4) is marked by the aim of making the sacrificial offering very impressive. Our reference is to the public masses, (*missa solemniissima*). There are also the private or particular masses which the priest may perform with no congregation present and at

143 On all this read the decrees of Trent, sess. 22; and the **Roman Catechism**, 2, 4, 73.

144 Augsburg Confession, art. 24, referring to Hebrews 10:10, 14.

145 For the many places of reference in the Lutheran Confessions we refer to the following pages in the Peoples Edition: 50, 119, 138, 180, 264, 268, 272, 277 f., 291, 315, 346.

146 See the **Catholic Encyclopedia**, Vol. 10, **PRE** 3, vol. 12, 697 ff. **RGG** 2, vol. 3, 2135 ff. Heiler, 398 ff. Philippl, 180-184, 398 ff. Oehler, 634 ff. Noesgen, 396 f. Mulert 281.

which song and music are omitted. These private masses, however, must be witnessed by at least one individual, which is usually a boy, serving as an aid. The Reformation rejected the private masses.¹⁴⁷ The public masses are those which, as a rule, are celebrated as centers of the great festivals of the church year. The impressive and dramatic features which surround the mass may here be enumerated:

There are (1) the vestments of the priest; the white gown (*alba*) as a symbol of priestly purity; the maniple tied around the gown with the ends hanging down at the left arm, symbolizing the hard work of caring for souls; the stole, a narrow strip, in the colors of the church year, hanging down over both shoulders, reminding of the priestly power; the chasuble over the gown, a symbol of Christ's yoke and of the love which makes that yoke pleasant.¹⁴⁸ There is (2) the acting of the pertinent parts of the Bible Story—not quite as dramatically rendered as in the Eastern Orthodox Churches, still very impressive in the characteristically Roman brevity of statement.¹⁴⁹ There is (3) the use of the Latin for the specific liturgy of the mass to indicate the depth and sublimity of the action. Rome defends this practice by remarks such as these: "It is befitting that an unchangeable religion should have a permanent form of worship to represent the unity and imperishableness of its faith." "The mass is essentially a sacrifice, not a sermon . . ." "The prayers and ceremonies of the mass should be explained to the people both by oral instruction and by books suitably composed in the vernacular."¹⁵⁰

It ought not to be overlooked that it was this liturgy which Luther purified for use in the church which bears his name. For convenient information as to how the Roman form reads, we refer to the little booklet by A. Spaeth on the Order of Service (German and English). For a more extensive study see the works of two Catholics: W. Thalhofer and L. Eisenhoper; **Handbuch der Katho-**

147 See Augsburg Confession, art. 24; Smalcald Articles, Part II, art. 2.

148 Oehler, p. 643 f.

149 Cf. Mulert, p. 281, Heiler, 428.

150 Wilmers p. 346 f. Cf. Heiler, p. 377 For a critical reply see Philippi, p. 181 ff. The use of the Latin was also decreed at Trent, sess. 22, can. 9. As to the position of the Reformation on this subject see the **Augsburg Confession** art. 24 and its **Apology**, art. 24. It must be administered in a language understood by the people.

lischen Liturgik, 2 vols., 1912 (Freiburg). The Roman form had three leading parts: The offertory, the consecration, (transubstantiation) and the communion. (1) Luther, led by his strong protest against the Roman mass, removed the offertorium, in which he was followed by the old Lutheran liturgies. The presence of an "offertory" in the "Common Service Book" of the United Lutheran Church in America represents a restoration of this part by later Lutheranism which put into these words the original meaning of the eucharist as an offering of the heart to God after the preaching of the Word has been heard. This evangelical offertory is preceded by the Confession of sin and by the absolution, by the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Collect with Salutation, Epistle, Hallelujah, Gospel, Creed and Sermon. (2) Luther removed the priestly act of transubstantiation and while preserving the words of "Consecration" as a confession of the "real presence,"¹⁵¹ he removed every vestige of the sacrament as a repeated sacrifice. As was stated above, the words of consecration in the Lutheran service are not for the purpose of creating the "real presence," but simply for expressing liturgically the Biblical facts in the original institution by Christ.¹⁵²

The Anglican Church in England and the Episcopal Church in America have had a special history along this line. They developed in opposition to Puritanism.¹⁵³

4. Finally we shall briefly take up the sacrament of the altar as a *Communion*. To the conservative Reformation the Communion was the culmination of Christian worship. The Lutheran liturgies all close with the communion. To Rome the transubstantiation of the elements and the sacrifice of the body of Christ in the mass constitute the real significance of this sacrament. In connection with the transubstantiation the body of Christ is to be received as a communion. We answer the following questions: (1) When is the communion to be received? Innocent III, at the Lateran Council, 1215, ordered that at least once a year, about Easter, the faithful were to show themselves as such by going to the Communion. Gradually, however, it came to be believed that the benefit of this sacrament could be received by beholding others, especially the priest, taking the Communion. This led many to not actually take the Communion, so that the order of 1215 had to be repeated.¹⁵⁴ The age of children to participate is about the seventh year. (2) Who is worthy of receiving the sacrament? The answer is: Those who have fasted since

151 Cf. Heiler, p. 404 f.

152 Cf. FC, Sol Decla. VII, 78.

153 Cf. our Chapter VI.

154 Cf. Mirbt 4, 314

midnight and who are not burdened with mortal sins. In this latter case the sacrament of repentance must precede the communion. (3) What is the benefit from the eucharist as a Communion? Not, then, the forgiveness of mortal sins, although the guilt for daily sins is removed. But the special benefit at the communion consists in this that the soul is more and more liberated from the weakness which causes the daily sins, and is so strengthened that the temptation to mortal sins also is lessened and more and more broken. Wilmers says: "The chief effects of the Holy Eucharist are: Increase of sanctifying grace, special actual graces, remission of venial sins, preservation from grievous sins, and the confident hope of eternal salvation."¹⁵⁵

The Reformation registered its protest against the *refusal of the cup to laymen*. This practice of letting the celebrating priest alone take the cup and giving to the laymen the bread only became general since the thirteenth century. Its history is not quite clear. Was it the aim to elevate the priesthood over the laity? This seems to be contradicted by the fact that when a priest is not celebrating the sacrament but is among those receiving it, he also takes with the laymen the bread only.¹⁵⁶ Rome says the blood of Christ is always inseparable from His body, but with the separate communication of the wine there is danger of spilling Christ's precious blood. (Cf. *Cat. Rom.* 2, 4, 36; 65 f). As to the fact that communion "under both kinds" (*sub utraque specie*) was the general practice in the early Church and the undeniable fact that the popes Leo I and Gelasius I declared it to be sacrilegious to omit the wine and the fact that even Gregory I in his canon of the mass ordered the communion under both kinds, Rome simply declares that the Holy Catholic Church is surely sovereign in all matters of church practice.¹⁵⁷ Even today an explanation such as the following is given: "The solicitude for the purity of the faith made it imperative to administer communion under one kind, *when heretics asserted the*

¹⁵⁵ *Handbook* as cited, see the table of contents, p. 19; cf. p. 357 f. Cf. Walther, p. 101 f., p. 332 ff. Mulert, 276 f.

¹⁵⁶ *Trid.*, sess. 21, 1.

¹⁵⁷ Sess. 21, 2.

necessity of communion under both kinds."¹⁵⁸ So, then, it is a matter of public profession!¹⁵⁹

EXTREME UNCTION: This "sacrament," together with repentance and the eucharist, are called "the sacraments for the dying."

The sacramental character of this rite is based upon James 5:14 f. This suggestion by James of a helpful rite which again and again has claimed the attention of the Protestant groups, is of course not an institution by Christ. It is now generally admitted that Mark 6:73, which relates how the apostles on their mission "drove out devils and anointed many with oil," does not furnish a Scriptural ground for the institution of this "sacrament" by Christ.

The Council of Trent dealt with it in sess. 14, can. 1-3. (*Cat. Rom.*, 2.6) "Matter" and "Form": The *matter* is the anointing of the sick person (generally of the organs of the five senses) with oil. . . The *form* consists of the following words, which, according to the present usage, are as follows: "By this holy unction and by His most bountiful mercy, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned by sight, hearing," etc.

This sacrament must be administered only when death can be expected. It may be repeated, but not oftener than once in one sickness.

The effects of the extreme unction are described as follows: (1) It works the remission of venial sins. (Mortal sins must be remitted through the preceding sacrament of repentance to be followed by the eucharist, if possible). In danger of death, however, where there is the "right disposition"—there must at least be the "attrition"—the priest is instructed to give, without confession, a "conditioned absolution" which means that in case of recovery the confession must then be made. (2) Another benefit of extreme unction is the removal of effects which sin leaves in the soul after it has been remitted, such as weakness of the will, depraved inclination, etc. (3) A further effect is fortitude in sufferings and temptations by receiving divine comfort and strength. To these

¹⁵⁸ Wilmers, p. 340.

¹⁵⁹ For deliverance in the Lutheran Book of Concord, on this subject see the Augsburg Confession, art. 22; the Apology in chap. 10.

matters in which we have permitted ourselves to be guided by Wilmers Handbook, p. 364, we add this: One can understand that the psychological effect from a religious rite, administered in the most serious and solemn moments of a person's life with exclusive regard to the needs of the soul, can have a healing effect upon a sick body and can even bring restoration to health. The Council at Trent gave expression to this thought in the following words: It "raises up and strengthens the soul of the sick person, by exciting in him a great confidence in the divine mercy; whereby the sick being supported, bears more easily the inconveniences and pains of his sickness, and more readily resists the temptations of the devil who lies in wait for his heel; and at times obtains bodily health when expedient for the welfare of the soul."¹⁶⁰

Protestantism refuses to accept extreme unction as a sacrament. If it were a divinely appointed sacrament then its use would be obligatory.

ORDINATION: 1. *The Power of Priesthood.* The priest has the power (1) to sanctify internally the faithful, especially through the administration of penance and through the sacrifice of the mass in connection with the communion (*potestas ordinis*). (2) As bishop he has the power of externally directing the faithful to their last end through teaching and legislation. Wilmers remarks that "it was the intention of Christ that both these should be united in one and the same priesthood, and ordinarily be exercised by the same persons."¹⁶¹

2. *The commission.* The hands of the candidates are anointed with oil, and then the "form" of the sacrament is given as follows: "Receive the power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate masses, for both the living and the dead, in the name of the Father," etc. Chalice and paten are delivered to him. But in the communion which follows the priest receives only the bread, not the wine.

3. *As Scriptural foundation* for this sacrament, 2 Tim. 1:6 and 7 is quoted: "I admonish thee that thou stir up the grace of God that is in thee by *the imposition*

¹⁶⁰ Sess. 14, can. 2.

¹⁶¹ Handbook, p. 366.

of *my hands*. (v. 6) For God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love and of sobriety." (v. 7) The qualities in v. 7 are taken as "the special grace to lead a priestly life," and this is received through the "imposition of hands" in the sacrament of ordination.

4. To this teaching of a commission and endowment with priestly qualification there attached itself for Rome (but including the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Anglicans), the demand of an *apostolic succession*, in order to secure the validity of the ministerial acts.

5. The real sacramental character of the ordination pertains to the three *higher orders*: deacon (preceded by sub-deacon), priest and bishop. Rome insists that the hierarchial gradation of the orders is of divine right (*jure divino*) and seeks grounds for it in Scripture and tradition. The Council of Trent declared: "If anyone assert that there is by divine institution in the Catholic Church no hierarchy consisting of bishops, priests and ministers, let him be anathema."¹⁶²

The superiority of the bishop over the priest is much emphasized. At Trent the expression on that subject was very explicit.¹⁶³

6. As a necessary conclusion from the whole system it follows that the Roman Catholic cleric, by virtue of a duly received ordination, has become of a *different character* and occupies a different state in this life from the laymen (the *plebs*). In fact it is taught that the ordination has given him an indelible character, which cannot be lost even if he should become an apostate from the faith or even a criminal. "Once a priest, always a priest." The Council of Trent declared: "If any one assert that he who was once a priest can again become a layman, let him be anathema."¹⁶⁴

From this argument again there follows the doctrine: "An apostate, suspended, or deposed priest, if he uses the matter and form prescribed, and has the intention of the Church can validly consecrate. An apostate or excommunicated bishop, in like manner, can validly administer the sacrament of confirmation or of orders."

162 Sess. 23, can. 6.

163 Sess. 23, can. 7.

164 Sess. 23, can. 4.

(Wilmers). The church is protected, however, because such priests or bishops are excluded from the functions belonging to the matters of jurisdiction (penance and rulership).

7. The priest who has been "called" into such a holy state of life, whose work has to do with holy things (*circa sacra*) and who bears such responsibilities, Rome says, must step in under *the law of celibacy*: The reasons usually advanced for continuing to hold to this law may be indicated as follows: (1) *The need of absolute purity for a priest*. Is it not a very peculiar observation that on the one hand Rome makes marriage a sacrament and on the other hand forbids it to its clergy as dangerous for holiness of life? The Reformation made the interest of purity the special cause for demanding the freedom of marriage for the clergy!¹⁶⁵ (2) *His need of freedom from earthly ties*: The position is taken that the care of a family detracts from the duties to the Church.

This indicates the radical separation from the world, which Rome seeks for her clergy. This separation, again, is a contributory factor in securing for the priest a distinction before the public by which he is constantly aiding his church. As an illustration of this contention we quote just a few among a number of statements by W. Walther: It would be mortal sin (sacrilege) to do a real injury to a priest. For trial a priest must appear only before an ecclesiastical court, if this can at all be arranged. At funerals no cleric must be pallbearer for a layman. The places of burial for clerics must be separate from those for laymen, if possible.¹⁶⁶

MATRIMONY: 1. Rome insists with Protestantism, upon the monogamous relation against polygamy, and preaches *the dignity and sacredness* of marriage. Reasons are given why the clerics must be barred from it. (On celibacy see above).

2. *The marriage relation is even made a sacrament* (Cf. Trent, sess. 24, can. 1). This means that the marri-

¹⁶⁵ See art. 23 of the Augsburg Confession, and its discussion in the Apology.

¹⁶⁶ The references are to the *Codex juris canonici*. (See Walther, p. 115).

age relation itself is constituted a sacrament: *proprie et vere sacramentum* (Trid., sess. 241; Cat. Rom. 2:8). The contracting party is at the same time the officiating party; the priest when solemnizing a marriage only acts as the chief witness. The principal proof for making marriage a sacrament is taken from Eph. 5:31-32, where the Vulgate has translated the term *mysterion* with *sacramentum*. The passage reads: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great *mystery*; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." The meaning here is, of course, that the relation between husband and wife, *as an illustration of the relation between Christ and His Church*, is a mystery. The translation of the term mystery with *sacramentum* by Jerome cannot be a proof that marriage is actually a sacrament; in 2 Thess. 2:7 Paul speaks of "a *mystery* of iniquity," pointing to the mystery regarding the antichrist.

3. The sacramental character which Rome gives to marriage is *the source of a very significant legislation* regarding an institution which is of greatest importance for society:

a. Marriage is declared to be *indissoluble*. The position of Protestantism (excepting Anglicanism) that in case of adultery divorce is permissible, because by such act the marriage bond is broken already, is rejected by the Roman Church. While a separation may be granted neither party is allowed to marry again during the lifetime of the other.¹⁶⁷

b. This indissolubility of marriage, however, is *qualified* in a number of respects. Wilmers, in his approved Handbook for higher schools writes as follows: "What has been said in regard to the indissolubility of the marriage bond refers to marriages contracted and consummated among Christians: (1) Marriage between non-Christians may be dissolved in favor of one who is converted to Christianity and cannot live peaceably with the non-Christian party. I Cor. 7:15 is quoted. (2) Among Christians also a non-consummated marriage may be dissolved by the solemn profession of one of the

167 Cf. Trid., sess. 24, can. 7.

parties in a religious order approved by the church,¹⁶⁸ or by the intervention of the pope for grave reasons. (3) A separation from *bed and board*, however, without dissolution of the marriage tie, is sometimes permitted, but only for very grave reasons, either by mutual consent, or on account of ill treatment, or crime.¹⁶⁹

c. The doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage is further qualified by quite elaborate theories on the impediments to marriage. These are of two kinds: (1) Prohibitory: This refers to cases where a marriage takes place which normally should not be concluded, but after the rite and the consummation is not now to be annulled. (a) The case of *spiritual relationship* on the basis of a common responsibility taken at baptism.¹⁷⁰ (b) *Mixed marriages*: A Catholic must not marry a Protestant, because there is the danger of growing indifference regarding the faith, and in the case of unswerving loyalty there is little prospect of true happiness. It therefore requires a "dispensation" to enter into such a risky union. It will be granted on three conditions: that the Catholic party be allowed free exercise of his or her religion; that this party endeavors to convert the non-Catholic house; that all children be brought up in the Catholic religion.¹⁷¹ (2) There are the cases where *in itself a marriage is invalid* and where this simply needs to be stated: Where there was a vow of chastity, or a vow of entering a religious order or of receiving holy orders; where compulsion or violence was used;¹⁷² in cases of insanity at the time of contracting the marriage;¹⁷³ in case of physical impotency; in case of clandestinity;¹⁷⁴ where there is error regarding a person's identity.¹⁷⁵ In all such cases marriage is simply treated as non-existing, so that an order of "divorce" is out of question.

168 Trid. Sess. 24, can. 6.

169 Handbook, p. 374.

170 Trid., sess. 24, can. 2.

171 Wilmers, p. 377 f.

172 Trid., sess. 24, 6. 9. Cf. Wilmers, p. 377.

173 Wilmers, ib.

174 Trid., sess. 24, can. 1.

175 Wilmers, p. 376.

V. The Sacramentals.

In addition to the seven sacraments, there are various kinds of sacramentals recommended for the use of the pious in the church of Rome. The Baltimore Catechism defines a sacramental as a thing "set apart or blessed by the church to excite good thoughts and to increase devotions, and through these movements of the heart to confer grace and to remit venial sin." Distinguished from the sacraments, the sacramentals are not instituted by Christ, but by the church, and they do not confer grace *ex opere operato* but *ex opere operantis*, i. e., through the intercessory prayers of the church and the pious disposition of the receiver.

According to the *Codex Juris Canonici* (Tit. VIII, can. 1144-1153) the church distinguishes three different kinds of sacramentals, (1) consecrations, (2) benedictions, (3) exorcisms.

Consecrations are solemn rites by which (ordinarily) the bishop consecrates persons or things for the service of God or to the use of the faithful such as the consecration of the clerics of the minor order, monks, nuns, churches, altars, bells, crosses, rosaries, oil, water, incense, palms, ashes, candles, images of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, etc. The consecration of the *Agnus Dei*, a small flat piece of wax impressed with the figure of a lamb, is reserved for the pope.

Benedictions are intercessory prayers of the priest to ask the divine blessing upon persons, animals and inanimate objects that are useful to man. The Roman Ritual contains such benedictions for almost anything (*benedictiones reales*) and any occasion of human life (*benedictiones personales*). There are prayers provided for the blessing of cows, oxen, horses, sheep, fowl, and bees; against the plague of mice, grasshoppers and other harmful insects and vermins; for stables of horses and cattle, for a newly constructed house and boat; and that the church may demonstrate that she appreciates modern inventions, she has added formulas for the blessing of steam engines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, wireless telegraphy, automobiles, and aeroplanes. Blessings of the second kind are applied at a wedding, after childbirth, at a funeral, or at any other important occasion of human life.

The *exorcisms* are the third group of sacramentals. They are employed as the term implies, to keep away or to purify persons or things from the influence of the demons. For instance, the salt used for baptism is exorcised in order to remove it from the sphere of the activity of demons before it is blessed. Likewise at the funeral, the grave is exorcised with holy water and incense to protect the corpse against the influence of any evil spirits. Exorcism of demoniacs is to be practiced only with the permission of the bishop by a priest who enjoys the reputation of extraordinary piety and holiness.

The chief sacramentals recommended for the daily use of the faithful are the signs of the cross, holy water, and the rosary.

With respect to *the sign of the cross*, Catholics are taught to make this sign in order to show that they are Christians; and to profess their faith in the chief mysteries of their religion, the unity and trinity of God, and the incarnation and death of Christ. It is used by clerics and laymen at all services and in private meditations. It is even a short and devout prayer in itself "by which we place ourselves under the protection of God and confidently supplicate Him, through the merits of Jesus Christ, for freedom from all harm whether of the body or of the soul, and for grace to conform ourselves in all things to His holy will."¹⁷⁶

Holy water, mingled with salt, according to the Catechism, is "water blessed by the priest with solemn prayer, to beg God's blessing upon those who use it, and protection from the power of darkness." No Catholic Church is without it, and no Catholic home is to be without it. It is used in nearly everything which the church wants to sanctify. An indulgence of one hundred days is granted to all those who faithfully use it.

The term *rosary* signifies both the string of beads as well as the devotion under the direction of these beads. The complete or Dominican rosary consists of fifteen large beads and one hundred fifty smaller ones which are arranged in decades. Each large bead stands for one Lord's prayer, while each smaller bead requires the

176 J. Stockman, *A High School Catechism or The Baltimore Catechism Explained*, p. 513

recital of one "Hail Mary" (the salutations to Mary by Gabriel and Elisabeth, and a petition added by the church, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of death"). Some other prayers such as the Creed, the *Gloria Patri*, etc., may be added to the meditation; but they are not a part of the rosary proper. The fifteen decades are divided into three classes each one representing one of the chief mysteries of our redemption: the joyful mysteries comprising the events from the Annunciation to the Finding in the Temple; the sorrowful mysteries recalling the sufferings and death of Jesus; and the glorious mysteries extending from Christ's resurrection to the coronation of Mary in heaven. Of these mysteries, the joyful are assigned to the meditation on Monday and Thursday, the sorrowful to Tuesday and Friday, the glorious to Wednesday and Saturday, while the Sunday devotion is dependent upon the season of the year. The Advent and Christmas season is dedicated to a meditation on the joyful mysteries; Lent naturally is the season of the sorrowful; and for the rest of the year the glorious mysteries are to be meditated upon. Various indulgences are connected with the rosary. In America all the priests have the faculty of bestowing the Apostolic indulgence of one hundred days upon every faithful, provided that he recites the rosary at least once a week.

Of almost equal importance are the *scapulars*. The term is derived from the Latin word *scapula* which means a shoulder blade. With some of the religious orders it is customary to wear over the monastic habit a long piece of cloth hanging down in front and at the back, symbolizing the yoke of Christ. The members of the lay organizations, known as the "Third Orders," such as those of the Franciscans and of the Dominicans, wear today as their badge the large scapular, a piece of woolen material about five and one-half inches wide. It is now worn under the dress, inside or outside of the undergarment. More frequent is the use of the smaller scapular of which there are eighteen different kinds. The investing may take place at the time of the First Communion, of the Confirmation, or at any later occasion. It also has become customary with pious Catholics to attach five different scapulars to one pair of strings. Since,

however, the wearing of such a combination may be inconvenient or even unsanitary, Pius X in 1910, permitted the substitution of one or of all scapulars by a medal. Special indulgences have been bestowed by the popes upon the scapulars. Some of them even make those who wear them partakers of the merits of the respective order.

What is the *religious sentiment behind this conception of the sacramentals*? In the eyes of Catholic theologians, when Satan caused the fall of man, he also obtained dominion over the inanimate objects. Matter, therefore, is the working material of the devil, unless it has been sanctified by God or has been consecrated to His service. A bone, for instance, may be holy, because of the holiness of the saint. Salt, on the other hand, needs be exorcised in order to make it fit for the service of God. All this is strange to Evangelical piety. According to the psalmist, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" (24:1). Matter is not in any way unholy. In fact, it is neither good nor evil. It is only through actual use that matter may acquire an ethical quality. The devil does not rule the world because he made the material world subject to him through the fall of man. He exercised his dominion through the evil desire of the human heart. Any act of consecration in a Protestant ritual has no other meaning than a solemn rite of dedication.

VI. Eschatology.

In her teaching on the Last Things the Roman Church is in agreement with conservative Protestantism as regards the consummation of the world. A difference, however, is to be noted with respect to the fate of the individual during the present order of things. Roman theologians speak of five different divisions in the other world: heaven, hell, purgatory, *limbus patrum* and *limbus infantum*.

1. *Heaven* is the abode of God and the blessed who are without sin both mortal and venial, having fully paid the temporal punishment of them. The fundamental attribute of the supernatural beatitude consists in the intuitive vision of the Godhead which renders the blessed infinitely happy. Negatively this state included com-

plete freedom from evil both physical (ignorance, sorrow, pain, sickness, death) and moral (sin, concupiscence).

2. *Hell* signifies the abode of the evil spirits and the receptacle of all who die in the state of mortal sin. Although the church has defined nothing with respect to the nature of the punishment, Roman theologians usually describe it as a loss of the beatic vision (*poena damni*), and certain positive torments (*poena sensus*). As to the nature of the infernal fire, whether it is material or super-material, it suffices to know, according to Catholic scholars, that it is real. The pains of hell are regarded as eternal and differing in degree due to the guilt of the individual. The Schoolmen believed hell to be located somewhere under the earth near its center; but the church has never defined its locality dogmatically. Catholic writers, therefore, are at liberty to reject the literal interpretation of the geocentric terminology of the past.

3. *Purgatory* is a state and, in the eyes of some Catholic writers, also the place of temporary punishment for the faithful departing this life not entirely free from venial sin or not having fully paid the temporal punishment of their sins nor the satisfaction imposed upon them in the sacraments of penance.¹⁷⁷ Such souls are said to be neither fit for heaven which, according to the Scriptures (Rev. 21:27) nothing defiled shall enter, nor can God in His justice consign them to hell, for they are His children. Like the pains of hell, the suffering of purgatory is twofold: pain of loss and pain of sense. Whether the latter is caused by a material fire, similar to the infernal fire, is left undecided, although the belief in a material fire is not only considered extremely probable but is very common in the Catholic Church. "If there is no real fire, there will be something much more terrible, which God has prepared in order to demonstrate His power."¹⁷⁸ Since the poor souls in purgatory have entered the "night in which no man can labor," their suffering (*satispassio*) is neither meritorious (increasing sanctifying grace), nor satisfactory (expiating punishment); i. e., purgatory is really not a state of cleansing, it is a process of suffering punishment. The duration of

177 Conc. Trid. sess. 6 can. 30; sess. 12 can. 2; sess. 25; Cat. Rom. 1.6.3.

178 Ballarmine, *De Purgatorio*, II, 14.

purgatorial pains is entirely conjectural. God may release a soul immediately after death, but no one can be sure that the punishment may not last for centuries in the case of souls who died with an exceptionally heavy load of venial sins or unfinished works of satisfaction. Through the masses, prayers and good works the church militant may aid the poor souls in purgatory. In addition they are benefitted by the intercession of the angels, the saints, and the Blessed Virgin.

With respect to those who will be alive and remain unto the Second Coming the Catholic doctors teach that "it is piously believed that God will grant them a general indulgence, or that the tribulations and sufferings they will have to undergo in the flesh will make up for their deficiencies." Likewise during the present order, in rare cases a man's contrition may be so perfect that he is fit to enter heaven at once. This teaching is underlying the Catholic interpretation of Christ's promise to the malefactor upon the cross (Luke 23:42 f).¹⁷⁹

The Scriptural *locus classicus* for the dogma of purgatory is found in the apocryphical book of II Maccabees 12:43 ff. According to this passage, Judas Maccabeus took up a collection of two thousand drachmas of silver for a sacrifice to be offered for the sin of the slain who had robbed the idols at Jamnia. Although this passage seems to imply the belief of Judas in the effectiveness of intercessory sacrifices or prayer for the dead, it makes no reference to a purgatory as a state or place for the departed souls. The favorite passage in the New Testament, quoted to justify this doctrine, is I Corinthians 3:11-15, where Paul says that a man's work may be burned, but he himself shall be saved, yet so "as by fire." Yet even a Catholic theologian is at liberty to state with the approval of the church's censorship that by the word "fire" the Apostle has reference to the fire of the final judgment. "In vain we would look for a detailed teaching of the purgatory in Paul's writings. Only its essential idea, that a man's work may perish, but that he himself may be saved as through fire, is clearly expressed by the Apostle."¹⁸⁰

179 Joseph Pohle—Arthur Preuss, *Eschatology or the Catholic Doctrine of the Last Things* 4, p. 91. 1924.

180 F. Guntermann, *Die Eschatologie des heiligen Paulus*, pp. 220, 302. 1932.

4. *Limbus patrum* (*limbus*—rim), antechamber of hell, also called *sinus Abrahamae* or *paradisus inferior* (Cat. Rom. 1, 6, 3) is the receptacle in which the pious souls of Israel and the Gentiles suffered the pain of loss, but not the pain of sense before the time of Christ. Being sustained by the blessed hope of redemption, they enjoyed a restful habitation in the *limbus*. Christ, through His descent into hell, released them and opened unto them the gates of heaven. Since that time, the *limbus patrum* is completely empty. For Scriptural proof Catholic theologians quote such passages as Genesis 37:35, I Samuel 28:15, Luke 16:22, I Peter 3:19, etc.

5. The *limbus infantum*, receptacle for the unbaptized children, is no object of divine revelation. No proof from the Scriptures, therefore, can be advanced. Its existence is merely a conjectural matter of the Catholic teaching on the attributes of God and on hereditary and actual sin. God cannot admit the unbaptized child to the state of full salvation, so it is argued, because its hereditary sin was not washed away in the sacrament. Likewise, God cannot condemn the child, because it was not polluted with actual sin. God's justice, therefore, consigns it to a neutral state, suffering the pain of loss only. In the debate at Trent (sess. 5 and 6) the Dominicans argued for a more gloomy interpretation of the *limbus infantum*, saying that it is located in a subterranean place; while others offered the more comforting view that these children possess the full control of all natural powers of the soul which enables them even to engage in the study of natural sciences, and at times they enjoy the friendly visits of saints and angels.¹⁸¹

Closing Observations.

The endeavors to reduce Roman Catholicism to one underlying principle have failed. There is a marked syncretism about the historical development of that system.

It is true that in the development of Roman Catholicism the Biblical roots of Christianity are very much in evidence. We refer to the recognition of the Old Testament, to the significance of Jesus and His disciples and

¹⁸¹ For an ethical and esthetic treatment of the Catholic teaching on man's destiny after death the reader is referred to Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Paul as pioneers of the Christianity of the New Testament, to the examples of the early Church in Jerusalem, to John's Gospel and its meaning for mysticism. Helpful for the maintenance of Christian fundamentals was the spiritual valuation of the early church fathers of the old Catholic Age (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, the Alexandrinians, and Leo the Great). The idea of a Catholic Church and the Rules of Faith were developed. Mysticism, however, there received much attention, guided by Neo-Platonism and culminating in the peculiar ideas of Dionysius the Areopagite.¹⁸² Neither must it be overlooked what Roman Catholicism has received from Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Anselm, Saint Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, Francis of Assisi and from Dante. But as constantly shaping factors, consciously or unconsciously, there have always been three outstanding categories of interest: the Judaistic or legalistic emphasis, a certain pagan heritage, and the aim at imperialism or power. On this subject W. Walther in his *Lehrbuch der Symbolik* offers a masterful description (cf. pp. 156-173).

(1) *Judaistic* views crept in at an early time against the constant warnings of the apostle Paul. This trait is seen (a) in the legal view-point that governs all teachings on satisfaction and justification (which is so fundamental for the Roman system); (b) in the peculiar nomistic-mechanistic-atomistic orientation with regard to good works; (c) in the corresponding inability of Rome to see the evangelical relation of sin and grace. (2) *Paganism* is another influence that has contributed to the structure of the Roman Catholic religion as it is held to-day. It is seen (a) in the magical mediation of grace through the sacraments which exercise their influence through a mere outward act (*ex opere operato*).¹⁸³ (b) in the veneration of the saints and Mary as mediators between God and man. The current theological distinction which ascribes "worship" to God, but devout "ven-

182 See our Chapter I on Eastern Orthodoxy. Sec. VIII. On all these developments compare our *History of Christian Thought*, Book I. For new and general observations along these lines see F. Heiler, as referred to, here especially the pages 17-107. The devotion of Heiler to the method of the Historico-Religious School should be kept in mind.

183 See F. Heiler, *Katholizismus*, 1923, p. 243 ff.

eration" to the "Ever-Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God," the holy angels, saints and martyrs, offers no real safeguard against a practical polytheism in Catholic piety. For who is able to notice a real difference between the worship of God and a prayer of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "Remember, O most loving Virgin Mary, that never was it known that any one who fled to Thy protection, implored Thy help, and sought Thine intercession, was left forsaken. Inspired with this confidence, I fly unto Thee, O Virgin of Virgins, my Mother. To Thee I come, before Thee I stand, sinful and sorrowful. O Mother of the Word, despise not my words, but graciously hear and grant my prayer." To this comes now the report of preparation of a new widely demanded dogma on the *ascension of Mary*, which is to serve as a foundation for the claim of her mediatorship between God and men. Among the *pagan elements* observable in Roman Catholic theology we shall also mention (c) the asceticism based upon the false Neo-Platonic conception that sin has its root in matter and in the senses, and that in the denial of the natural there is spiritual perfection. And then (3) there are in Rome the old and continually further developed *imperialistic tendencies* which, as to their origin, go back to the idea of a universal Christian empire as advocated by Gregory VII and Innocent III and their successors, with the Pope in Rome as the one to whom the secular power is responsible.¹⁸⁴ Different from the Eastern Orthodox Churches which do not aim at expansion, the Roman Catholic Church is organized for expanding her power in many directions as shown by the manner in which she seeks the front pages of the press for the solution of the world's political problems.

Culturally and educationally there are also things in regard to which praise should not be withheld: Although her scholastic heritage has often been at odds with the thinking of the modern mind (cf. some of the declarations in the Syllabus Errorum of Pius IX, 1903-1914), Rome has in her past history rendered indisputable service in the cultivation of art and science. We refer to cities like Vienna, Munich, Cologne, the city

184 On the striving of Rome for power, see Heller, pp. 276-326.

of Rome, and to Italy with its art, also to France and Spain. A more recent illustration of a direct contribution of the Catholic clergy to the field of science is the work of Mendel with regard to his famous law of heredity. On the other hand it is said that the aristocratic exclusiveness of the Roman hierarchy has at many places neglected the education of the lower classes. The number of illiterates is decidedly smaller in Protestant countries than among the Catholic people. However it is not easy here to distribute responsibility. Thus the disadvantageous situation in South America is due, partially at least, to extra-church conditions in state and society, which are different from those of the European countries. In general it will have to be admitted that in purely Catholic countries the existing unity of society exhibits remarkable successes in the organization and execution of social work.

As to the daily exercise of piety, the atmosphere about Roman Catholicism makes an active participation of many in their devotional life easier than is the case among divided Protestantism. A pious Catholic needs not to be annoyed by an undesired attention of his Catholic brethren, while worshipping pious Protestants may easily come under the judgment of bigotry. This also is true that Protestant churches are exposed to the danger of losing their serious-minded members to dissenting conventicles, as the early followers of Wesley were lost to the Anglican Church. The Catholic Church, through her monastic orders, has a very effective means of keeping these members within her fold and employing their talents in the various fields of Christian service.

It is to be admitted that the Catholic emphasis upon the sanctity and indissolubility of matrimony puts the practice of many of the Protestant camps to shame, although, as we have seen in our discussion of marriage as a sacrament, Rome also knows of cases where a practical divorce has to be granted.

Chapter Three

Old Catholic Churches and Relatives

Literature: For orientation see the Church Histories (**Kurtz**, German 14, par. 193; cf. old English translation, par. 165, 8 and 190, 1-3. Cf. **W. Walker**). See also the encyclopedias, especially **A. Hauck** PRE I, 415-25. Alt Katholiken, I, 276-80. Cf. the New Schaff-Herzog and Hastings Encyclopedias, and the Britannica. Among the works on Christian Symbolics see especially Rel. Bodies, 1926, II, 1069-78. Cf. **Klotsche** and Popular Symbolics, Concordia Publ. House, St. Louis.

I. Their Origin

In 1870 Pope Pius IX, at the Vatican Council, promulgated the papal infallibility whenever he spoke *ex-cathedra* in matters of faith and morals. Of the 744 bishops who were present at the Vatican Council, there were 88 dissenters and 91 non-voters, most of whom were from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands. But the Italian, Spanish, Portugese and the transatlantic constituencies formed a solid front, and the dissenting parties as a majority were forced to yield. Those, however who persisted, organized as Old Catholics and elected Prof. Reinkens of Breslau University as bishop. He was consecrated as such by a bishop of the "Old Catholics in the Netherlands." These existed since 1723 with 26 congregations. See Kurtz, *Church History on the Jansenists*. The new movement comprised some 50,000 souls, but it never amounted to more than a sectarian movement.

II. Doctrinal Type and Practice

1. *Doctrinal Position*: The Old Catholics remained Roman Catholics in Doctrine, but they rejected some of the practices of the Roman Church. At their first synod in Bonn (1874), they removed auricular confession as an

obligation; and they also attempted to do away with the practices of penance, fastings and certain festivals. They also took steps to introduce the language of the people into their liturgical service. Finally in 1878, celibacy was removed as an obligation. In summing up, the three important matters which they rejected in the Roman Church were: Papal infallibility, the immaculate conception of Mary, and priestly absolution.

2. *The Criterion of Truth:* Their refusal to accept the decisions of the pope as the source and norm for all truth led their theologians to take the following position: The Scriptures are the prime source of all truth. There-with the genuine tradition from Christ and the Apostles, both oral and written, must be admitted, as the Roman Church had been teaching. But the question with them was, how shall we establish what the Scriptures really preach, and what is really true of the Church's tradition. Here, they said, they must rely upon theological research. This position is indeed consistent with their movement.

3. In *Polity or Practice* they represent some important differences from the Roman Church. For local administration they are dependent upon a Board of Direction which is composed of a Board of clerics and laymen, with the bishop as its president and a layman as its vice-president. Their *representative* body is the synod which is composed of the bishop, the vice-president, the board, the priests and the deputies of congregations. This synod holds the powers of legislation, judication, discipline and administration. Since 1878, the pastors and the assistant pastors are called by the congregations but must be called with episcopal approval. Trials for light offenses which might arise are tried before a bishop and the board, while the more serious trials are tried before a synodical court. Candidates for pastorates are ordained by a bishop after a series of examinations following the regular university training.

III. Organizations of Like Kind in America.

These have nothing in common in the way of recognized relationships. There are many small organizations of this type in America. The following judgment was given by a member of one of these groups: "The Old

Catholics of America are composed largely of dissatisfied Anglicans and lapsed Romans. The majority of their members were formerly members of either of these two bodies." Another member of one of these bodies answered an inquiry as follows: "As to the Old Catholic movement there are so many ecclesiastical dignitaries in New York, Chicago, New Orleans and elsewhere who claim to be Old Catholic, that one finds himself in doubt of all and hesitates to mention anyone as authoritative."

Among the more important of these churches which are patterned after the Old Catholic Church in Europe are the following:

1. *The Old Catholic Church in America* claims in full the historic lineage of the Old Catholic Churches of Europe and the apostolic succession as derived through the Matthew consecration. The Year Book of the Churches shows their membership in 1936 to be about 2,000.

2. *The American Catholic Church* was organized in 1915. It derives its succession and authority from the Syrian patriarch, but it is not orthodox in the sense of being in communion with the churches in the Orient. It claims to stand alone as it was the first in the United States, other than the papal, among the catholic movements. Its doctrines are with few exceptions those held by the Old Catholic Church in Europe, but it is not in communion with that body.

The Year Book of the Churches gives them a membership of 1950 in 1936.

3. *The African Orthodox Church* came into existence under the guidance of Dr. George Alexander McGuire, who was for many years a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He believed that the negro Episcopalians of America should govern themselves as do the negro Baptists and Methodists. In 1929, he withdrew and established congregations in the United States, Canada and Cuba which he called Independent Episcopal. Then in 1921, at a first synodical meeting which was held in New York City, his followers met for the purpose of organizing a branch of the Old Catholic Church to be governed by men of their own race. The name African Orthodox was selected, and its organizer Dr. McGuire was chosen as first bishop. He was consecrated by Arch-

bishop Vilatte whose episcopate had been derived from the West Syrian Jacobite Church of Antioch by a special mandate of the Patriarch Peter Ignatius III. Thus this church received its apostolic succession. While it is independent and autonomous it aspires to be recognized as an integral part of the Holy Catholic Church.

In the Americas there are now 3 bishops, 18 priests, 7 deacons and 2 deaconesses with slightly over 3,000 members.

4. *The Lithuanian National Catholic Church in America.* The first attempt at organization was in 1919 at Scranton, Pa., by people of Lithuanian descent and with the help of Bishop Hodur, the head of the National Polish Catholic Church of America. After the founding of several churches in Chicago, Ill., Rev. J. Gritenas was elected and consecrated as bishop and had four churches under his care in Pennsylvania and Illinois. These churches are in no way connected with the Old Roman Catholic Churches. They accept the first four general councils of the church and use the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Their liturgy is Lithuanian. Their authority is vested in the synod. They maintain a seminary for the training of men for the priesthood, which is located at Scranton, Pa.

In the Americas they have four churches with a membership of 1,497.

5. *The Polish National Catholic Church* was organized in 1904, as a result of the rapidly growing Polish population and its dissatisfaction with the absolute power of the Roman Catholic Priesthood over the parishioners, as this was given by the council of Baltimore in 1883. This was further aggravated by the placing of priests other than Polish in the Polish churches. The results were that disturbances arose and at times developed into riots. After disturbances such as these in Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Scranton and Shamokin, a convention was held, composed of members from these churches. There were present 147 clerical and lay delegates who represented about 20,000 adherents in five states. As a result of this convention the churches of Northeastern Pennsylvania, together with churches in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland, combined to form the Polish National Church with Rev. Francis

Hodur as its bishop. He was consecrated by the National Catholic Bishop of the Netherlands.

The Polish church recognizes three orders in the ministry: the Bishops, Priests and Deacons. They reject the infallibility of the pope in matters of morals and faith and believe that each man has the right to interpret the Word of God according to the dictates of his own heart and conscience. They believe faith helpful in salvation but not essential, works being the essential thing. They believe sin to be a lack of perfection in the estate of man but he will gradually be improved and sin will be removed, at which time we will have the kingdom of God upon earth.

This church maintains two seminaries, one in Scranton, Pa., and one in Cracow, Poland. They have in this country 126 churches and a membership of 103,500 according to statistics in the Year Book of the Churches, 1937. In 1926 they had a membership of 61,574 in 91 churches.

Chapter Four

The Lutheran Church

In offering a literature we shall distinguish between *general* and *special* literature. The latter will be given in the form of notes in connection with the special topics to be discussed. Leading works pertaining to Lutheranism and the Lutheran Church in general and especially the texts of Confessions must be enumerated here.

We should begin with Luther's writings and mention the **Erlangen Edition**, the **Weimar Edition**, **Walch** in the edition by the Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., the **Holman Edition** of Luther's writings (select) in English by the United Lutheran Publishing House, Philadelphia. As accompanying history, **J. MacKinnon's** work in 4 vols. on "Luther and the Reformation" should not be overlooked; nor the Vol. IV in the *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd. edition (1917, 1920) of the late **Reinhold Seeberg** of the Berlin University.

The best critical text of the Lutheran Confessions, as collected in the Book of Concord, is contained in "Die Bekenntnisschriften der Ev. Luth. Kirche," published 1930 by the **Deutsch Ev. Kirchenausschuss**. It offers the text in Latin and German, side by side, and takes the place of **J. T. Mueller's** work of many editions of *Die Symb. Buecher der Ev. Luth. Kirche* which in America was followed in the main by **H. E. Jacobs** in Vol. I of his *Symbolical Books of the Luth. Church* (1882). The **Triglotta** of the Missouri Synod in Latin, German and English, side by side, 1921, presents itself as being "based on the original German and Latin Texts, respectively, and on the existing English translation, chiefly those incorporated in H. E. Jacobs' 'Book of Concord'."¹

As special introductions to the Book of Concord in English we refer to **H. E. Jacobs**, in Vol. II of his above mentioned work; to **Bente** and **Dau** in the *Triglotta* just mentioned; to **Neve** Introduction to the *Symbolical Books of the Luth. Ch.* 2, 1926 with interpretation of AC (Geo. J. Fritschel on the Formula of Concord).

Note: **Charles Porterfield Krauth** left a valuable treatment of the AC, 1868. **M. Reu** published a special introduction to the AC, 1930; **Neve** an Introduction with Interpretation of the AC for Laymen, 1912; also the above mentioned *Story and Significance*, (1930); **F. Pieper**, an Introduction with Interpretation of the AC (a gem!),

¹ On all the English translations of the Augsburg Confession see **Neve**, *Story and Significance of the Augsburg Confession*, pp. 84-86. In our present chapter, the Luth. Confessions are quoted from the English **Peoples Edition of the Book of Concord** (H. E. Jacobs), 1911.

1880; **Theo. Graebner**, *The Story of the AC*, 1930 (popular); **C. Bergendoff** wrote on *Making and Meaning of the AC*, 1930. **M. Loy** (1908), and **H. Lindemann** (1918), left lectures on the AC. From Germany we have valuable monographs on the AC by **P. Bachmann**; **W. Vollrath** (a gem); **P. Tschackert** (on the texts). From preceding decades date classics such as the works of **G. Plitt**, 1868, and **O. Zoeckler**, 1870.

There will be frequent reference to A. Hauck's third edition (1830 ff.) of the **Protestantische Realencyklopaedie** (PRE); to **Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart**, 2nd ed. (1927 ff.), 6 volumes (RGG, a most up to date theological dictionary); to the above mentioned Vol. IV of **R. Seeberg's** *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, which represents a veritable treasure of information on our subject. There must also be reference to the writer's Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Luth. Ch., and also to his book on the Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union (to be quoted as Union Movements). On geographical and statistical situations consult *The Lutheran Churches of the World*, edited by **A. T. Joergensen**, **F. Fleisch**, **A. R. Wentz**, and published for the Execut. Com. of the Luth. World Convention.

Also *The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia*, 1934-1937, published by the **National Lutheran Council**, New York City, 1937, offers valuable information.

Among the many works on Christian Symbolics we mention the following as especially useful:

From Germany: **Plitt-Schultze**, *Grundriss der Symbolik* (Konfessionskunde), 6th ed. (1919). **W. Walther**, *Lehrbuch d. Symbolik*, 1924. **H. Mulert**, *Konfessionskunde*, 1926-'38 (including many of the non-confessional interests of general Protestantism). The Konfessionskunde type of Symbolics is here developed to the highest degree. Compare the books by **Oehler**, **Noesgen**, **Schmidt**, **Rohnert**. For the classification of all which has been mentioned here see our introductory chapter on the "Matter of Method" in this book.

In America: **E. H. Klotzsche**, *Christian Symbolics*, 1929, Luth. Literary Board, Burlington, Ia. *Popular Symbolics*, by Professors **Engelder**, **Graebner**, **Arndt** and **Mayer**, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., 1934.

Books full of information and stimulation on our subject are: **J. W. Richard**, *The Confessional History of the Luth. Church*, 1909. **Schmauk-Benze**, *The Confessional Principle*, 1910. **Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom*, I and II. **T. M. Lindsay**, *Luther and the German Reformation*, 1903. **V. Ferm**, *What is Lutheranism?* 1930. **W. Elert**, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 2 vols. 1931-32. **A. Koeberle's** book on *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung*, now translated into English by J. C. Mattes for Harper and Brothers, Publishers, N. Y. 1936, under the title *Quest for Holiness*, has very fitting thoughts on many of our topics. **C. E. F. Walther**, *Gesetz und Evangelium* (English by **W. H. T. Dau**) is not to be overlooked in the literature on the traits of historical Lutheranism. This present day of deep-going conflict in the land of Luther has brought great special writers to the front with important messages on present day problems. One of these is the Luther scholar, **Paul Althaus**, with brief publications such as the following: *Geist der luth. Ethik im Augsburgischen Bekenntnis*,

Communio Sanctorum, "Die lutherische Abendmahlslehre in der Gegenwart," "Kirche und Staat nach lutherischer Lehre," "Politisches Christentum." Special mention must be made of **H. Sasse's** book: *Was ist Lutherisch?* 1934, translated by **Theo. E. Tappert** under the title, *Here We Stand*, 1937. On Luther literature, see **M. Reu**, *Thirty-five years of Luther Research*, 1917. On Lutheranism in America consult **J. L. Neve**, *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, prepared for 3rd edition by **W. D. Allbeck** (1935); also **R. A. Wentz**, *The Lutheran Church in American History*, 2nd. ed., 1934.

Abbreviations: CR—Corpus Reformatorum; AC—Augsburg Confession; FC—Formula of Concord; BC—Book of Concord; PRE—Hauck's *Protest. Realencyklopaedie*; RGG—*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; DG—R. Seeberg's *Dogmengeschichte* (Vol. IV on the Reformation). H. D.—History of Doctrine, the English translation of Seeberg.

I. The Name "Lutheran"

The term "Lutheran" as an adjective to indicate followers of Luther appeared in the papal bull of Luther's excommunication in 1521.

In the years 1526 and 1527, the name "Lutheran" was used. But at that time it was applied to all Protestants including Zwingli and Zwinglians.²

The name "Lutheran Church" which finally came into accepted use, is of much later origin. Even in the BC, the official collection of the Lutheran Confessions, 1580, this name is not found; in the introduction to the FC, 1577, the Lutherans called themselves "our reformed churches" (*unsere reformierten Kirchen, reformatae nostrae ecclesiae*). It was in the controversy with Calvinism, which followed the publication of the Formula of Concord (FC), that the Lutherans were spoken of as the "Lutheran Church." The followers of Calvin kept the name "Reformed Church," and they now associated with it the thought that the Lutheranism of the BC is to be purified or "reformed" of certain remnants of Roman Catholicism. Luther had expressed himself as displeased with having his followers called "Lutherans," because, as he wrote, 1522, we should believe in Christ Himself and should rather call ourselves "Christians."³

² On the reaction of Zwingli to this name see our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. III, chap. 2.7.

³ Weim. Ed. 8, 689, 8 ff.

He insisted that the name is indifferent. At the same time he said: "But if you hold that Luther's doctrine is evangelical and that of the pope not evangelical, then you cannot throw away Luther altogether, otherwise you deny his doctrine which you regard as the teaching of Christ."⁴

There are also Lutherans of other names: (1) In France the Lutheran Church is officially "the Church of the Augsburg Confession," a name which came into use after the Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty of 1555. (2) In China there is a former German Lutheran Mission, founded by Gossner, now in care of the United Lutheran Church in America. That church was organized under the name "Church of the Justification by Faith." (3) Among the churches of the Northlands the Lutheran Church of Sweden is officially simply "The Church of Sweden," the Lutheran Church of Norway simply "the Church of Norway." (Denmark and Finland have the term "Lutheran" in their official name. So also Esthonia and Latvia). (5) In Germany the inroads of Calvinism on Lutheran territory, the conversion of the Brandenburg Elector Sigismund and the church polity of the Hohenzollern, finally, after 1817, brought about a certain union between Lutherans and Reformed. At first it was absorptive in its aim, but since 1834, it was converted into a limited federation which left to the Lutherans the catechism of Luther and the Lutheran form of worship.⁵ This confederative union which comprises many Lutherans in the different dominions of Prussia—W. Elert in RGG, vol. 3, p. 7785, speaks of 21 millions—goes under the name "Evangelical." Under influences from the Union in the fatherland it was only natural that there should be union bodies outside of Germany. So we find such bodies in Czechoslovakia, South America, North America, in parts of Germany's diaspora and in the mission fields. In many of these parts, Luther's catechism is in use. The name "Evangelical" would have been acceptable to Luther, and even now it would be a very fitting name

⁴ For a more complete discussion on the basis of further quotations from Luther, see W. H. T. Dau in Ferm, *What is Lutheranism?* pp. 199-207.

⁵ In *extenso* the long story is told by the writer in his book on the *Union Movements*, pp. 110-137.

if it had not been made to serve the aim of establishing church union on a syncretistic basis. The fact is that in non-exact speech this term is used much, even in the more specifically Lutheran dominions of Germany, although the official name is "Evangelical-Lutheran." It is interesting to learn that among the sixteen Lutheran state churches of Germany, as enumerated in the book "The Lutheran Churches of the World" (pp. 90 and 103), where the Prussian Union is not included, there are only two—Wuerttemberg and Thuringia—which do not have the term "Lutheran" in their official name. As to confessional obligations, however, we read in the case of Wuerttemberg: "The Holy Scriptures with their exposition as reaffirmed in the time of the Reformation and as stated in the Augsburg Confession, are the source and norm for the clergy in the performance of their duties as preachers, teachers and pastors." And in the case of Thuringia: "They shall, to the best of their knowledge and in all good conscience, preach Jesus Christ and with Him the Gospel of God's grace as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures and confessed anew in testimonies of faith as made during the Reformation under Martin Luther. . ."

II. Statistics of World Lutheranism (Territory)

Our references here are to "The Lutheran Churches of the World" and to "The Lutheran World Almanac" (See our Literature).

According to statistics in the Lutheran World Almanac 1934-37, there are about 82,000,000 baptized Lutherans in the world. These of course cannot be claimed as active church members, but they represent the special field of the Lutheran Church. There are nearly 50,000 pastors and approximately 75,000 congregations.

After the war, Germany had 37,500,000 Lutherans, including the Prussian Church Union. Of these, 16,500,000 are in the official peoples' church (Volkskirche), and 72,000 belong to the "Old Lutherans" which organized as a reaction against the Prussian Union movement. 20,928,000 are the constituency of the "Prussian Union" and other parts of the German Church Unions.⁶

⁶ See Neve, *Church Union*, pp. 119. And compare W. Elert in RGG, vol. 3, 1785.

Note: The above cited book, **The Lutheran Churches of the World**, does not include among the Lutherans proper the Prussian Church Union. The "Lutheran World Convention," for which this guide was published, refuses to recognize the Prussian Union as a Lutheran Church. It is an "Evangelical" organization of the syncretistic type, but it is not a **Lutheran Church**; it does not have a unified Lutheran Confession for its basis, but is established upon a dualism in which on vital matters **yes** and **no** must dwell together in one recognition. At the same time there are within this Prussian Church Union many Lutheran congregations with truly Lutheran teaching and practice on the basis of the AC and under the influence of Luther's catechism; and surely there are in the present day great Lutheran witnesses, many, in fact, with a far more clarified Lutheran consciousness than is the case in some of the distinctly Lutheran bodies; there are also large confessional units such as the old "Lutherische Vereine." (See our **Union Movements**, p. 13 f.). In spite of that official syncretistic dualism which characterizes that large organization as a Union institution we would not be true to reality if, in a statistics of Lutherans in the world, we would not count the many Lutherans within that organization as true fellow-Lutherans, and as one in the faith with the whole company of Lutherans of the world.

In the *Scandinavian countries* there are 11,800,000 Lutherans. (Sweden 6,000,000, Norway 2,500,000, and Denmark 3,300,000).

The *Rest of Europe* has Lutherans in numbers as follows: *Baltic countries* (Esthonia and Latvia) 2,500,000, *Finland* 3,500,000. Pre-war *Poland* had 515,000, to which for a statistical picture of the post-war *Poland* we must now add the Lutherans of former Russian Poland, of the former Austrian Galicia, and also of the former Prussian province of Posen, which together makes about 327,000. Poland after the war then has 842,000 Lutherans.⁷

The old *Russia* (exclusive of the former Russian Poland, of the Baltic provinces and of Finland) had 7,846,000 Lutherans. Of this number we must now deduct the many that have perished during the war but especially the large number killed under the Bolshevik regime. At the Eisenach World Convention (1923), Bishop Meier of Moscow could say that the U.S.S.R. still had about 1,000,000 Lutherans which were served by 230 pastors in 539 parishes with 1,828 churches. What is the situation today? The Soviet policy of religious persecution and extermination, especially of the old

⁷ See *Lutheran World Almanac* 1934-37.

German immigrants who held to the promises under which their ancestors had accepted the invitation to settle in Russia, has fast arrived at its goal. All the reports of the unceasing banishments to Siberia and the treatment there of the unfortunates, and all the reports on the systematic persecution of all religious groups which includes, for instance, the closing of the seminary in Leningrad, were no exaggeration. The last few pastors, also the last few students of the seminary have been arrested, banished or starved to death. There are a few courageous lay preachers who try to continue their work. This is the end of a once flourishing church.

After the war, *Austria* had 259,698 Lutherans. *Hungary* now has about 540,000 Lutherans; *Roumania* about 500,000; *Jugo-Slavia* had about 250,000 Lutherans; *Bulgaria* about 2,000 Lutherans; *Turkey* had 280 Lutherans (100 in European Turkey and 180 in Asiatic Turkey). *Greece* now has about 3,500 Lutherans; *Italy* more than 20,000; *Switzerland* has 90,094; *Spain* about 5,000; *Portugal* about 1,000; *France* had 90,000 Lutherans, now it has 398,000. *Belgium* has about 25,000 Lutherans; *Holland* about 100,000; *England* about 250,000; *Wales-Ireland* has 2,000; *Scotland* about 20,000 Lutherans.

In *Asia* 527,000 Lutherans have been counted but there are those that claim a much higher number. They speak of 800,000. (See *Lutheran World Almanac* 1931-33, p. 42). On the basis of a lower general figure the distribution would be as follows: *Bhutan* 2,200; *Indian Empire* 261,000; *Ceylon* 500; *Malay States* 1,200; *China* 44,100; *Japan* 3,500; *Palestine* 3,500; *Persia* 5,000; *Central Asia* (*Russia*) 7,000; *Siberia* (*Russian*) 85,000; *Bokhara* 110,000; *Turkey* (*Asia*) 4,000.

In *Africa* there are 374,550, distributed as follows: *Union of South Africa* 213,000; *Egypt* 3,400; *East Africa* 11,800; *Nigeria* 55,500; *Algeria* 5,000; *Liberia* 1,730; *Madagascar* 84,700; *Morocco* 1,000.

In *Oceania* which includes *Australia*, there are 414,184 Lutherans distributed as follows: *New Guinea* 11,629; *Australia* 60,750; *New Zealand* 12,000; *Sumatra* 270,605; *Borneo* 4,650; *Other East Indies* 3,718; *Hawaii* 1,500; *Samoan Islands* 1,000. (In *Australia* the Lutheran Church has two synods: The United Evangelical Luth-

eran Church of Australia with 71 pastors, 205 congregations, 26,708 souls; and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia which is closely affiliated with the Missouri Synod in America, has 71 pastors (census 1929), 175 congregations and 21,624 baptized members (See Lutheran World Almanac 1931-33, p. 43).

In *South America* 304,705 souls have been counted but conservative estimates place the number of all adherents to Lutheranism in South America up to 1,000,000.

In *North America*: (1) Here the Lutheran World Almanac 1934-37, gives the number of about 20,000,000 as a conservative estimate. It must be kept in mind that not until after the beginning of the last century did the U.S.A. begin statistics of its immigration, and that even then there was only national or racial, not confessional statistics, so that we can arrive at the number of immigrated Lutherans only by an average relation between Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed among the European immigrants.

(2) We take it that as Lutherans, all are to be counted who have grown up or are growing up under the instruction of Luther's catechism. Any of Lutheran origin which definitely left the Lutheran Church and joined churches of other creeds and put their children under catechization of another church should be deducted from the above number. Those who strayed from the Lutheran Church after having been taught Luther's catechism, should not be deducted, because the Lutheran Church has a right to look upon them as their special field.

The matter of actual affiliation and support of an organized congregation is a different question. It must be the goal of all church work. In the United States there are 12,113 Lutheran ministers with 15,635 congregations and 3,299,754 communicant members. For some details on the Lutheran Church in America see at the close of this chapter, Sect. V, 8.

III. The Confessional Symbols of Lutheranism

As to the texts of Lutheran Confessions we refer to the first paragraph in the "Literature," prefaced to this chapter on the Lutheran Church.

The Lutherans accepted the *Ecumenical Creeds* of general Christendom, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, and incorporated them into their "Book of Concord" (1580).⁸ This was in keeping with the conservation of the Lutheran Reformers which accepted and held the heritage of truth from the past. For a very simple historical introduction to the "ecumenical creeds," in which the confusing finesses of criticism have been avoided as much as possible, see our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church*, 2nd. ed., pp. 40-82.

Next follow the *Particular Symbols* of Lutheranism.

First: Introductory Observations:

1. These symbols of Lutheranism did not aim at introducing and establishing new doctrines. The Lutheran Reformation was not a revolution or rebellion, as Rome likes to call it. Luther wanted to be in accord with the universal church of the early centuries. He was a reformer with respect to the way of salvation, and in all his work he was very conservative. But after he once was started he saw more and more clearly the fundamental errors to be removed and the doctrinal positions to be clarified and established. The writer has tried to give a very condensed review of all the reformatory steps of Luther between the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses (1517), and the delivery of the AC (1530). To these thirteen years we may add a few years before 1517, during which fundamental sermons were delivered and great lectures (Romans, Galatians, Hebrews) were produced.⁹ It was in this whole activity that we observe the roots, the motives and the impulses for the earlier confessional writings of Lutheranism. And this should be said: The Reformers limited themselves in their presentations to the matters that were in dispute. In other words, the particular symbols of Lutheranism (different from the decrees of Trent, and the Institutes of Calvin, and the Westminster Confession) were *Gelegenheitschriften*, called forth by special occasions.

⁸ The texts of these may also be seen in Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*.

⁹ See our *Story and Significance of the AC*, Chapters II-IV.

2. The Lutheran Church takes these confessional testimonies very seriously because they are regarded as documents recording the valuable experience of the Church in the understanding of Holy Scripture, which, according to Luther, is the only factor which has the right to establish articles of faith. He declares: "The word of God shall establish articles of faith and no one else, not even an angel."¹⁰ The Lutheran Church calls these testimonies "symbols," meaning by this that she wants to bear the confessional character designated by those historical decisions of her church. The Reformed Churches do not speak of symbols, but of "Confessions" and "Covenants." Note the remark of Philip Schaff on this subject (I, 356 ff.), to which we refer in our Chapter Five on the "Reformed and Presbyterians" (IV; A, 3). The attitude of the Lutheran Church to its symbols is expressed in the FC.¹¹ (1) It is stated that the "symbols and writings cited are not judges, as are the *Holy Scriptures*, but only witnesses and declarations of faith, as to how at any time the *Holy Scriptures* have been understood and explained in the articles of controversy in the Church of God by those who then lived and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned." (2) And yet, different from "other good, useful, pure books, expositions of the *Holy Scriptures*, explanations of doctrinal articles," these symbols (ecumenical and particular) are "accepted" as "an unanimously received, definite, common form of doctrine which our Evangelical Churches together and in common confess." This word "accepted" is now repeated four times using a *quia* with regard to AC, Apology, Smalcald Articles and the Catechism. Of "other good, useful pure books" the statement is made that "they should be judged and adjusted as to how far (*quatenus*) they are to be approved and accepted."¹²

3. *Not all Lutheran Bodies have accepted formally every one of the Symbolical writings in the Book of Concord.* The Scandinavians did not have to go through the

¹⁰ Smalcald Art., Part II, art. II, 15

¹¹ In the introduction to both the *Epitome* and the *Solida Declaratio*.

¹² Sol. Decl. Introd. 10. On Confessional subscription see our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, pp. 32-39, and compare our *Story and Significance of the AC*, pp. 149-152.

German conflicts which brought forth the FC. So they accepted formally, besides the ecumenical creeds, only the AC and Luther's Small Catechism. This situation reflects itself among the Norwegians and Danes in America. The Swedes in America, influenced no doubt by their former membership in the "General Council," hold to the whole BC. But all Scandinavians now are a part of the American Lutheran Conference which accepts the BC. The United Lutheran Church in America is established upon the same position. But all Scandinavians today, irrespective of their formal subscriptions, "work with the whole BC," as was declared at the Eisenach World Convention, 1923.

4. *The Lutherans have in all lands the same Symbols.* The AC, particularly, is the symbol of Lutheranism. The Reformed Churches the world over have different confessions in the different countries. This is easily explained: Lutheranism developed in Germany, and the Lutherans of all countries (Scandinavia, America) simply accepted the AC. The Reformed Churches had a separate development in the different countries, so they produced national Confessions. The Lutherans have not produced symbols since the publication of the BC in 1580; the Reformed Churches, particularly in England and America, have been fruitful in publishing new Confessions or "Covenants." There is also another difference: The Lutherans, after being historically established, have never changed their symbols. If the historical insight changed so that a correction seemed to be justified, then they kept the original historical form and interpreted the text according to the new information. Their interpretation is always historical. Still there is no written or unwritten prohibition against changing or supplementing a Confession, if this should become an absolute necessity. The objection to Melancthon's change of the AC in 1540 ff., had its explanation in a change which historic Lutheranism could not accept. It was an intended compromise that was striking at the root of the Lutheran Church. We repeat: Lutheran theologians prefer not to change the document and simply explain. The lesson from it all is: They are not slaves and literalists in the use of their Confessions of Faith.

Second: The Confessional Documents

In order to do justice to the historical situation, touching the Particular Symbols of Lutheranism as documents, a distinction must be made between two periods. The *earlier of its Confessions*, the Catechism, the AC, Melanchthon's Apology and the Smalcald Articles are confessional expressions of the prophetic period of the Reformation. The *Formula of Concord* represents the doctrinal results of a long period of theological controversy within the Lutheran Church itself, which may be called the didactic period of the Reformation.

1. *The Augsburg Confession* of 1530 and 1531, became in a special sense the official Confession of the Lutheran Church and the document of orientation for other Protestant Confessions. There had been no plan, however, to establish a new dogma. In an epilogue to Part I of the AC (art. 21), Melanchthon insisted that there had been no departing from the teachings of the "Catholic" Church as represented by the Fathers, that is from Athanasius up to about Leo the Great. Of course, there was much self-deception in the presumption that the early Church was in entire harmony with the doctrinal position of the reformers.¹³ But the original plan of the Lutherans in giving account of themselves at Augsburg, was to proceed on the ground that they were in entire harmony with the teachings of the early "Catholic" Church, and that their "Apology," as they first called their document, needed to refer only to some "abuses" which they had removed. In other words, it was the plan to present to the emperor only what the Confession deals with in its second part (articles 22 to 28). Hence Melanchthon at first had intended to write only on these articles "On Abuses."

But the pamphlet of Dr. Eck, addressed to the emperor, and charging the Lutherans with the teachings of Zwingli, Karlstadt and the Anabaptists, convinced Melanchthon and his co-laborers that the chief part of the confession to be presented to the emperor was to deal also with doctrines. So it came about that the intended

¹³ On the changing views of Melanchthon in this respect see R. Seeberg, *History of Doctrine*, Eng. ed. II, 350; cf. CR, II, 217.

articles 1-21, which now constitute the chief parts of the AC, were written.

Literature: The various editions of the AC, together with their preparatory drafts were published in the CR, 26, 97-776. As further literature we mention **Plitt**, *Einleitung in die Augustana*, 2 vols., 1867-68. **Zoeckler**, *Die Augsburg Konfession*, 1870. **Tschakert**, *Die unveraenderte Augsburg Konf.*, 1901. **Kolde**, in J. T. Mueller's *Symbolische Buecher*, beginning with the 10th edition. The same, *Die aelteste Redaktion der Augsburg Konfession*, with Melanchthon's original introduction. **Reu**, *The Augsburg Confession*, 1930. **Neve**, *The Augsburg Confession*, popular and with Church History features; also a guide to the Augsburg Confession for students of theology and confined to problems of Symbolics, 1927. The latter is a revised and augmented form, pp. 83-307, of the same author's *Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church* 2, 1926. Chief significance of these last mentioned books (excepting **Reu**) is their interpretation of the articles of the AC.

In the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the AC a certain systematic arrangement is observable. Article 1 begins with God and article 17 closes with "Christ's Return for Judgment." This is the system. The articles present themselves in groups, discussing certain general topics. Art. 3, on "The Son of God" can be taken together with art. 1 "On God." Articles 18 on "Free Will" and 19 on "The Cause of Sin" are related to art. 2 "On Original Sin." Articles 6 on "The new Obedience" and 20 "On Faith and Good Works" supplement art. 4 "On Justification." There are the articles on salvation (4, 5, 12, 18, 20, 17), the means of grace (9, 10, 13), and the Church (7, 8, 14, 15). They give an impression of what is meant by this new experience of the Church in the time of the Reformation. It amounts to a new order of salvation, which is so beautifully popularized in Luther's explanation of the third article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to him; but the Holy Ghost has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me by his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in the true faith; in like manner as he calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the one true faith; in which Christian Church he daily forgives abundantly all my sins, and the sins of all believers, and will raise up me and all the dead at the last day,

and will grant everlasting life to me and all who believe in Christ. This is most certainly true."

The AC was the orientating basis for the later Protestant Confessions. Philip Schaff said of this Confession: "It best exhibits the prevailing genius of the German Reformation and will ever be cherished as one of the noblest monuments of faith from the pentecostal period of Protestantism."¹⁴

The writer of this fundamental Confession of Lutheranism was Melancthon. He, the author of the "Locī,"¹⁵ gave to this document its remarkable lucidity and its conciliatory form.

2. *The Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, published by Melancthon immediately after his return from the diet, became necessary because of the official reply to the Confession by the Roman theologians in their so-called "Confutation."¹⁶ The following few statements may characterize the Apology historically: Its chief and permanent value consists in its being the oldest and most authentic interpretation of the AC by the author himself. The aim of the Apology was (1) to reject the claim of the Romanists that in the Confutation the Confession had been refuted; (2) to characterize the fundamental differences by tracing them back to the difference on such questions as law and grace, sin and justification. The doctrine of justification by grace through faith is the pivot of Melancthon's discussions. (3) Neither does he overlook some other points that needed further elucidation—the doctrine of the Church, the number of sacraments, the mass, the invocation of saints, celibacy, etc. As to a summarizing view of the contents see Geo. J. Fritschel in our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 315-354.

3. *The Smalcald Articles* were occasioned by the need of the Lutherans to be prepared in case they should decide to attend the general council which the pope had promised to convene. They met at Smalcald, 1537. This time, Luther had prepared the articles. On the Lord's Supper he employed strongly realistic terms. It

¹⁴ *Creeds of Christendom*, I, 235.

¹⁵ See our *Story and Significance of the AC*, pp. 10-31.

¹⁶ Cf. our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, pp. 308 to 315.

must be remembered that this was one year after the drafting of the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. Melanchthon in connection with Bucer was interested in toning down the realistic expression on this subject, hoping that a union not only with the South Germans, but also with the Swiss might gradually be effected. Luther also wanted the union, but above all he was determined to safeguard the doctrine of the Real Presence. At first he had written "that under bread and wine there is the true body and blood of Christ in the Supper." But, as we know from comparison of his autographed text with the received text, he crossed that out and wrote: "We hold that bread and wine in the Supper are the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by the godly, but also by the wicked Christians."

4. This section on the "earlier Confessions" must not be closed without calling attention to the *Tractatus of Melanchthon*, appended to the Smalcald Articles. In part one, Melanchthon denied that the superiority of the pope over all bishops and pastors was by divine right; he denied also the pope's so-called "divine right" of the two swords, i. e., his unconditional power in spiritual and worldly things. The *part two*, on the power and jurisdiction of the bishop, was especially practical because the question of the Lutherans everywhere was: What is our relation to the bishops who claim jurisdiction over us? Melanchthon does not reject an episcopacy as long as it does not claim to be of divine right; from this standpoint there is no difference between bishops and pastors; an ordination by the pastor in his Church is just as valid as that by a bishop. When, therefore, the regular bishops persecute the Gospel and refuse to ordain proper ministers, then any church has the right to ordain its own ministers. For wherever there is the Church, there is also the right and duty to preach the Gospel. Yet, ordination is no sacrament, but a solemn public confirmation of the one who has been called to preach the Gospel. Schaff calls this "Tractatus" of Melanchthon, adopted at Smalcald, "a theological masterpiece for his age." Here we have "for the first time a doctrine of the papacy and of the authority in the church, that is founded upon Scripture and history." (Tschackert).

Note: The catechisms of Luther can be omitted from this review because as manuals for catechetical instruction they are not "Confessions" in quite the same sense as are those that have been discussed.

5. *The Formula of Concord* takes us out of the prophetic age of the Reformation into the period which was bound to follow. It reminds us of the relation of the Athanasian Creed to the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. It is the outcome of controversies within the Lutheran group caused by further reflection on fundamental principles. The story is told very briefly by Geo. J. Fritschel in the writer's *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 401 ff.

A *Review of the Situation* may here follow: The confessional deliverances which constitute the articles of the FC, twelve in numbers, had become an urgent necessity. The chief authors were Jacob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz (See *Introduction*, p. 414). The document was completed and promulgated in 1577. On June 25, 1580, it was published as the last of the Lutheran Symbols in the BC. The leading parties in the conflicts of that day were the strict Lutherans ("Gnesio-Lutherans") and the "Melanchthonians." Certain principalities where the latter were located did not adopt the FC. Neither had the Northlands participated in the movement for the creation of this document, chiefly because the controversies to be settled pertained to a delicate situation in Germany, and it would have been unwise to make it a matter of much interest in countries that had not been disturbed by the conflicts. But the fact is that the FC and the consequent publication of the "Book of Concord" (BC) contributed greatly to the confessional pacification of German Lutheranism in that day. The tendency was irenic to both the right (Flacius) and to the left (Melanchthon). Where errors were to be rejected the teachers of these were not named. (Flacius, Melanchthon, Osiander, Agricola, Major, Amsdorf, Aepinus.) Luther was the only one referred to by name. As to the doctrinal character of the FC, Lutheranism prevailed against Calvinism, also against the Melanchthonian ("Philippistic") modification of Lutheranism. The Reformed replied to the FC in the Newsted Admonition, 1581. It was written by Z. Ursinus, one of the

noblest theologians of the Reformed Church, co-author of the Heidelberg Catechism.¹⁷

IV. The Symbolical Essentials of Lutheranism

Introductory:

1. The presentation of the confessional materials of Lutheranism in this book must naturally be somewhat complete, chiefly for the reason that the work of Luther was in a special sense a *pioneer movement*. The later Confessions of Protestantism had here their starting point and orientation. In the days when the AC was in the process of creation (1530), many centers of religious and political interest all over Europe were watching the events: Rome with the whole of its wide-spread representation, the princes of all countries, and the advocates of many special tendencies within the Reformation at that early stage of its development. Before and after the public reading and delivery, some 40 copies of this pioneer Confession of Protestantism and many reprints went out into places of influence. It served as a foundation for the writing of many succeeding Confessions.¹⁸

2. By accepting the *Ecumenical Creeds* the Lutherans professed their adherence to the faith of the Ancient Church as arrived at in the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the first section of the Athanasian Creed, which all profess the Trinity. This included the divinity of Christ as Savior of the world. Luther in the Smalcald Articles said: Concerning these chief articles of "the divine majesty" there is no contention or dispute since we on both sides confess them. (Part One).

3. In the Swiss Reformation there was a difference pertaining to the relation of the two natures of Christ. This difference appeared in the conflict between Zwingli and Luther on the Lord's Supper, 1524 ff. In art. 3 of the AC there might have been no deliverance on the person of Christ if it had not been for a developing difference on

17 In 1607, the Reformed theologian Hospinian wrote on this subject a more thorough work, *Concordia Discors*, to which the Lutheran, L. Hutter, replied in his *Concordia Concors*, 1614. See our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, p. 186; also our *Union Movements*, pp. 30-36.

18 We have tried to describe this peculiarly interesting feature in our *Story and Significance of the AC*, (1930) in chapters 5 to 7.

the *relation of the divine to the human* in the Son of God. Zwingli had protested against the irrationality of the presence of Christ's body in the Supper, which to him was confined to the "right hand of God" in heaven as a certain place. Against this argument Luther, starting with the Creed of Chalcedon (451), developed his doctrine of the "personal union," in which he emphasized the organic relation between the divinity and the humanity of Christ, the divinity communicating its properties (particularly His omnipresence and omnipotence) to the human nature. This was the *genus majestaticum* which, together with the other features of the *communicatio idiomatum*, was later incorporated in art. 8 of the FC. As an introduction to this discussion of the two natures of Christ we have a most valuable statement of the incarnation.¹⁹

A. *The Articles concerning "the Divine Majesty"* in the symbols of Lutheranism call attention to the Faith of the Christian Church regarding the Holy Trinity of which art. 1 of the AC says: "there is one divine essence which is called and which is God. . . ., and yet there are three Persons, of the same essence and power, who also are co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."²⁰

1. The Lutheran Symbols, together, speak of God as follows:²¹ "Eternal, without body, without parts." (AC, I: God is a spirit and must not be spoken of in anthropomorphic terms, misunderstanding the figurative language of passages such as Psalm 11:4; Exod. 6:6. . . . FC, Epit. VIII, 7. Ath. Cr. 10; AC, 1), God expresses Himself in His attributes. These are revealed to us in Holy Scripture: As spirit God is eternal and, compared with beings of his own creation, He alone is eternal. In the symbolical and doctrinal development of Lutheranism, especially in the Christological controversies, there has been much reference to the divine attributes of om-

¹⁹ We have tried to discuss the whole situation, historically and doctrinally and in a very simple manner, in our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 136-139. Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. III, chap. 3; also our *Union Movements*, p. 33.

²⁰ For a full review of the historical development, see our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. I, chap. 10.

²¹ The reader may here be reminded of the abbreviations in the quotations of confessional sources, following General Literature at the beginning of this chapter.

niscience, omnipresence and omnipotence.²² And then there is the attribute of holiness and righteousness, and as a designation of His very essence Luther spoke of His grace, mercy and love.²³

2. The mention of these divine attributes calls for a few further remarks.

a. A difference of Lutheranism from Rome on the conception of God must here be recorded. It pertains to the Roman distinction of "venial" sins from "mortal" sins and to that whole Roman system of bargaining with God, where God and man were placed on the same level as two contracting parties in an agreement, and where God in His "eternal, immutable righteousness" (FC. Sol. D. III, 57) was thought to be influenced in His action by all kinds of human considerations.

b. The "holiness and righteousness of God" as spoken of in the conclusion of the Ten Commandments must be taken very seriously. Luther: "They are not human trifles, but the Commandments of the Divine Majesty, who insists upon them with such earnestness, is angry with those who despise them and will assuredly punish them. . ." ²⁴

It is in this connection that we must think of the "wrath of God," not in the meaning of a human resentment or vindictiveness—human analogies are here out of place—but in the meaning of a divinely natural reaction of God's holiness and righteousness. Ephesians 2:3, "And we were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (cf. Rom. 1:18; Gal. 5:9; 3:10, and many other passages). The vicarious death of Christ then came as an atonement, to make conciliation for the people (Hebr. 2:17) as the "propitiation for our sins" (I John 2:2).²⁵ The cross of Christ is a testimony of God's holiness and righteousness, that is of His wrath over sin. Luther has written much on this subject. However, referring to the FC, Epit., art. 5, 8, "as long as all this (namely Christ's

²² FC I, Epit. 3; Sol. Decl. XI, 4, 6 FC VIII, Sol. D. 68, 9; Ap. Cr. art. 1; AC 1. Cf. the large Scripture reference in Engelder, *Popular Symbolics* p. 35, 48.

²³ FC, Sol. D. III 57; Large Cat Part II, art. 3 (63 f.)

²⁴ FC, Sol. D. III 57; Large Cat. Part II, art. 3 (63 f.)

²⁵ For a connected and more complete exposition of "Wrath," "Judgment" and "Atonement" see in the Appendix to this book, B, Sec. V.

suffering and death) proclaims God's wrath and terrifies man". . . it is, according to Luther, "a strange work of Christ" (*fremdes Werk, opus alienum*, see his Works, 3, 246, 19; 40, II, 356, 23) with the help of which God pursues His "proper work" of love. (*eigentliches Werk, opus proprium*.) The continuation of this consideration will occupy us further in our following Section II on "Sin and Salvation."

c. Our above given enumeration of God's attributes culminates in His *grace, mercy and love*.

This is specifically Lutheran. It is here, in the teaching of grace that Lutheranism has its real and outstanding essential and has been a leader among the churches of Christendom. In every possible way it guards this doctrine of grace in Christ Jesus. In the details of this doctrine of salvation there are many matters of variation between the churches. But among the so-called "evangelical" folk in almost all the conservative churches, there is large practical agreement with the specifically fundamental teachings of Lutheranism.

But here we want to ask: Is there a real, immovable *foundation and authority* for this "grace, mercy and love," which is so much stressed in the teaching and preaching of Lutheranism? Rationalism, especially in the form of present-day Unitarianism, and in the teaching of great philosophers and poets of the past, has rejected it. Our answer is that here the cloud of true witnesses is so very large and assuring. Scripture testimony in the Old as well as in the New Testament is overwhelming. And this doctrine especially stands in the full light of the Church's experience. The liturgies and the hymns of the ages, the confessional expression of so many groups of Christendom, are testimonies of it. The Christian lives of countless souls who found their peace and joy in the experience of God's grace, mercy and love have been the living witnesses, age after age. We look at the more recent writers of Symbolics and rejoice to see them in agreement on this matter. Klotsche, *Christian Symbolics*, (p. 151), referring to Luther, says: "Love is not just an attribute of God but a *designation of His essence*." We add: Philosophical reasoning and speculation concerning God's Being can not speak the de-

cisive word here. We must listen to the voice of Revelation. *Popular Symbolics* writes, p. 33: "The grace of God in Christ is the real subject of all prophetic and apostolic teaching: the revelation of this attribute of God is the center of the entire revelation of God in Scripture, Acts 10:43; I Cor. 2:2; John I:17, 18." Again: "The saving knowledge of God is the knowledge of His grace." W. Walther, late professor in the Rostock University²⁶ quotes from Luther, in his Large Catechism and points to the heart of Christ as the special revelation of God's love: "We could never attain to the knowledge of the grace and favor of the Father except through the Lord Christ, who is a mirror of the paternal heart; outside of whom we see nothing but an angry and terrible judge."²⁷ Many in the so-called "evangelical" groups of Christendom, although feeling the influence of legalism from particular doctrinal systems, are in their hearts believers of this teaching.

B. Lutheranism on Man's Sinful Condition. Its Effects on the Will.

First: Sin as a Condition of the Human Race, and the Source of Sins.

1. *Statements in form of Definition.* The Lutheran emphasis upon sin in art. 2 of the AC is not upon the sins of fact which are mentioned in art. 3 and in many other places of the Confessions, but the emphasis here is upon the universal sinful condition, the natural depravity of mankind as the source of sinning. Melanchthon's Apology must be read on the subject. In his *Loci*²⁸ he describes this "original sin" as "a living impulse, producing fruits, that is, sins, in all parts of man at all times of his being, sins many of which the natural man does not regard as sins: Covetousness, unholy ambition, hatred, envy, jealousy, pride, lust, wrath, etc. So unfathomable is the corruption that its true character can be learned only through the law of God. In his Smalcald Articles, Luther agrees with Melanchthon, when he says: "This

²⁶ *Lehrbuch der Symbolik*, pp. 295 ff.

²⁷ On the Ap. Cr. in his *Large Cat.*, art. 3, par. 65.

²⁸ Ed. Plitt, pp. 119, 133.

hereditary sin is so deep a corruption of nature that no reason can understand it, but it must be believed from the revelation of Scriptures." G. Plitt remarks of Luther that he considered it a great step forward when he had learned "not what sins are, but what sin is."²⁹ Luther, as quoted in our chapter on the Roman Catholic Church: "This sin is not done like all other sin, but it is, it lives and does all other sin; it is the essential sin which does not sin for an hour or for a certain time, but wherever and as long as the person is, that long is that sin also."³⁰ He calls it the real "personal sin," the "originating sin."

2. *But can this hereditary sin be charged to the individual as a personal guilt* when it is given him with his personal existence? Luther answers: "The personal existence is not something which can be called to account; but the soul, which forms itself anew with every decision of the will in its fundamental impulses, is responsible for the direction which it gives to the will. It is certainly true that we are not compelled to sin, that we do not sin against our own will; but our will is always at hand to assist when we do something evil, even when we feel that we should and could have acted differently."³¹ For this reason Luther used the significant name "personal sin" for "original sin."³²

Second: The Confessional Statements of Lutheranism on Man's Will after the Fall and before Regeneration.

1. The doctrine of the universal and fundamental depravity of man raised the question as to *what extent it has affected man's will*. There had been a deep conflict between Luther and Erasmus on this question (1524). Erasmus (*De libero arbitrio*) defended the Semi-Pelagianism of the Roman Church while Luther (*De servo arbitrio*) established himself upon Augustine's doctrine of the monergism of grace in matters pertaining to salvation. The Lutherans could not evade a discus-

²⁹ *Einleitung in die Augustana*, II, 104

³⁰ *Church Postil*, on Luke 22

³¹ Cf. *Disput.* Drews, pp. 279, 123, 126

³² *Works*, 10, 1, 508, 20

sion of this matter in their confession, and we have it in art. 18.

To what extent has man's universal and fundamental depravity affected the freedom of his will? The answer of art. 18, viewed in connection with contemporaneous expression in the Apology, the Catechisms, the Smalcald Articles and later the Formula of Concord (here in art. 2 in connection with 11) is as follows:

(1) *Man, after the fall and before regeneration, has a free will only in external things (in rebus externis);* to make clear what this means we should say: in outwardly external and in morally external things.

By OUTWARDLY EXTERNAL the article means such *natural matters* as stand, sit, sleep, eat, drink; and *matters civil* (domestic, social—such as buy, trade, sell, marry; as also matters belonging to the *external government of the Church*: teach, hear the Word, using the ceremonies in giving and receiving the sacraments. It should not be overlooked, however, that the text says that even in this respect man has only “some liberty,” a “certain freedom” (*aliquam, etlichermassen*).

By MORALLY EXTERNAL things the Confession has in mind things that are “good” in the sense of *civil righteousness*. The reference is to “outward work” of a *moral* nature, like charity. The Apology calls it “righteousness of the flesh,” because in motive it is often selfish. Here again as in purely outward things, man is dependent upon God's permission, help or withholding. Therefore, we read here also of only “some liberty,” of only a “certain freedom.”

After this admission of a certain freedom of the will there follows an assertion that man, after the fall and before regeneration, *does not have the freedom of the will in spiritual things (in rebus spiritualibus)*.

(2) *Man, after the fall and before regeneration, cannot work “spiritual righteousness”* in loving, fearing and trusting God and in doing the works of sanctification. That is, he is unable as long as the powers of regeneration have become effective in his life (see art. 18 of the Confession referred to).

Third: Closing Observations.

1. The Augustinian character of Lutheran theology comes to an expression through the following words of the Confession: "This righteousness is wrought in the heart" (*sed haec fit cordibus; solches geschieht durch den Heiligen Geist*). The thought of a liberation of man's will in conversion and regeneration for a coöperation in sanctification is especially dealt with in art. 2 of the FC, on the Freedom of the Will, and it is presupposed there in article 11 on Predestination. But the teaching of it is clearly in the Confession itself (art. 2 and 18; also in the Catechisms, art. 3 of Part II).

2. A *Threefold Result of the Reformation* followed from the Lutheran Conception of Sin with its effect upon the Will. (1) This "personal sin" (Luther), this original sin (*vitium originis*), this natural depravity as the "originating sin" became fixed in the Lutheran Symbols (art. 2) as "*truly sin*" (*vere sit peccatum*). As such it was also incorporated in the Confessions of Calvinism and in the whole conservative theology of Protestantism. (2) In the direction of Romanism that artificial differentiation between venial and mortal sins lost its old ground. (3) For the individual soul, in its relation to God, the result was an unspeakably alarming situation: Burdened with a sinfulness such as we have described, man stood face to face in the presence of God, as He was pictured in the "articles on the Divine Majesty." This was the experience which made Luther the Reformer of the Church. Prof. W. Elert, in his "Morphologie des Luthertums," (1, 18) has depicted that situation in describing Luther's "Urerlebnis" which shook him to the foundations of his soul when the Holy God in His majesty ceased to be to him just "a paragraph of dogmatics" and stood before him in person calling him to account as He will every one of us. In such fundamental experience, and under the conviction that on his side there was no merit and nothing but sin, Luther, like Paul, felt his utter inability and wretchedness. And the despair became heightened by his conception of predestination as a continuous work of the "hidden God" (*Deus absconditus*) within him and through him, leading him step by step to his doom. Finally, Luther discovered the one way out, the promise of

the Gospel (*Deus revelatus*), salvation by grace alone, through faith. This now became his Message.

C. Salvation (Grace, Justification).

Here we have the unifying principle of many traits in the Lutheran Church.

1. From the first, historic Lutheranism found itself in a fundamental protest to Pelagianism. It would not allow salvation to be reduced to a mere reformation or ethical change. Concerning the doctrine of salvation it is, generally speaking, decidedly *Augustinian*. It rejects the conception of religion as being fundamentally an achievement; insisting that it is a gift of God. This was one reason why Luther rejected Humanism which issued into Socinianism, and why the Lutheran Church of the nineteenth century refused Rationalism as proposed by Kant's "Religion within the Bounds of Reason" (1793), and later by J. F. Roehr in his "Letters on Rationalism" (1813).³³

Even with regard to the historical mediations between Augustinianism and Pelagianism, that is in Semi-Pelagianism (God supporting the human endeavor) and in the sublimer "Philippistic" Synergism (God begins and man responds in "Natural powers of his own"),³⁴ historic Lutheranism was always careful in professing the Augustinian or better the Pauline "monergism" of grace (*sola gratia*).³⁵ This is also the reason why Lutheranism cannot fall in line with the Arminian type of Protestantism and its individualized activity in the church life of the present day.

2. Lutheranism sees the safeguard for *purity of doctrine* chiefly in a truly evangelical teaching of grace as contrasted with mere moralism. The FC expresses

33 See our *History of Christian Thought*, BK. IV, chap. 3. Cf. BK. V, chap. 1, 5, d and g. For a vivid description of the bankruptcy of mere moralism in the light of the cross and before the Biblical message of forgiveness, study the eloquent testimony of A. Koeberle in his *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung*. Leipzig, 2nd. and 3rd. edition, pp. 11 ff., 32 ff., 56 ff., 145 ff., 188, 224 ff., 274, 279, 282, 296. Translated into English by J. C. Matthes under the title: *Quest for Holiness*.

34 Cf. the FC Part I, art. 2, neg. 4; Part II, art. 2, 4.

35 See our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, in art. 18 of the AC, pp. 278-292; also on art. 4, pp. 144-165.

this concern of Lutheranism as follows: "This article concerning justification by faith (as the Apology says) is the chief in the entire Christian doctrine, without which no poor conscience has any firm consolation, or can know aright the riches of the grace of Christ, as Luther has also written: 'If only this article remain in view pure, the Christian Church also remains pure, and is harmonious and without all sects; but if it does not remain pure, it is not possible to resist error or fanatical spirit.'"³⁶

3. *In brief definition how should we describe this jewel in the doctrinal system of Lutheranism?* Let us put it as follows: It is through grace in the meaning of divine favor only, i. e., through justification by faith alone (*sola fide*) that the troubled sinner can find assurance for which his soul is longing. He is not justified because of a developing "habit of love" within him (Rome), nor because of his repentance (contrition and faith, cf. AC, art. 12), but as art. 4 of the AC says twice, "for Christ's sake" (*propter Christum*), specifically because He, "by his death, hath made satisfaction for our sins." This is the real ground of the sinner's justification. His Spirit-worked feeling of need of God's grace in a state of contrition and his faith (*fiducia*) as the outstretched hand, also worked by God's Spirit, do not constitute merits or credits; he is "freely justified" (*gratis justificantur*). The text of art. 4 in the AC reads as follows: "Also they teach, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, hath made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight, Rom. 3 and 4."

The Lutheran stress upon this conception of grace as the cause of salvation rests especially upon the *Teaching of Paul*, Eph. 2:8, 9: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: Not by works lest any man should boast." Again, Romans 11:6: "If by grace, then it is not anymore of

³⁶ Part II, art. 3, 6.

works, otherwise grace is no grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace." Rom. 3:24: "Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Rom. 5:1: "Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

4. There have been the voices which insist that this *teaching is unethical* because it fails to *condition* the receiving of grace upon the endeavors and qualities of men. What is to be answered? This: The doctrine of justification by faith addresses itself only to the really troubled sinner. Read in article 12 of the AC the definition of repentance. With such a disposition there does not and cannot coexist the inclination to continue in sin. There is break in sin. The sinner is in a state of conversion. The flesh loses its dominion. Through the influence of God's Spirit the powers of regeneration are operating in the heart. The "new obedience" (see art. 6 of the AC), or sanctification, is taking its beginning. Note the strong emphasis in articles 6 and 20 of the AC upon the necessity of good works.

This is what Luther said in the introduction to his interpretation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "Faith is a divine work in us. It changes us and regenerates us. It mortifies the natural man in us and makes us new in heart, spirit, mind and all powers, and it cannot be without the Holy Spirit. Oh, there is a living, busy and powerful thing about faith. It is impossible that it should not always do good works. It does not stop and ask where good works can be done; before there can be any asking, it does good works and is always doing them."³⁷

5. *This teaching was in need of the safeguards* at which we have already hinted, (above, sub. 3). The Lutheran Church did not mean to condition the grace through justification upon anything that man might want to contribute. All our own endeavors and good works, of whatever nature they may be, even repentance and "new obedience," are beset with imperfection. If grace through justification were to be conditioned on a degree of sanctification then the assurance of salvation would be lost. Neither is justification, in the Lutheran conception, identical with sanctification as a gradual process of

³⁷ Quoted also by the Formula of Concord, part 2, chap. 4, 10.

healing through the sacraments as was taught by Rome. In the system of Roman Catholicism there was no place for an act of justification. To the Lutherans it was the fundamental act by which God puts the repenting and believing sinner into the right relationship with Him by a declaration of forgiveness and by an imputation of Christ's righteousness, received by faith. But such an assurance of forgiveness through an act of justification was something that Rome with its teaching of mediatorship by the Church did not want. To such a good writer as the Roman Catholic Adam Moehler, in his *Symbolik*, the claim of assurance of forgiveness by faith was something "demoniacal." The rationalistic movements and tendencies of later ages have always sided with Rome when it came to a discussion of justification by faith.

6. *Recent discussion on Luther and Melanchthon regarding the Relationship between Justification and Sanctification.* The intense study of Luther's writings during the last decades in Germany has produced the observation that, in speaking on justification and sanctification, Luther in his writings and Melanchthon in the AC and in the Apology have not always used the same terms. From this has been drawn the conclusion that there were actual differences between Luther and Melanchthon regarding the doctrine of justification. If this were correct then we should have to admit Luther's practical disagreement with article 4 of the AC. Recent discussion—we refer to the famous controversy between Professors Holl (Berlin) and Walther (Rostock)—has thrown much light upon this subject. Space does not permit us to go into details. Let this be observed: Melanchthon in the AC and Apology discussed the assurance of forgiveness which had also been Luther's concern, and there it was necessary to stress the juridical feature of justification and to be careful of the logical distinction between justification and sanctification. But Luther, later in a concept wider than that of Melanchthon, approached justification from the standpoint of redemption through Christ, and this whole redemption was to him a declaration that for Christ's sake God is gracious to the repenting and believing sinner. The seeming difference between Luther and Melanchthon, then, was in the approach to the problem. The harmony of Luther with

art. 4 of the AC may be seen in his constant use of the imputation idea.

For a brief view of these inter-Lutheran conflicts read the lucid review in the recently translated book of Professor Koeberle-Basel: "*The Quest for Holiness*" pp. 92 ff. Concerning the attitudes of Luther and Melancthon this may be said: It was Luther's concern that the assurance of salvation for the troubled soul be not lost by adding elements of sanctification to the act of justification. His struggle was with Rome; not yet with the Antinomians, and not with Osiander. Therefore he was suspicious of any deviation from article 4. Melancthon, differing from Luther on other matters, underscores all through life Luther's teaching on this subject. It was he who at the Augsburg Diet, Luther being absent, added as a very sincere postscript to art. 4 that sentence: "This faith God *imputes* for righteousness in his sight." (Rom. 3 and 4.) But Luther, with Melancthon was always convinced that the state of justification (forgiveness of sin and imputation of Christ's righteousness) cannot coexist with sin (as was stressed by the FC, III, 26) and that in the moment of justification the forces of sanctification become active.

D. Foundations for the Faith.

Here we shall speak of the Scriptures and of confessional standards.

1. The Bible is the record of God's revelation to man. As such *it is God's Word*. The doctrine underlying this authority is expressed in a teaching of inspiration. There is a divine and a human factor. These are together in the relation of an organic union. Some have compared this relation to that of the divine and the human natures in Christ. All conservative Lutherans believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Some, in their desire to safeguard the divine character and the trustworthiness of Scripture, insist upon their complete inerrancy, also in purely outward matters (plenary inspiration, verbal inspiration). Others, also conservatives, like to speak of the mystery in this relationship of the divine and the human in Scripture (dynamic inspiration). There are also Lutherans who refuse to accept such absolute inerrancy and insist that inerrancy can be

claimed only on matters pertaining to the fundamentals of religion. The Socinian estimate of the Holy Scriptures as being in the same category with other religious literature has never found a rightful place in the Lutheran Church. The AC offers no quotable statement that Scripture is the *sole* source of truth. But since the Leipzig debate with Dr. Eck (1519), this was the teaching of the Lutheran Reformation. The Smalcald Articles have the following declaration (Part II, art. 2): "The Word of God should frame articles of faith; otherwise no one, not even an angel." The FC, in its "Introduction," speaks of the Scriptures as "the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged."

It is frequently said that the Bible is not first of all a book of proof texts (*dicta probantia*) for statements of dogmatics, because it is preëminently a means of grace. There is truth in this remark, of course, but because theology deals with the things pertaining to salvation, a church with a real appreciation of the Scriptures as a means of grace will always want to have her creed, her teaching, her dogmatics, in harmony with such Scripture. Christ proved from Scripture, the New Testament writers did it, the church of all time has done it. This practice is inseparable from Lutheranism. Scripture itself claims trustworthiness. Such expression, of course, cannot be made to include a decision on *what* is canonical. The extent of the canon is a question by itself. Luther himself was in uncertainty on a number of points.

2. The *Confessions*, as doctrinal experiences of the Church, also belong to the foundations of Faith; not in the same way as the Scriptures which will always be the court of appeals, the *norma normans*. But, as the FC puts it, these Confessions are "only witnesses and declarations of faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles of controversy."³⁸

Luther was in agreement with this statement. When in 1528 the "Instruction for Church Visitation" was published, he wanted this first norm of the evangelical faith to go out, not as a strict order, like the papal decrees, but

³⁸ Introd. to Solid Decl., 10.

as an "Historie oder Geschichte, dazu als ein Zeugnis und Bekenntnis unseres Glaubens."³⁹ It is characteristic of Lutheranism to be conservative with regard to the historical heritage. The Confessions are looked upon as doctrinal experiences of the Church. As such, the ecumenical creeds of the Ancient Church (the Apostles', the Nicene, the Athanasian) were taken over by the Lutherans. A real genetic knowledge of the history of the Lutheran Confessions will reveal to the student that each Confession of the Reformation period, in fact all the individual parts of these Confessions, represent doctrinal experiences. It is these historical experiences which give them their lasting value, and which fit them as guides for future generations, also as bases for mutual recognition and for union.⁴⁰

The seriousness with which the Lutheran Church accepts her Confessions as such rules and guides for teaching and preaching expresses itself in the demand of *confessional subscription*.

Uniformity is lacking throughout the Lutheran Church of all countries and groups as to the *confessional documents* to be covered in subscription. Among the Norwegians and Danes in the Northlands and in America it is the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism. In the history of the German groups, with some exceptions due to former conflict between "Melancthonism" and the stricter Lutheranism, subscription has been to the documents collected in the BC (1580), chief reference being to the later confessional conflicts within Lutheranism and then expressed in the phrase "Unaltered Augsburg Confession." At present there is not quite that old interest in this distinction. Still, when the Lutherans meet internationally and look for a confessional expression of the whole Lutheranism, as at the Eisenach World Conference, 1923, then they speak of the "unaltered" Augsburg Confession, which term is a recognition of the settlement in the Formula of Concord. At that Eisenach convention Dr. Joergensen of Copenhagen, representative of a Lutheran country which officially had not adopted the Formula of Concord, declared publicly:

³⁹ Er. Ed. 23, 9.

⁴⁰ Cf. W. Walther, *Symbolik*, p. 346.

"While being obligated only to the Augsburg Confession, we work with the whole Book of Concord." The point is that the Confessions of Lutheranism must be accepted and used *as an organism*. The conflicts with Flacius, Osiander, Melancthon, with Crypto-Calvinism, Synergism, with the Antinomianism and other errors, which were the historical occasions for misinterpreting certain principles of the AC, and came near disrupting the Lutheran Church, must not be ignored. Besides there are important principles in the Sm. Articles and in Luther's LC (pertaining to Romanism and Spiritualism), also in many details of Melancthon's Ap. and surely in his remarkable "Appendix" to the Sm. Articles, which ought not to be eliminated from the whole organism of confessional interests in Lutheranism.⁴¹ The refusal of the Scandinavian countries to subscribe to the FC at that time does not mean so much. There were no serious objections to the doctrinal settlements as such. They simply did not want to open an avenue for the German conflicts of that time into their territories which so far had not been particularly affected. In that day doctrinal matters affected the politics of a country. The Swedes later recognized the FC, and the above statement of Joergensen at Eisenach characterizes the same attitude on this matter in other parts of Scandinavia. When the Lutherans of the world come together in international conventions there is no discord among them as to viewing the documents of the BC as an organism. The *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz* expressed this in the confessional paragraph of its constitution by simply speaking of "the Confession" of Lutherans.⁴² H. Offermann remarks correctly that although the AC holds a place of distinction among the historic Confessions, "it is rather a mechanical and arbitrary way and not in harmony with the historical development of Lutheranism to isolate and separate it from other Lutheran Confessions."⁴³ But what about the *demand* of confessional

41 For a brief explanation of this very important observation cf. our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, pp. 109 f; 356-365; 406-9.

42 Cf. our *Story and Significance of the AC*, pp 112-116; also our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, 31-39; and compare our *Union Movements*, pp 153-162

43 See *Ferm, What Is Lutheranism?* p. 48, The Macmillan Co., publishers

subscription in the Church? Should the teachers and preachers be expected to pledge themselves to following the teaching of the Confessions? In America a theological school, maintained by a Lutheran Church body, is unthinkable without confessional subscription on the part of its professors. A Lutheran synod is responsible for the teaching in its seminaries. A synod owes this to its congregations who expect of their pastors to be led by them in harmony with the Scriptural faith of their fathers.

In discussing confessional subscription for the professors in the theological schools and for candidates of the ministry at their ordination, we should not begin with thinking of a law to be held over us, but we ought to think of the Confessions of the Ancient Church and of the Reformation first of all as friendly guides through a large doctrinal experience of the Church. Of the Lutheran Confessions Dr. Offerman says: "They are the classical documents of the Lutheran faith from the formative period of the Church of the Reformation, and Lutherans will always go back to them when they are asked by others or when they ask themselves what Lutheranism is . . . They are the common bond by which Lutherans of all lands and tongues, at all times and in all parts of the world, are firmly bound together and by which they are distinguished by their fellow Christians in other Christian communions. . . . Their authority is not to be understood in the legalistic sense. It is a significant fact, however, that a reawakening of Lutheran faith and consciousness has always led to a finer and deeper appreciation of the historic Confessions of the Lutheran Church, just as a decline of Lutheran faith and consciousness has usually been connected with an attitude of indifference to the historic Confessions of the Lutheran Church."⁴⁴ This does not mean that we should close our eyes to the fact that the Confessions of our Church are "historically conditioned." We will not deny that these Confessions "do not solve all the religious and theological questions that arise out of the present condition of the world, and that some of the questions with which they are concerned are seen by us today in a somewhat different light."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ferm, *op. cit.*, p. 45 f.

⁴⁵ Offermann, *ibid.*

"When Lutheran ministers today subscribe they do not regard the Confessions of their Church as obsolete and antiquated literary documents, which are entirely out of tune with the spirit of modern Christianity and therefore are a hindrance rather than a help to them in their ministry. They do not look upon them as so many chains forged around their ankles, with the sinister intention to restrict them in their freedom of action. They subscribe to them willingly and gladly because they find in them the confession of the same faith that is in their own hearts."⁴⁶

As a teacher of students of theology we have always found it helpful to call attention to the fact that the same things which are professed in the Church's Confessions are sung in our hymns, expressed in the public prayers and are constituent parts of the liturgies and the ministerial acts of the Church.

E. The Means of Grace.

1. In the preceding section (II) we have spoken of the Scriptures as the *source and rule of the Faith*. But how does the Lutheran Church think of the *Word of God as a means of grace*?

The Confessions designate as such the written Word in the Scriptures, and the Word as it is preached.⁴⁷ The sermon also is the Word of God if it is in agreement with the written Word.

The Scriptures, then, were intended first of all as a means of grace. The Reformed Churches, in agreement with their ethical emphasis, stress the Bible as a code of moral law, as a book of rules and regulations for the Christian life. The Lutheran Church, also in the FC, art. 6, speaks of a *third use of the law*, which is that of a friendly guidance for him who has become a Christian. Without such guidance the Christian is apt to lose himself into works of "self-chosen sanctity." The Romanists did it in setting up as the Christian ideal for their clerics the so-called "evangelical councils" (poverty, celibacy, and obedience). Later the Pietists did something similar in the many rules concerning pleasures in the field of adiaphora. Over against all such demands, art.

⁴⁶ Offermann, *ibid.* p. 52.

⁴⁷ Walther, p. 347, cf. his reference.

6 of the AC enjoins "good works commanded by God" (*mandata a Deo*). Scripture, then, is to be the guide for the Christian life.

In the matter here under consideration we must speak of one of the most sensitive points in Lutheranism: The proper *distinction between Law and Gospel*. The Law serves as "our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ that we might be justified by faith" (Gal. 3:24), as a mirror for revealing to us our sinfulness, so that we might flee to Him as a cleansing fountain. On this subject H. Offermann writes: "The clear distinction between the Law and the Gospel is one of the essential features of Lutheran faith and theology. It is also one of the characteristics of true Lutheran preaching and teaching. To divide rightly the Word of God, to distinguish clearly between Law and Gospel, to preach the Law in all its severity and the Gospel in all its sweetness, is one of the most important tasks laid upon every Lutheran minister who desires to be true to the faith and Confession of his church."⁴⁸ To describe more in detail the manner of this distinction we cannot do better than to add the following from Offermann's article: "It is in harmony with Paul's doctrine of salvation. But it was unknown to the church before the time of the Reformation. . . . Luther's own experience taught him that the Gospel is not a new law, but the very opposite of the Law. The Law is also a part of the Word of God. But the Law convicts of sin; it demands; it threatens; it condemns; it drives one into the depths of despair. Christ is the end of the Law, and the proclamation of God's grace and forgiveness to all who believe and put their trust in Christ, is not the function of the Law. The Gospel does not demand, but it promises. It does not condemn, but it justifies and saves. It does not drive into despair, but it leads out of despair into the glorious freedom with which Christ has made us free. It does not demand good works, but it gives a new spirit and out of

⁴⁸ V. Ferm, op. cit., p. 61 f. Here the reader must be reminded of a Lutheran classic on this subject, C. E. F. Walther, *Gesetz und Evangelium*, lectures delivered before the students in Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. In abbreviated form by F. Bente (German), English by W. H. T. Dau.

this new spirit of love grows a new life in holiness and love."⁴⁹

3. We give here a brief characterization of the *Lutheran Pulpit* in general. (1) The central position of the Lutheran interest is sin and grace. The evangelical relation between Law and Gospel indicates that a mere moralistic preaching, a preaching which offers "the fruit without the root," has no home where genuine Lutheranism prevails. (2) The absence of synergism (Arminianism and Semi-Pelagianism) is a trait in genuine Lutheran preaching. It is characterized by the monergism of grace; God acts, man receives. (Note the words *pure passive* in conversion, art. 2 of the FC. Even with regard to an admitted coöperation of the regenerated by the FC, Koeberle advises reservation).⁵⁰ Sanctification as well as justification is marked by the "Geschenks-character." All man can do is to resist, to refuse. (3) In the pulpit Lutheranism allows nothing except the preaching of the Word. Political topics, the sensational features, etc., meet with immediate protest from the congregation. The sermons, if true to Lutheran practice, are never "talks," but they are homiletical creations drawn from the fountains of the Word.

4. The *Lutheran Conception of the Sacraments* is the natural consequence of the interpretation of the Word as a means of grace. The distinction between Law and Gospel described above, the Law terrifying the sinner and making him "poor in spirit," the Gospel offering him grace and forgiveness, makes it *impossible for us to think of baptism and the Lord's Supper as parts of the Law*. Indeed, they are in a very effective way the Gospel of promise and assurance. They are not demanding but giving. We admit that the use of both, baptism and the communion, includes a public profession.⁵¹ To Zwingli this was their chief use. In this he was mistaken. Spurgeon used to say: "You have been converted; now you must also be *obedient* and be baptized." No, the sacraments are not fundamentally a work of man, an

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁰ *Quest of Holiness*, p. 149. "The Formula was mistaken when it called this liberated activity which after all is no part of us but proceeds from God, a "cooperation."

⁵¹ Cf. W. Walther, p. 359

achievement; they are a gift of God to man, the action of God with man, as Luther says in Part Four of his catechism: "Baptism works forgiveness of sins," etc., and in Part Five: In this sacrament (of the Supper) something "is given" to us. Not man but God works in the sacraments. The promise of the Word is confirmed, guaranteed and sealed in the sacramental action. The preaching of the Word is to the congregation as a whole, but in the sacraments God deals with the individuals. The sacraments communicate individually what the Word promises.

Luther was very insistent upon the thought that the *Holy Spirit calls only through the means of grace*, and never directly without these means. In the Articles he wrote: "All which is praised of the Spirit without such Word and Sacrament is of the devil."⁵² This he urged against the "enthusiasts" who claim to have the Spirit without and before the Word.⁵³ In his Large Catechism Luther has explained why this should be so: It is and must be external, through the senses it must go into the heart. God does not ignore the nature of His own creatures. On this subject Luther had against him not only the Anabaptists of various names, but also Zwingli. Calvin, later in his "Institutes," mediated by saying practically that Luther's observation may be correct in many cases but that there are exceptions.⁵⁴

Luther was strong in his advocacy of *infant baptism*. He felt the difficulty of answering questions whether children can believe. This is a question which should be dismissed for the simple reason that baptism holds not for the moment of its administration, but it is a means of grace for life, a promise of the gospel of forgiveness; all through life we must return with contrition and faith to this Gospel in baptism.

⁵² Peoples Ed., 333, 10.

⁵³ See especially the AC, art 5.

⁵⁴ The real motive for Calvin in this statement lies in his doctrine of predestination. To the reprobate the call comes through the general call of the external Word, but to the elect this call comes with actual success through the inner work of the Holy Spirit (IV, 16, 19; III, 24, 8) Calvin has not the spiritualistic orientation of Zwingli; he has Luther's estimate of the Word, but his predestination forces him to sever the close Lutheran relation between Word and Spirit

We have been picturing the sacrament as Gospel and gift. Regarding the *Lord's Supper*, Lutheranism, in all of its Confessions, has been stressing the "real presence" of Christ's body and blood. The text of the "unaltered" AC, that is the *Editio Princeps* of 1531, is here important. In the Smalcald Articles Luther chose an expression which bordered on transubstantiation: "Bread and wine in the Supper are the true body and blood of Christ." This was a statement which Luther put in as a safeguard against evading the reference which had been expressed in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 with these words: "With the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, offered and received."⁵⁵ Luther, who with Bucer had signed the Wittenberg Concord, would have been satisfied with this statement if the other side would have taken it as it read. But Bucer could not secure the consent of the Swiss theologians. Even Melancthon wavered. Therefore Luther crossed out the words which he had first written in entire consonance with the Wittenberg Concord: "that under bread and wine there be the true body and blood of Christ in the Supper" and put in place of it the above quoted statement of the Smalcald Articles.⁵⁶ Still the Lutherans exclude not only transubstantiation, but also consubstantiation in the manner as this was taught by some of the Greek Fathers.⁵⁷ And with it goes the "impanation" and a "gross, carnal Capernaitic" eating.⁵⁸

The prepositions employed by the Lutheran Reformation to express this mysterious sacramental union between the earthly and the heavenly elements are of interest. Luther in his Small Catechism says: *under* bread and wine; in the Large Catechism we read *in* and *under*; in the Apology Melancthon uses the preposition *with*.⁵⁹ The FC puts the three prepositions together.⁶⁰

55 Quoted in the FC, Chap VII, 14

56 Cf. our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, 357 f.

57 The earthly and the heavenly elements united as a *tertium quid* into one new substance. Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*. Bk. I chap. 11, II, b.

58 Cf. the FC, Part I, art. 7, 42; Part II, art. 7, 65.

59 Here we compare our *Union Movements*, 1921, pp. 42-46.

60 Article 7, 35.

In its position between Roman transubstantiation on the one side and Calvin's spiritualism on the other, Lutheranism with its "real presence" leaves the question of the relation of the earthly and the heavenly in the Supper in the realm of the mystery. Luther ventured an explanation in his *synekdoche theory*: Here is a sack with a hundred guilders. The sack is the means of communication, although not identical with its contents. But he must have felt that this illustration suggests impanation and with it a "Capernaïtic" eating. Soon he dismissed the explanation and wanted simply to believe what Scripture actually does say.

All who eat (*vescentibus*, AC, art. 10) receive the sacramental gift, also the unbelievers who will be held responsible for their sin of abuse.⁶¹ From this "real presence" for all follows that the believer receives the heavenly gift and with it the forgiveness of sin without strained efforts at creating the presence of the Lord. Note: In the Lutheran camp there is a good deal of studying on this matter at the present time. The special aim has been to summarize the results of Biblicisms—since the days of Luther vs. Zwingli and of Westphal vs. Calvin. We refer to articles and pamphlets by the German professors W. Elert, E. Sommerlath, L. Ihmels, C. Stange, F. Bachmann, P. Althaus, R. Thiel, C. Stoll, J. Jeremias. A number of Luther's own thoughts are in the crucible of investigation and criticism. But not one of these writers has considered Calvin's interpretation (Chap. V, Sec. V, 1) as the solution. For judging the Reformed side in present-day expression compare W. Niesel, *Vom heiligen Abendmahl Jesu Christi*; also the occasional utterances of K. Barth.

F. The Church.

1. *What is the Church?* In keeping with the Lutheran conception of the organic relation between the human and the divine (in Trinity, the natures of Christ, in the means of grace, in the inspiration of Scripture, in conversion and predestination as we shall show) the Lutheran Confessions avoided speaking of an "invisible" and a "visible" Church for fear that the impression might be given of two churches, existing side by side. Luther and Melancthon knew that the Church of Christ on earth and even into eternity ("the Church Triumphant") is one (*una sancta*). "One Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Eph. 4: 4, 6).

a. This one Church is in one regard *invisible*, comprising all true believers in all Churches of Christen-

dom, which are known to God alone, who judges after the hearts of men. From the invisible side of its existence, Melancthon (in the Apology, Latin, p. 162) says: "It is in principle a fellowship of faith and the Holy Ghost in hearts." German text: "It consists chiefly in inward commission of eternal blessings in the heart, as of the Holy Ghost, of faith, of fear and the love of God."

b. But then this "invisible" church comes to visibility through certain marks: the teaching of the Gospel and the ministration of the sacraments.⁶²

2. This raises immediately the question: *Where is Visibly the True Church?*

In art. 7 of the AC we read: "The Church is the congregation of saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered." We know that this twice repeated "rightly" was not in the earlier drafts of the AC but was added by Melancthon before the Confession was publicly read and delivered on June 25th, 1530.⁶³ This postscript means that this double "rightly," which was repeated in the Apology, was seriously intended and added for a purpose: For cultivating the true Christian life in the Church there is needed purity of teaching especially with regard to the Gospel which is the heart of the Christian message.⁶⁴

With this we have prepared the way to ask the question: Does the Lutheran Church, through its fundamental expression on the Church in art. 7 of the AC and in the Apology claim to have the marks of the true church to the exclusion of other churches?

Note (1) that it is impractical to ask this question with regard to a world-church with a field comprising so many millions in many lands—State churches and "Volkskirchen," each with a different history and beset with its own difficulties struggling for the ideal. It was Lutheran territory which developed a "Tuebingen School," a "Ritschlian School," a "Historico-Religious School," etc. And many theological leaders which have led in directions away from the faith of the Fathers came from the Lutheran camp. We can speak of the orthodoxy of Lutheranism as expressed in its confessional heritage, but not so easily of the confessional character of a world church

⁶² Different from Calvinism, the AC does not claim a Scriptural church government as a mark of the Church. (Cf. Chap. V, Sec. V, E, 2).

⁶³ Th. Kolde, *Die aelteste uns bekannte Augsb. Konf.*, p. 51. Cf. P. Tschackert, *Kritische Ausgabe d. Unveraenderten Augsb. Konf.*, p. 68.

⁶⁴ Cf. our Introduction to the Symbolical Books, p. 182 f.

within which some are Confessional, some Pietists of the "fellowship movement," some Rationalists, others Independents, etc.⁶⁵ Furthermore (2) it would be a peculiar case of anachronism if we should expect from the AC a declaration on the question as we formulated it above. In 1530, when the AC was delivered there was outside of Catholicism no decided denominationalism. There was as yet no Reformed Church. There were differing tendencies, but they had not yet developed into churches, and the hope prevailed for many years that Protestantism in the end would be a united factor. The fact is that Melancthon's "altered" editions of the AC, since 1540, were an endeavor to save the unity of Protestantism. Not until the followers of Luther, in their conflicts with Calvinism, had consolidated themselves in the FC (1577), and the followers of Calvin had replied in the Newsted Admonition, can we speak of a Lutheran and of a Reformed Church.

This, however, is to be admitted: In the points of difference between the two churches the Lutherans have always claimed a Scripturalness for their doctrinal position (as all confessional churches do).

In closing this line of thought we repeat: The Lutheran claim of Scripturalness is the claim of all churches who still believe that the Scriptures are standards of truth. The first Reformed called themselves officially "die nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirchen."⁶⁶

3. As to the *Unity of the Church* it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. "Tradition, rites and ceremonies instituted by man" need not be everywhere alike. As to their bearing upon the problems of Church unity, we consider this next point:

4. *Rites and Usages in the Church*. Article 15 of the AC, supplemented by sections in article 28, offers guiding thoughts on the subject. Such rites and usages are meant which are not commanded by Scripture but which have grown out of the history of the Church. The approach to these discussions may be seen in the closing statement of article 7: "Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites and ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere alike." The problem of the *adiaphora* is involved (art. 15). Article 28 gives an evangelical treatment of Sunday observance (carefully to be compared with Luther's discussion in the Large Catechism). The

65 Cf. our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, p. 184 ff.

66 Geo. W. Richards in *Year Book of the Reformed Church*, 1936. Cf. W. Niesel in *Was heisst reformiert?* pp. 5-6

principles that should guide in the observance or rejection of rites and usages in the Church are the following: (1) Ceremonies, divinely commanded, such as the sacraments, must be maintained. (2) With respect to ceremonies not divinely commanded there must be liberty (See art. 27 on "Monastic Vows"). (3) Ceremonies, however, should not be multiplied (art. 23) because (a) they tend to obscure the doctrine of grace; (b) they may lead men to think lightly of the real commandments; (c) they may burden men's consciences. (4) Yet there are rights and usages which "ought to be observed," namely (a) such as are profitable for good order and helpful: as, for instance, the observance of the Lord's Day on Sunday instead of Saturday, after the former practice has become usage; (b) because it is dictated by charity (not to give offense, see art. 28, 53 ff.); and (c) as added by the FC (chap. 10), it is our duty to profess truth.

Note:—This last point occasioned an historical expression on the nature of an **adiaphoron**: Mathias Flacius insisted against Melancthon: "Nothing is an adiaphoron in a case where profession is to be made and offense might be given." (*Nihil est adiaphoron in casu confessionis et scandali.*)⁶⁷

5. *Perpetuity of the Church is stressed*: The "One Holy Church is to continue forever." The Church of Christ, in-so-far as it is the congregation of saints and true believers, characterized by that inherent necessity of organization for the pure teaching of the Word and with an administration of the sacraments, in accordance with the Word of God, has the promise of continuing to the end of time (article 7). Neither can this Church, "the Church properly," fall permanently into error. Particular churches may go out of existence, but not so the Church proper (Matt. 16:18; 28:20; 24:24).

G. The Ministry.

1. *Necessity of a Regular Call*. The Anabaptists, later followed by the Quakers, took the position that the outward Word preached by an appointed ministry cannot enlighten, convert or sanctify because the Spirit worked directly. The real word of God may come from any per-

⁶⁷ Cf. PRE, vol. 6, art. on Flacius by Kawerau. For a more complete discussion on this whole question of "Rites and Usages" our **Introduction to the Symbolical Books 2**, pp. 255-264.

son moved by the Spirit. A theological education was declared to be unnecessary. To this teaching the statement of article 14 of the AC was opposed: "No one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the sacraments, unless he be regularly called" (*nisi rite vocatus*). This statement was made to guard against disorder in the Church (1 Cor. 14:40). Because of the Lutheran definition of the Church as not being essentially an outward organization, the Romanists watched the Lutherans on this point.

2. *How is the Call to be received?*

a. The general practice is that the calling of the minister into his work for life takes place through the *synod* as a representation of congregations headed by their pastors and lay delegates. His education, public examination and ordination, are the steps in that part of the call, in which the Church at large bears the responsibility. But there is coöperation between the synod and local congregation in the special call for one field, which comes to an expression through the act of installation. There must be liberty with regard to the details, the practice being prescribed by the laws and regulations of the church body. In matters such as these Luther meant to permit the final practice to be shaped by the experience of the Church.⁶⁸

b. *Ordination*, among the Lutherans, does not communicate an indelible character; it is an occasion for public recognition and for the invocation of God's blessing through the laying on of hands. It is a solemn moment in the candidate's life as well as in the life of the church in which he now becomes a spiritual leader. The AC does not speak of ordination. Melanchthon in his "Appendix" to the Smalcald Articles refers to it as being the work of the bishops, but with the provision that where the regular bishops refuse to ordain suitable persons, every church has in this case full authority to ordain its own ministers (p. 349, 65 ff). Luther took the position that the congregation which calls may also ordain. In all such matters, however, he was willing to let the Church find its own life.

Note: *Does the Lutheran establishment of the Church upon the "rite vocatus" interfere with the work of*

68 Cf. our Introduction 2, pp. 248 ff.

laymen in the Church? It must be kept in mind that the interest in article 14 of the AC is in ecclesiastical order: everything in the Church must be done "decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40). Note that it says here: "No one should *publicly* teach in the Church," etc. By this was meant the public teaching of the Word on Sundays in the pulpit, which is the work of the regularly called pastor or the person whom he may have asked to substitute. Even a layman, perhaps a theological student, may serve, but then there must be (1) the call for each occasion, and (2) it must not be permanent without a call from the proper authority.

The article says "that none should administer the sacraments unless he be regularly called." Still the Lutheran practice of a baptism by laymen in cases of extreme necessity (*in agone mortis*, "Nottaufe") indicates that the need is subordinated to the rule.⁶⁹

H. Church Government.

1. *Power and Authority of the Minister in the Local Congregation.* The minister is supported by a "commandment of God to preach the Gospel and to administer the Sacraments" (AC, art. 28, 15, pointing to John 20:21 ff. and Mark 16:15). The Apology calls it the "power of order" (*potestas ordinis*). It is a power and authority which, according to Scripture and Confession, are ordinarily not to be exercised by laymen. The minister "has also the power of jurisdiction (*potestas jurisdictionis*), i. e., the authority to excommunicate those guilty of open crimes, and again to absolve them if they are converted and seek absolution" (Ap., 297, 13). The Smalcald Articles repeat this with reference to the power of jurisdiction (p. 351, 74; 347, 60). But note the remark of the AC (art. 28) that this power is to be exercised "without human force, simply by the Word." The power of the keys is "exercised only by teaching or preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments." Here is a difference of Lutheranism from Calvinism.⁷⁰

2. *Synodical Authority.* What authority have the general church organizations over the affairs of the local

⁶⁹ For further reading see our *Introduction*, pp. 251 f.; cf. the art. on Baptism pp. 203 f.

⁷⁰ Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Book III, chap. 6, 8, g and h.

congregation? In principle the local congregation is sovereign. But the constitution of an individual church, for a more successful execution of its works, may employ district synods and general synods with their agencies to do certain works of administration. In such synodical activity the Lutherans know of no distinction between bishops and congregational ministers, *jure divino*; the practice of recognizing presiding officers grows out of the need to secure good order and to help the local congregations in their work. The principles are deposited in the AC art. 28, and in Melancthon's "Appendix" to the Smalcald Articles.⁷¹

I. Relation of the Church to the State and to Civil Society.

1. *The Separation between Church and State* belongs to the most significant steps of the Lutheran Reformation. With this discussion compare carefully our discussion of the relation between Church and State in Chapter Five on the Reformed and Presbyterians (Sect. V, F).

There is a fundamental difference in the aims of Church and State. The spiritual power of the Church aims at the salvation of souls for eternal life; the worldly power aims at temporal welfare, security and good order. The power at the disposal of the Church is through the means of grace; the power of the State is legislation, obedience to which may be secured by the use of physical force. With the adoption of this principle of absolute separation between the government in these two spheres the medieval view of Gregory VIII, of Innocent III and Boniface VIII, fell to the ground. The AC (articles 16 and 28, with its Apology) laid the confessional foundation. The principles here expressed, created the modern state. Zwingli and Calvin, while rejecting Roman Catholic imperialism, expected from the state only the needed protection (as Luther also did), but they demanded the active support of the state in executing the Church's program of righteousness, thus permitting essential elements of Romanism to return by the back

⁷¹ Cf. our **Introduction**, pp. 253 ff.

door.⁷² Luther, however, did include in the above mentioned "needed protection" of the Church by the State the suppression of such things as public blasphemy and dissemination of thoughts leading to disorder.

In support of the separation between Church and State the Lutherans quoted passages such as the following: "My Kingdom is not of this world"; John 18:36; "Who made me an arbiter between you?" Luke 12:14; "Our citizenship is in heaven," Phil. 3:20; "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty . . .," 2 Cor-10:4.

2. *Relation to Civil Government.* From the acknowledgement of civil government as a "gift from God" (p. 85), the AC, art. 16, quotes four things that follow:⁷³ (1) "*Christians are necessarily to obey their own magistrates and laws, save only when commanded to sin,*" etc. (cf. Apology, Peoples Ed., p. 227, 55). (2) The members of the Church are subject to the State's use of the different forms of public redress: This included legal decisions, capital punishment, just wars, military service, (cf. Apology, p. 228, 59; FC, 530, 12 ff.), oath when required by the magistrates (FC, 530, 15). Here are differences from the Mennonites and Quakers. (3) It is right to bear civil office (cf. Apology 227, 53; FC, 530, 13; 668, 18). Against this there is the protest of the "Reformed" Presbyterians (Covenanters) who insist that Christians must not hold civil office, unless the constitution of the government recognizes God as the source of all power. (4) Christians may "sit as judges to determine matters by the imperial and other existing laws." The existing laws of a country are not and cannot always be identical with the divine laws. Sohm used to say: "The State is by nature a pagan." The divine laws are contained in the Holy Scriptures. In many cases the Scriptures have to express the Christian ideal while the laws of a civil government, under the existing conditions of society, cannot go above the levels of general ethics. For instance, the divorce laws of a country cannot be confined to the same grounds as those permitted by Scripture for divorce. But then the question arises: Can a

⁷² See our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. III, chapters 2 and 6.

⁷³ On each of these compare our *Introduction* pp. 266-268.

Christian be a judge and determine matters by the "existing laws"? According to article 16 of the AC he can. Only he must be "just." The Lutheran Church does not believe in a theocracy. Here is one of the tests of the separation between Church and State. Calvin said: "God's Word is the law of a nation."⁷⁴ In this he was in agreement with Zwingli. The position in the non-Lutheran camp of American churches is: "Politics is applied Christianity." Lutheranism has, in this respect, always stood for the separation of Church and State.

3. The actual history of Lutheranism in the different countries, however, is marked by *many inconsistencies* regarding that needed separation. We shall refer to just one illustration. It is surely a strange appearance that with this stress upon the separation of Church and State the Lutheran Church in home lands (Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland) have had their existence as state churches—with so close a relation between the two in Germany that when in 1918, after the close of the World War and after the revolution, the time came for a reconstruction, there was generally among the laymen as well as the clergy a very deep aversion against the idea of a church separated from the state and governed by synods. And all that so far has been accomplished was the change from a state church to a "people's church." All citizens are by birth members of the church as long as they have not explicitly left it.

The early Lutherans led by Luther and his collaborators put the government of the young evangelical church into the hands of the princes. It was intended to be temporary. Luther looked forward to a time when this government could be put into the right hands ("in die rechten Haende"). But it looked like a permanent condition. That temporary arrangement was made, it is true, at a time when the princes were generally men of sincere interest in the Church and at a time when they were the best fitted persons for the task. Nevertheless it laid the foundation for a continuing injury to Lutheranism from which Germany is suffering to this present day. The time came when the Church had to bear the yoke of

74 Cf. PRE, 16, 171, line 15.

the State for definite service. Some of the worst cases may be seen in the forced introduction of the Church Union in Prussia and other parts of Germany. Albert Hauck mentions as one aim of the Union "to gather up the strength of Protestantism in the empire."⁷⁵ Purely political aims as such must not be made an interest of the Church. Very generally the Church was degraded into a mere factor of civilization, in line with the education through school, theater and press. In times of war, through the pulpit, it was her task to stir the sentiment of the nation for the cause of the country irrespective of right or wrong. As to this last mentioned feature, however, conditions were not different in lands where the churches exist free from the state.⁷⁶

4. *How about the criticism that Lutheranism has been ignoring its Social Obligations?* This is the charge by E. Troeltsch in his *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, (1931) vol. 2, 515-690.⁷⁷ Here Luther as compared with Calvin, is severely critized. Outstanding Luther scholars, such as H. Boehmer and R. Seeberg have protested against the picture which Troeltsch has drawn in his endeavor to reproduce Luther's social ideas. Seeberg calls this picture "ganz verzeichnet," i. e., utterly misdrawn.⁷⁸

We must ask the critics of Luther and Lutheranism to compare with Troeltsch a recent publication of 544 pages, which has given us a complete picture of the social teachings and social influences of Lutheranism. *Soziallehren und Sozialwirkung des Luthertums*, (1932). The author is Werner Elert, professor at the university of Erlangen, who has given us this work as volume two of his *Morphologie des Luthertums*, the first volume of which appeared in 1931, under the title, *Theologie und Weltanschauung des Luthertums*, 465 pages. Here it is vol. 2 in which we are interested. The author of this

⁷⁵ PRE, 20, 256, 46.

⁷⁶ On the considerations leading to a state church condition in the Lutheran Church of Germany, see Walther, *op. cit.* pp. 338.

⁷⁷ This work is a translation by O. Wyon into English of Troeltsch *Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, in edition of 1911.

⁷⁸ See especially Troeltsch, as referred to, pp. 554 ff. and Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. IV 3, 276 f. Cf. Boehmer's *Luther* in English translation.

work also complains with the late Karl Holl of the *oberflaechliche Darstellung* by Troeltsch.⁷⁹

Elert's table of contents shows us the social principles and influences which have proceeded from the Lutherans in all lands; in Germany, Hungary and Transylvania, among the Slav races, in the Baltics, in Finland, in the Scandinavian countries, in North America, in foreign mission fields. The volume begins with an epistemological orientation which offers in six separate selections a view of the leading principles of sociology as derived from Lutheran history and theology. These principles are different from the ideals of Calvin.⁸⁰ The application by Elert is followed historically through a review of all family situations, through the races and nationalities in which Lutheranism has an existence. The problems of the state as such, including the forms of justice and international politics, are discussed in the light of teachings as they appeared seminally at the Reformation, especially by Luther and Melanchthon, (pp. 291-350). A long closing chapter, covering pp. 396-520, sums up historically and critically the influence of the Church upon the social and economic problems in the countries where Lutheranism was the leading spiritual influence. Here we read of the changes which came with converting the monasteries into educational and social institutions; of the ministers, missionaries, deaconesses; of the remarkable influence of the Lutheran physician; of the danger created by the modern state (socialism versus absolutism); the Church's part in the administration of benevolence; Church discipline; of the further development of the classes with estrangement of the "proletariat" from society, caused and aggravated by usury and other unscrupulous practices of capitalism. Against such things we hear the testimony of the pulpit (Scriver). The ministers as the intellectuals were leading, for instance, in efforts to secure loans for struggling business men, to relieve the dependent small farmers from work on Sunday, to secure for laborers their physical independence. The Lutheran pulpit was very energetic in admonishing the rulers, the masters, the capitalists, to-

⁷⁹ See Elert, I, 468.

⁸⁰ See our *History of Christian Thought*, Book III, chap. 6.

gether with the working and serving classes of their Christian duties.⁸¹ Then the first protest against slavery came from Lutheran Denmark (Ziegenbalg), from the Salzburger in Georgia. This was in the middle of the eighteenth century; England followed in the nineteenth century.

Our reply to the charge that the Lutheran Church ignores her social obligations is, Look at her great work of "Inner Missions."⁸²

This is indeed a magnificent work. In all the Lutheran countries and in their diaspora this work exists in strong societies within the state churches, doing a work which in America, for instance, is largely a concern of the state. The father of this work for Germany (which had its beginning in the Wesleyan movement of England) was Heinrich Wichern, who labored in the second third of the nineteenth century. In brief statement it is "social service" plus the constant aim of employing the physical helps for healing the sin-sick soul through the Gospel. The Reformed constituencies in Lutheran countries do the same work frequently in coöperation with the Lutherans, where this can be done. The difference of practice between the Lutherans in America and in Europe is this that in Europe, particularly in Germany, the "Inner Mission" has always worked through independent Church societies, while in America the work is generally incorporated in the synods.

Other objects have gradually become associated with the welfare-interest, such as evangelism, publication of tracts and periodicals, distribution of Bibles, establishment of schools for religious education, etc. But the *real body* of activities is composed of works such as the following: Institutions for the morally endangered, for the incurables, for the homeless. The organizations of Loehe, the Bodelschwingh institution at Bielefeld with 2000 epileptics, the "Rauhe Haus," established by Wichern, and the Neinstedt Institution for the feeble-minded with about 150 branches each, all over Germany, the *Halle Orphans Home*, inaugurated by A. H. Francke, and

81 Elert, II, 463 ff.

82 Elert had a reason for not dwelling especially upon a recounting of this work and, therefore, he dismisses it with just a reference; for a convenient and very brief review see Mahling in RGG, III, 271-280.

other such institutions are large colonies of mercy. The spiritual care for *prisoners* is an integral part of Inner Mission. The leaders in this work are tried ministers of the Gospel with appointment for life. Many of them are known as authorities in the particular psychology involved and are constantly growing in efficiency. The Lutheran *deaconess work*, inaugurated by Theodore Fliedner at the Kaiserswerth Mother House still is the recognized spiritual center of deaconess work in other places. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses are found all over the world including such places as Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and the far East. In this panorama of Inner Mission we should also include the work of organizations such as the "Blue Cross" which established asylums for drunkards. The motto in all these institutions is "service for Jesus' sake," and it is the aim to make the physical help count for the salvation of souls. These labors of love the Lutheran Church in America performs in many of our larger cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Minneapolis and other places. This American work, however, is insignificant compared with the work in Lutheran countries. Neither is it marked by the aggressive reformatory features which characterize the work of the other wing of Protestantism.

When Lutherans speak to critics of their great work of Inner Mission activities then these will reply: It is surely commendable to take care of those who have fallen among the robbers, but this is ambulance work. What is the Lutheran Church doing to make safe this way "from Jerusalem to Jericho" so that the poor travelers can move with safety? They want the Lutheran ministers to be at the front with those of Calvinistic persuasion in a hand-to-hand warfare against the forces of evil.⁸³ Elert admits that Inner Mission exhibits the character of a makeshift ("Notbehelf"): "There is about it the odor of a plaster upon wounds inflicted by the same society which now must take steps to heal them."⁸⁴ Lutherans, however, feel that the minister of the Gospel must not make himself an "ecclesiastical policeman," one

⁸³ On the ideas of Calvin regarding Church and State see his Inst. IV, 11, 3, 5.

⁸⁴ Elert II, 461.

who is known to make it his own personal business to run down the evil-doers of the community. This does not mean that he is not to preach fearlessly against the social sins of his age; against the drink evil, against vice, against the mania of gambling, against the movie-mindedness and the sensuality of the theatre, against obscene magazines and immoral books, against the sins of capitalism and socialism and the corruption of governments. If this is done in the right spirit, after the example of Scripture, in the way Luther did it, not after the methods of agitatorship and with a big stick, but with love for the endangered souls, with Christian tact and proper moderation, also with observing in preaching the evangelical relation between Law and Gospel, then there will always be in the congregation and community the men and women who, as truly Christian citizens, take the steps to bring about needed reform. This does not mean that the results from such preaching will always be sufficient. The times may become such that the Church of Christ sees herself confronted with situations which demand extraordinary measures. The Church at large may have to go before the government and urge thorough-going reforms.

K. Eschatology.

Our aim, here, must not be to give a complete system of Eschatology in the manner of Dogmatics, but we must confine ourselves to the historical motives within Lutheranism.

Among the signs preceding Christ's Second Coming there is the appearance of *Antichrist* as spoken of in II Thess. 2. Luther was disappointed when he saw the first draft of the Augsburg Confession and did not find an expression on the Pope as Antichrist.⁸⁵ He wrote: "To me there is no doubt anymore that the Pope with the Turk is Antichrist; believe what you will."⁸⁶ But today it is generally believed that the outstanding characteristic of Antichrist will be in certain demonic world forces which put themselves in the place of God.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ W in Enders VIII, 133.

⁸⁶ E VII, 184. Smalcald Articles II, 4.

⁸⁷ Prof. Paul Althaus, Erlangen University, mentions as first in a long series of possibilities the absolute state which assumes divine dignity and

(Continued on p. 223)

It is art. 17 of the Augsburg Confession which speaks of Christ's *final return for judgment*. It begins with the statement that "at the consummation of the world Christ *shall appear* for judgment." It will be the *last day*. Christ speaks of a "day and hour" (Mark 13: 32) which are not known to us. We are to be watchful for that day or period of time at the brink of eternity. History will then come to an end.

The AC continues: Christ "shall raise up *all* the dead." (Cf. John 5:28-29). To the "godly and elect" shall be given "eternal life and everlasting joys." Their state of blessedness will be marked by fellowship with God and the redeemed.

From Scripture we know that the final judgment will be according to the works (cf. Matthew 16: 27; John 5: 29; Rom. 2: 6; II Cor. 5: 10). The believers also must go through a judgment on the basis of their works (Althaus, p. 192). But as evangelical Christians they find comfort in the fact that a living faith in Christ, a faith which is grounded on God's forgiving grace and is inseparable from the "New Obedience" (AC 4 and 6), is the one ground and test for salvation. (John 3: 16; John 5: 24b: "And shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life). "By grace are ye saved through faith and that not of yourselves: It is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast." (Eph. 2: 8-9; cf. Rom. 11: 6; 3: 24). Still, Scripture knows of that judgment with regard to works also of the believers. How can this be reconciled with the "salvation by grace"? (1) In a searching judgment of all the works in a Christian's life, such as Althaus holds up before his readers (pp. 193-197), we clearly see something of the alarming extent of our failings; but in this judgment we will also see the wonderful depth of God's grace, a grace so overwhelming that in faith only it can be divined. This judgment of the believer's works is not for condemnation, but it is for pointing out the love of God, which is his shield. *Popular Symbolics*, (p. 134), referring to John 5: 24, calls this judgment an "absolution." (2) There may

authority. See *Die letzten Dinge*, 4th ed., 1933, pp. 272-286. In the following we shall continue to refer to this classic in eschatological literature of 350 pages (published by Bertelsmann, Guetersloh).

also be certain serious situations in this judgment of a lifework. Read, for instance, I Cor. 3:12-15. And (3) this judgment may also be the occasion for special rewards. Will there be degrees of glory in eternity? Not, of course, in such a way that the salvation of some is not a full salvation, adapted to their capacity; Luther knew of some with more "honor" because of what they had to go through in the way of tribulation, sufferings, etc. (W 36, 365 f.) Salvation itself cannot be earned, but within this state there may be the possibility of special glory for some. Compare, for instance, Paul with other Christians.⁸⁸

Then there will be, in this dualistic issue, the punishment of the ungodly and the wicked. (John 5:29; Dan. 12:2; Mt. 25:41-46). We are all in danger of falling into this class! Althaus speaks of the fearful elements of truth in the *old drastic pictures of hell*, referring to sufferings which involve not only the soul but man's whole being, and he stresses their eternal duration (*das ewige Sterben*, p. 183). The special refuge which all can have, on this side of eternity, is that they can flee to God's redeeming grace for forgiveness of sin and for strength to lead a godly life.

It is to be kept in mind, of course, that art. 17 of the AC presupposes the teachings of the Lutheran Church concerning sin, the means of grace, repentance, justification and sanctification, thus showing an evangelical way to salvation. Very many church groups and many, many souls all over the world, are in their hearts evangelical and in their faith sincere. God looks at the hearts. But how about the many who have had no knowledge of spiritual things? We must trust that for these the holy, loving God will have his own just and kind provision, according to "uncovenanted grace."

Earlier in his book, Althaus asks the question whether restoration of all things" (*apokatastasis*, Acts 1:6). This doctrine had been held by Origen (d. 254) and was renewed by the Anabaptists of the Reformation time.

Earlier in his book, Althaus asks the question wheth-

⁸⁸ Cf. also C. Stange's discussion of the "Judgment of Believers" in his *Moderne Probleme des Christl. Glaubens*, 2nd. ed., 1923. Cf. P. L. Meltenbruch, *The Doctrines of Christianity*, 1931, p. 223.

er during life the sinner cannot himself atone for his wrong-doings, for instance, by restoration. But all answers of rationalism, of theosophy and anthroposophy, etc., are shown to be insufficient to wipe out one sinful act. Still over it all, and able to blot out all guilt, he says, is the forgiveness of God in Christ in the way expressed in Micah 7:19, for all still in the time of grace: "And thou wilt cast all their sins into the depth of the sea" (pp. 189-197).

The Roman teaching of purgatory was rejected as unscriptural by Melanchthon in his *Apology of the AC*, and as unevangelical by Luther in the *Smalcald Articles*: "It conflicts with the chief article which teaches that only Christ, and not the works of men, can help souls." (Pt. II, par. 12).

Millennium. With the teaching of the AC regarding Christ's return for judgment, "there is no room for a millennium here on earth and a twofold coming of Christ in the future, one at the beginning and another at the end of the millennium. . . The AC rejects also any teaching that maintains two comings of Christ in the future and separates between the resurrection of the godly and a resurrection of the ungodly by any long period of time." (Klotsche, p. 190). The teachings of such a millennium was stimulated by the persecutions of the Christians and of the Jews in the ages of their oppression which was felt also by the Anabapists of the Reformation times.

The special text of Millennialism was always Rev. 20:1-7. But this section as a whole is very difficult to interpret. Quite apart from the fact that no fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith is based upon a single passage of Scripture, this passage has reference not to the millennium, but to Jewish apocalyptic symbols (with the use of the number thousand as the symbol of completion) which the author introduces to complete his picture of the fulfillment of all Messianic hopes. According to the analogy of Scripture, it is very evident that there is a perfect synchronization of Christ's Second Advent and the Day of Judgment, which leaves no place for a millennium.

The best discussion of all the problems connected with the millennium, in our symbolical literature, is the

one found in *Popular Symbolics*, 1934: pp. 366-375 (cf. pp. 128-136). Note especially the critical review on pp. 373-375. See closing discussions on "Eschatology" in the Appendix B, VII and VIII.

V. Post-Reformation Influences Contributory to Present-Day Lutheranism.

The objective essentials of Lutheranism must always be sought in its historical Confession. But it must not be overlooked that Lutheranism has had a history, and that the experiences of this history have had distinct influences upon the Lutheran Church. These have had a moulding effect upon its character. In such historical experiences there are things that must be and have been accepted and become permanent traits of this church; although there are also influences that are foreign to Lutheranism, against which it will react if its life is sane and normal. Both the positive and the negative reaction have contributed to building the Lutheran Church of today. In our description of these matters we cannot do more than to give an enumerating review.

1. *Melanchthonianism*. We begin with recalling the long conflict of Lutheranism with Calvinism in its endeavor to occupy the territory of Lutheran Germany. Over long periods of history this included the friction between the Lutheranism of the FC and the Lutheranism of Melanchthonianism and Philippism. By "Melanchthonianism" we mean the differences for which Melanchthon was responsible (See Dr. E. J. Wolf's description "Melanchthonianism" in our Appendix, A, II, 8), and by "Philippism" also some matters in which the pupils of Melanchthon went farther than their teacher had gone.⁸⁹ These century-long conflicts gave to the Lutheran Church a confessional consciousness on matters of historic Lutheranism.⁹⁰

2. Later followed the long conflict of the Lutheran Church with *Syncretism* (Ibidem, pp. 49-80).

We shall here not take space to describe in detail

⁸⁹ As to the topics here referred to, see G. J. Fritschel in our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, pp. 407 and 438 (on *Adiaphora*); pp. 408 and 407 (Necessity of Good Works); pp. 409 and 292 (*Synergism*); pp. 409, 430 and 436 ff. (Person of Christ and the Supper); (On the term "Melanchthonianism" see Appendix, Union Problems).

⁹⁰ Cf. our *Union Movements*, pp. 19-48.

the *syncretistic movement*. The motive in the mind of George Calixtus for calling attention to the many things which the different churches have in common can be respected. But as a movement it developed theories for church union, which made essential things indifferent. (We refer to the manner of distinguishing between fundamentals and non-fundamentals and then limiting the fundamentals to the Apostles' Creed.) A creed to be sufficient today would have to contain statements pertaining to matters on which the phrases of the Apostles' Creed have been differently interpreted by the various denominations of Christendom. We repeat once more what Philip Schaff said: "To make the Apostles' Creed the basis on which to unite the churches would be equal to compelling the grown and matured man again to return to the state of development of the child."⁹¹ There was a similar movement in England: See Stillingfleet.⁹² This syncretistic controversy left opponents and adherents in the Lutheran camp, and this contributed to its character.

Concerning the Union.

But still deeper was the impress from the long conflict with the *Union*. In Germany, beginning with Prussia, under persistent invitation and enforcement by the Hohenzollern through the centuries, we finally observe the spectacle of a Church Union between the many Lutherans and the very few Reformed (1817). It was intended as an absorptive union, but after growing opposition the government, in 1834, finally yielded to the arrangement of a confederation. This Prussian Union covers today a population of 19½ millions. The remaining confessional Lutherans in Germany number about 14 millions. The Reformed in Germany constitute a very small number, about 4 millions. The Hohenzollern in Brandenburg, destined to great leadership among the princes, had become Reformed in 1613 (conversion of Elector Sigismund). Immediately they tried to convert their subjects to Calvinism, as this had been done in the Palatinate. When this could

⁹¹ *Creeks*, I, on Calixtus. For a fundamental discussion, see our "*Union Movements*," pp. 81-109.

⁹² Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, chap. 1.

not be done they began to labor persistently for a Union, against the protests of many; among these was Paul Gerhardt. For more than a century there were no results. Finally, at a time of confessional indifference (after the sway of Rationalism and at the time of an incoming Pietism as a reaction) the Union took shape in 1817. It had been preceded by the conversion of the following smaller Lutheran territories to Calvinism: the Palatinate (1561), Nassau-Dillenburg (1578-1586), Hesse-Cassel (1592), Bremen (1595), Lippe (1602), Anhalt (1641). Usually the altered AC of 1540 paved the way, and soon the Heidelberg Catechism followed.⁹³ In these same dominions, outside of Prussia, the Union of 1817 was welcomed, of course. Gradually there developed also a diaspora to the East of Germany, in South America, and, independently, the Evangelical Synod in North America (1840), now in organic union with the former German Reformed Church in the United States of America.

The introduction of the Union has weakened the testimony of the Lutheran Church in the land of its birth. It is responsible for much of the confusion in the new Germany under the "Third Reich."

It was these experiences of Lutheran Germany with Syncretism and its earlier conflicts with the Union, which have caused large sections of the Lutheran Church to watch constantly over its own identity, and, on the other hand, it has made other sections of Lutherans confessionally indifferent. Of this note must be taken when we want to analyze present-day Lutheranism in Germany and its diaspora all over the world.

In 1529, long before the conflict of the Lord's Supper had assumed the practical significance which it had received after the controversy between Joachim Westphal and Calvin, 1552,⁹⁴ Zwingli had expressed the judgment that the difference must be treated as a *syncretism* (agreeing to disagree) and need not affect church fellowship.⁹⁵ Such is in the main, the position of the Reformed Churches of today. In this the confessional Lutherans have always differed from the Reformed.

93 Cf. O. Zoeckler, *Die Augsburgerische Konfession*, 1870.

94 *Union Movements*, pp. 22-25.

95 Zwingli's *Works*, by Schuler, VII, 390.

Against the unionistically inclined in their own midst and against sympathizers with Calvinism, the term "unaltered" (*Augustana Invariata*) came into use as a shibboleth. It had reference to Calvin who had declared that at a colloquy he had subscribed to Melanchthon's "altered" edition of the AC of 1540. The adoption of the FC and the publication of the BC in 1580, signified the final separation between these two contemporaneous churches of the Reformation. This was a grief to many. The union endeavors continued for centuries. There was the establishment of an absorptive union in 1817, which was converted into a confederative union in 1834. Between the years 1852 and 1873, this historical Union was finished in all its details and finally published in 1895, with parallel liturgical formulas for the Lutherans, the Reformed and those who preferred the absorptive Union. It was this syncretistic feature which was offensive to the confessional Lutherans.⁹⁶ Before the accomplishment of all this, there had been much protest, and many protesting pastors had been imprisoned. Pursued by the police the ministers were hurrying from place to place, preaching and administering the sacraments, mostly at night. When apprehended they were imprisoned. When members of the congregations refused to disclose the names of ministers who had officiated they were punished with three months' imprisonment on bread and water. Many laymen in those days lost all their possessions through fines. The oppression was so persistent and reached such a degree of severity that in some congregations hope for a better day was given up and plans matured for emigrating. Some went to Australia, others came to America. Hengstenberg's "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," in 1859, looked back over more than thirty years after the introduction of the Union and wrote: "What has been accomplished? Twenty to thirty thousand Lutherans have been driven across the Atlantic, and within the Church nothing but conflict and troubled consciences wherever the word 'Union' is pronounced."⁹⁷

96 Our Union Movements, pp. 133-135.

97 Ibid. pp. 123, 127.

To this we shall add a few judgments on church union as a principle.

Court preacher W. Hoffman, a very influential member of the Evang. Oberkirchenrat from 1852 to 1873, declared: "The Lutheran dogma itself and without regard to the Reformed no more expresses to me the theological form of my faith than does the Reformed dogma unsupplemented by the Lutheran. I, therefore, regard a real inner union of the two Confessions as an undeniable demand of each of them, and can acknowledge only one Evangelical Protestant Church in two confessional types—not two kinds of evangelical churches."⁹⁸

While this argument had the theological ring, a purely political interest was the leading factor. It was at this time (1868) that Hoffman published his book *Deutschland Einst und Jetzt im Lichte des Reiches Gottes*. Here he said, (p. 494): "It is the mission of the Prussian Church to lead in the Union, and it is to comprise the whole German Protestantism into one church. The church will be a German church only when the territorial principle. . . has yielded to the national principle. He, therefore, who resists the development and expansion of the Union, negates the results of the German Reformation and misconceives thoroughly the mission of Germany with regard to the Church." Dorner also spoke of a "universal German Evangelical Church."⁹⁹ It was in consequence of such utterances of the leading men in the Union that the "Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz" came into existence by calling a convention of Lutherans to the city of Hanover (1868).¹⁰⁰ The watchword of the Lutherans at that time was: "Guard against coming under the Union government in Berlin!"

Among the few early voices against the Union was a testimony that came from Pastor Claus Harms in Kiel. In his "Ninety-Five Theses" which he published in view of the third centennial anniversary of the Reformation he declared: "Through a marriage the poor maid, the Lutheran Church, is to be made rich. Do not perform

⁹⁸ PRE, 7, 228, lines 36-45.

⁹⁹ Wangemann, *Una Sancta*, p. 308

¹⁰⁰ Wangemann, p. 400.

this ceremony over the bones of Luther, they will become alive, and then, woe unto you!" This prophecy came to literal fulfillment at the tercentenary anniversary of the delivery of the AC (25th of June, 1830), which the king planned to make the occasion for a large forward step in the introduction of the Union. It was then that there came from Breslau, through Professor Scheibel and his followers, a protest against the Union and a demand for an independent Lutheran Church.

It is of interest to observe that all through the history of the Union in Prussia, Lutherans and Reformed separately *were never recognized* as "churches." The late Professor G. Kawerau remarked: "We can speak only of a state church in Prussia, in which the congregations are either Lutheran or Reformed or (in very small number) consensus congregations, and that the government of this state church has the obligation to protect these Lutheran or Reformed congregations upon their own historical confessional basis."¹⁰¹ Julius Stahl, jurist and theologian, said: "The state church of Prussia is not a Union Church. It has not a common confessional basis upon which, as a church, it stands; but its bases throughout are the distinguishing Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches."¹⁰² In other words the so-called "state church" in Prussia, this "evangelical church," is no church in the full meaning of article 7 of the AC.

A most remarkable judgment on the Union was expressed by Dr. Feine, professor of the N. T. at the Halle University where the principle of the Union has always been upheld (against the neighboring Leipzig University). Referring to the endeavor of creating a church constitution in 1933, P. Feine wrote: "At this occasion (of creating a new Church under the Third Reich) they should have done away with the Union. It is no good thing (*kein gutes Gebilde*). It was created only to favor the Reformed. We have in our church the two great types: the Lutheran, by far in the majority, and the Reformed, a minority. The German Reformation was from the beginning overwhelmingly Lutheran.

¹⁰¹ Quoted from a letter to the writer.

¹⁰² Stahl, *Luth. Kirche und Union*, pp. 49, f.

Up to this day the Lutherans have suffered under this arrangement; the Reformed have profited. Why do they not return, in this remarkable day, to the two great types of the Reformation? It would make the situation of the German Evangelical Reichskirche within the evangelical churches so much easier."¹⁰³

To these voices from Germany we add one from America, a judgment by the late Professor E. J. Wolf in the Gettysburg Theological Seminary: "Lutheranism is a system. So is Calvinism. . . . Each has a vitality that has withstood the storm of the ages. The two have much in common, and at many points they coincide. But when you attempt to alter either system or both, so as to combine the two, you destroy both without being able to form a new structure from the ruins. The result is disorganization. Building theological systems is not a matter of arbitrary mechanical exploit. Truth like every other life force, is organic and organizing and when once the normal basis is laid down, the structure grows by virtue of inherent laws. . . . It is as impractical in theology as it is in nature to cross species. The hybrid does not propagate itself. The mongrel has no successor. . . . The Lutheran faith is a body of truth so Scriptural, so logical, so rounded, so organic and symmetrical in its development, that the rejection of any part of it mars and mutilates the whole and renders it utterly unsatisfactory. Possibly not every stone in a Gothic cathedral is essential to it, but if you remove a block here, a buttress there, and a pillar yonder, if you substitute in places brick, stucco or wood for original marble, the glory of the building is gone, its strength is undermined, its stability endangered."¹⁰⁴

As to size, the literary work of the theologians of this age was stupendous.¹⁰⁵ The Lutherans of that day looked upon Calvinism as their special foe, because in this system they saw the embodiment of especially dangerous errors, particularly regarding the means of

103 Paul Feine, *Ein Wort zur Evangelischen Kirchenverfassung*, Bertelsmann, Gueterstoh, 1933, p. 46.

104 From a series of articles by E. J. Wolf on *Melanchthonian Lutheranism* in the "Lutheran Evangelist," then edited by Dr. S. A. Ort, April 10, 1891.

105 See the enumeration of titles in Kurtz, *Church History*, English, par. 159, 4, cf. the 14th German edition, par. 162, 2.

grace. They could see in the departure of Zwingli and Calvin from Luther and in the adherence to their views by their followers nothing but a willful rejection of plain truth. In this, of course, their psychology was defective.¹⁰⁶ The history of doctrine has taught us to think differently on these matters. Tholuck in his articles in the second edition of the *PRE* and in his books,¹⁰⁷ caused the circulation of greatly misleading estimates of these theologians, which were also taken over by Ph. Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 1. In the third edition of the *PRE* these estimates have been substituted by new articles which have aimed at more justice. J. Kunze in his article on Abr. Calovius remarks: "Tholuck's judgment betrays the narrow position of the pietistic-unionistic school."¹⁰⁸ The age of the Thirty Years' War, of course, was different from our age. P. Tschackert says of those theologians: "In the rough hull of their orthodoxy they preserved the religious contents of the Reformation and handed it to posterity."¹⁰⁹

Pietism, Old and New.

Deep and lasting impressions the Lutheran Church received through the *Pietistic Movements*. We must distinguish between the original movement in the 18th century with Spener and Francke, and the Halle Pietists later on, and the Pietists of still later times. These movements have softened the tense confessional zeal and also the intellectualism of certain ages by cultivating a theology of Biblicism to which usually the younger theologians were open. Against the inclination to officiousness in the State Church, they taught the oncoming younger pastors the practice of cordial human relationship to their parishioners. These earlier and later pietistic movements in Germany and in the Northlands introduced the services of lay brothers with a very simple preaching of the Gospel in private homes and little chapels. This has created the present day "fellowship" movement (*Gemeinschaftsbewegung*). It did

106 See our *Union Movements*, p. 98, (c).

107 *Geist der Luth. Theologen Wittenbergs*, 1852, and *Das kirchliche Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1861.

108 *PRE*, 3, 653, 24.

109 *PRE*, 3, 647, 28.

a great service by leading laymen to use Scripture for their edification and to work as witnesses for Christian truth. True, it often created unnatural conditions in the Church between the pastors and these lay preachers, and thus militated against the good order (*rite vocatus*) as demanded by art. 14 of the AC. But the more the fellowship societies have been recognized by the official church, the more have ways been developed for genuine coöperation. The whole state church situation made this work a necessity. Under our American free church conditions, surely, the *organic* relation of these societies to the official Church would be the natural thing. But a certain distrust on the part of the fellowship organizations has been holding them in their independent position.¹¹⁰

Church History even knows of doctrinal controversies between the Orthodox Lutherans and the Pietists of the 18th century. These topics pertain to (1) *regeneration*, which the Pietists identified with the needed experience of conversion. The orthodox Lutherans insisted that, objectively and in principle, regeneration had taken place in infant baptism, teaching that where baptismal regeneration had not developed subjectively into a conscious experience of grace and where there had been a falling from grace, there conversion in some form must follow through the work of the Holy Spirit in response to the call from the Word; not necessarily by outward demonstration, as many of the Pietists taught. (2) *Justification and Sanctification*: Spener had insisted that justification can be the experience only of a converted believer in whom sanctification had already taken its beginning; mere faith in the promise of forgiveness is not sufficient. This the orthodox Lutherans regarded as a mixing of justification and sanctification and as leading to a trust in good works. (3) some of the early Pietists also taught a *distinction* between the first experience of conversion, which "seals" the assurance and a succeeding state of grace in which man may arrive at sinlessness. This idea of later Wesleyanism and present day holiness movements (Chap. VII, B, Sec. III) was

¹¹⁰ See our *Free Church in Comparison with the State Church*. Translated from the German by the late Prof. J. Stump, 1903.

rejected. There was also (4) the difference between the two factions on the *adiaphora*: The Pietists fled radically from the world and theatre-going, card-playing, smoking; to some even laughing and the taking of a walk appeared to be sinful. ("The spirit of fun crowds out the Holy Spirit.") Frederick the Great was provoked about these attitudes and threatened his professors at the Halle University with deposition from office if they would not occasionally attend a theatrical play. Lutheran ethics (Martensen, for instance) has always advised: "Live in the world without permitting yourselves to be contaminated by the world." There were other differences. Of special importance among these was (5) the one on the *Church and the Ministry*: The orthodox Lutherans insisted that the Church is to be builded by the means of grace, chiefly through the called ministry of the Word. The Pietists pointed to the individual believers, gathered in groups, among which the *conventicles* (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*), as the special salt of the earth, are of greatest importance. The official churchman spoke much of the appointed office of the ministry as being endowed with special grace for his work; the Pietists stressed the Christian character of the person and the faith in him. Spener had said that only a minister who had experienced the saving power of grace in his own life can be a true preacher and pastor. This statement was opposed by Ernst Valentine Loescher (d. 1747), a theologian of deep personal piety and great influence, who said that even an unconverted minister, if he preaches truly the teachings of God's Word can be blessed in his work as much as a converted minister, because the saving power does not lie in the person of the preacher but in the means of grace. With this statement he stood of course upon art. 8 of the AC, which made it a special point to safeguard the objectivity of the means of grace in the Church.¹¹¹ The aim of the Pietistic theologians of that period was to make theology fruitful for practical Christianity; not to develop it along scientific lines. As representatives of this period we have P. J. Spener (d. 1705) and A. H. Francke (d. 1727). Among these practical leaders were fine scholars, such as J. A.

111 Cf. Kurtz, *Church History*, on Pietism in its First Stage (1670-1794).

Bengel (d. 1752), with his commentary of the N. T., remarkable for deep insight and terseness of form (translated into English by R. F. Weidner); also historians such as C. A. Salig (d. 1738), and J. W. Walch (both Luther scholars), the latter with an edition of Luther's Works, re-edited in St. Louis, Mo., by the Concordia Publishing House; also L. von Mosheim (d. 1755), "father of modern Church History," his history having been translated into English.

But the Pietists of this older type gradually degenerated and paved the way for Rationalism. One of its number who was active in this direction, was G. Arnold (d. 1714), with his *Unparteiische Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie*, written in a peculiar spirit of partisanship. To him all heretics, sectarians and separatists were right because of his premise that the right is always on the side of the oppressed.¹¹²

But the Pietistic Movement has had more stages than this first (from 1670 to 1794). The University of Halle where once Francke introduced his *Collegia Philo-biblica*, together with the Berlin University, became the first strongholds of Rationalism. But later, when the force of the *rationalismus vulgaris* was spent, it became evident that a revived Pietism had contributed to its overthrow. This Pietism, in harmony in many respects with the Moravians, continued to make its influence felt in Germany and in other lands and also affected the Lutheran Church. There was the publication house of F. Perthes (d. 1843), in Hamburg and Gotha.¹¹³ There was also Klaus Harms (d. 1855), prominent preacher in Kiel in the spirit of Luther, who in 1817, published his 95 Theses against Rationalism and the Union and other leveling tendencies of his day, a man of deep influence upon succeeding generations through his remarkable addresses to theological students on Pastoral Theology. In addition to him may be mentioned another great preacher in the South (Wuerttemberg) of the revival

112 For a critique see his near contemporary E. S. Cyprian, *Notwendige Verteidigung*, etc. (d. 1745). It was Mosheim's merit to oppose to this work of extreme partisanship a real objectively critical Church History. For a critique by a later scholar, see Fr. Dibelius, G. Arnold, *sein Leben und seine Bedeutung*, 1873; cf. A. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* II, 1, 294.

113 Cf. his biography of 3 vols., 1896.

type: L. Hofacker, with a sermon-book of 41 editions (up to 1890). In the university spheres there was A. Neander, Berlin (d. 1850), A. Tholuck, Halle (d. 1877) and T. Christlieb, Bonn (d. 1889). In the service of Pietism we find also the "Biblicists": J. T. Beck, Tuebingen (d. 1878), H. Cremer, Greifswald (d. 1903), J. Koegel, Kiel (d. 1928), A. Schlatter, Tuebingen (d. 1938). In this connection should be mentioned T. Jellinghaus, "dogmatician of the Fellowship Movement." Before his death he revoked certain positions and withdrew his publications.¹¹⁴ In Norway at Oslo, in the independent "*Gemeindefakultaet*," we have since 1916, Professor O. E. Moe for New Testament Theology, whom we shall have occasion to quote below. Besides these and following them there have been many names: Evangelists such as E. Schrenk and S. Keller, and leaders of fine tact and deep piety such as Rektor Dietrich, Stuttgart (d. 1919). Many of them had been heads of institutions, such as J. Gossner in Berlin, H. Rappard near Basel, C. Jensen in Breklum and Joh. Paulsen in Kropp. Outstanding in Scandinavian lands was especially Nils Hauge of Norway, the "Spener of the North" (d. 1824). And later in Denmark there was J. W. Beck (d. 1901), deeply influenced by Kirkegaard, with a strong influence also upon Northern Schleswig where he encountered the movement centering around Breklum. There was also a great company of true witnesses in spiritual song such as P. Spitta (d. 1859), the singer of "Psalter und Harfe," K. Gerok in his "Palmblaetter"—both with editions of around a hundred. Dora Rappard, at St. Chrischona, with her little books of spiritual songs, and the biography of her husband, H. Rappard, should not be overlooked.

The following judgment of Kurtz' Church History in its 14th edition, as revised by P. Tschackert, deserves consideration: "This new Pietism, the same as its older predecessor, lacked appreciation of the necessity of the historically developed church life (*Kirchentum*), the 'conventicle' took the place of the congregation (*Kirchgemeinde*); the whole of Christianity was seen in the faith of the individual persons, and no importance was attached to the church, the sacraments and the Confes-

114 RGG, III 65. Cf. our section, the Holiness Movements in Chap. VII.

sions.”¹¹⁵ But the subjective revivals could not maintain themselves in the original form, and the need was felt for the ways of the official church after the Confessions of the Reformation. In the process of clarification on this matter, through the natural conflicts, there were men among the leaders who arrived at Lutheran ideals with which they influenced deeply the Lutheran Church, not only in the homelands, but also among those that had emigrated to the shores of America, Australia, etc.

Some of our Lutheran organizations in America in the former General Synod (“Melancthon Synod,” “Franckean Synod”) remind us of the Pietistic controversies in Germany, old and new. H. M. Muhlenberg, “Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America” (d. 1787), came from Pietistic Halle; his contemporary, W. C. Berkenmeyer (ordained 1725), came from the opposite camp (from Hamburg). The controversy in the homeland was one reason of the failing of these two great men to coöperate in America. Through such friction, by action and by reaction, differing types of Lutheranism have been created even in this new world. Our “Missourians” prefer to take the more strictly confessional Berkenmeyer as “patriarch” and ideal. Similarly have the old Pietistic conflicts in Norway been reflected in organizations among the immigrants to America (“Hauge Synod,” “Eilsen Synod”). The Pietistic Societies in Wuerttemberg, which once let many of their members emigrate to Russia, where they continued their “Stunden,” came to this country with all the Pietistic peculiarities, including even their chiliastic inclinations. (Cf. chap. 1 on Eastern Orthodox Churches). These developments in the denominational world take place and new traits are impressed upon the historical Lutheran body, of which the new “*Konfessionskunde*” type of the old “Comparative Symbolics” has promised not to be altogether silent.

The Influence from Theological Schools of the Nineteenth Century.

The Lutheran Church of today has received many influences, helpful and hurtful, from this source. Of

course, this is a study so comprehensive in its materials and problems that we must leave the fuller explanation to the *History of Christian Thought*. We shall deal with it there in a treatment of the following chapters:¹¹⁶ "German Rationalism" (Bk. or Section IV, 1 and 2), "Schleiermacher" (V, 3), "Theology and Theologians under the Influence of Hegel's Philosophy" (V, 4), "Ritschlianism" (V, 6), the "Historico-Religious School" (V, 7). It will not be without profit to study these materials with the question in mind: What was the reaction of Lutheran scholars, especially in works on the History of Doctrine? Was there anything in these movements of contributory value that has been retained by the teachers of the Lutheran Church? Or, how did the negative reaction of Lutheranism express itself? Of special importance for the purpose of this our chapter on the Lutheran Church is the study of the *conservative schools* since Schleiermacher. These are contained in the above mentioned series. But lack of space in this volume makes it necessary to content ourselves with only a few orientating remarks.

With Rationalism, about as presented in the Dogmatics of F. Roehr (d. 1848), the magnificent gothic structure of Christian teaching, which the seventeenth century theologians had erected upon the principles of the AC and Melancthon's *Loci*, had broken down.¹¹⁷ The ministry almost everywhere soon capitulated and preached as taught by the rationalistic professors in the universities. Schleiermacher (d. 1834), a "seminal mind," a "modern Origen," was a new reformer aiming at creating a new theology, chiefly on the basis of a religious psychology. His conception of the Trinity was Sabellian: Christ loses his position as the Redeemer. The metaphysical aspects of his character are denied. The new theology becomes a religious psychology: Man, (the condition of his soul) instead of God and His work, is the center of religious interest. The emphasis is upon feeling and experience and upon the movements within the soul. Theology became anthropocentric. Sin, to him, was nothing but the actual sensuousness of man in

116 The publication of this work of two volumes is assured.

117 See our *Story and Significance of the AC*, p. 10.

conflict with the spirit by which he is hindered in the realization of his divine consciousness; it is not, as Paul and the Reformation teach, preëminently the will of man in conflict with God. The interest is not in the antithesis of sin and grace, but in the antithesis as conceived by ancient classicism, which was that between spirit and matter. Consequently, while redemption is taken as a historical-psychological influence of Christ upon man, by which man is drawn more and more into His likeness, this union of man with God is not looked upon as having to be brought about by the experience of the forgiveness of sin through a divine act of justification. Thus, the Biblical facts of redemption fall to the ground simply because there is no need for them. The age was tired of the old dogmatics of the *Loci*. And now Schleiermacher offers a system of dogmatics under the title: *Der Christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der Evangelischen Kirche*, 2 vols., 1821.

The influence of this work has been marvelous. The attractive feature for many was the development of Dogmatics out of the experience of the systematizing theologian. As to the substance of theology, Schleiermacher was not acceptable to the Conservatives of the various groups. He came from the Reformed side. The first impressions from theology were received in the Moravian seminary in Niesky. A genius of his magnitude soon had an independent attitude to all further educational impressions. He studied much in Greek classicism and all the *humaniora*. There was in his thought a strain of Spinozian pantheism. Theodore Kaftan once said in correspondence: "*Er hat die Bahn Luthers verlassen.*" His theology was fundamentally out of harmony with the "analogy of faith" (cf. Rom. 12; 6). What was it that made Schleiermacher's Dogmatics so attractive, even to some of the Catholics, and to conservative Lutherans (Klaus Harms, Kliefoth, and many in the Erlangen School)? It was, first of all his radical departure from the old method of topical treatment and with that from the "dogmatics of the *Loci*" (begun by Melancthon and worked to death by the dogmaticians of the 17th century). In place of it he undertook the development of dogmatics out of one leading principle.

It was also his method of psychological approach, his proposition that the dogmatician must discuss the facts of his own religious experience without the aid of philosophical tenets. With this last point he hit upon something that Luther had also said: "He who wants to be a true Doctor of Divinity must do it without Aristotle." This helped to do away with the endlessly categorized lines of polemics and apologetic thought, in the method, for instance, of Quensted (d. 1688) and his school of theologians, which had introduced an intellectualism that amounted to a species of rationalism.

The publication, at that time, of H. Schmid's Dogmatics, (*Die Dogmatik der ev. luth Kirche*, 1843) with seven editions up to 1893, translated into Swedish and English, was after all a needed service to the Lutheran Church, because many admirers of Schleiermacher were in danger of losing sight of the Biblicity and orthodoxy of Melancthon's theology of the AC and its Apology. Schmid simply wanted to point out the fundamentals of the past, which ought not to be forgotten by the theologians who were now to write dogmatics in harmony with Schleiermacher's method. Needless to say, theologians like Vilmar, Philippi and Franck, had to take a stand against the theology of Schleiermacher in the details of its tenets. The Lutheran theologians in particular could not accept the Spinozian features of Schleiermacher, nor the Hegelian dogmatics of later rationalists such as Daub and Biedermann; nor the dogmatics of Marheinecke (d. 1846), who undertook to pour the contents of Lutheran teachings into the mold of Hegelian philosophy (Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. V). It should here be noted that among the *mediating theologians* of that time it was the Danish Bishop H. L. Martensen (d. 1884), who, in the universality of his rich philosophical mind and in the soundness of his Lutheran faith, found a way of presenting the sublime substance of Lutheran theology in religio-philosophical forms of thought—a departure even from the anti-philosophical position of Schleiermacher.¹¹⁸

118 Other leading men of the **Mediating School** were: J. Mueller (1878). K. Ullman (1865), but especially A. Dorner (1884), the latter with a strong influence on the Lutheran Church.

But was Schleiermacher right in his very attractive suggestion of developing the substance of dogmatics out of the religious experience of the theologian? Agreement on this point was expressed by Prof. J. H. Frank (d. 1894), leading systematician of the Erlangen School. In the defense of this position Frank made use of a thought in the Hegelian realm of philosophy (Fichte). He discussed the matter of his *System of Christian Certainty*. Following Fichte's distinction between the "I" and the "Non-I," he established himself upon the principle: I, the theologian, have as the object of my reflection the inner consciousness of myself as a Christian. In other words: The dogmatician will not describe objectively what he finds in Scripture (as was done in the dogmatics of the *Loci*), but practically he will describe subjectively the contents of his own inner experience of the Scripture truth.¹¹⁹ Hofmann was in partial agreement with Frank. Some of the Erlangen School have steered more to the right from this principle. So did L. Ihmels, who felt that in following Fichte and Frank it is not possible to do full justice to the Scripture principle. R. Seeberg (1935) led further to the left, by making the reflecting dogmatician, on the basis of his own findings, the criterion of truth.

In this argumentation Frank stood opposed to another great Lutheran theologian, Philippi at Rostock (d. 1882), a son of Jewish parents.¹²⁰

Pertaining to Scripture, the special founder of the *Erlangen School* was Prof. J. C. K. Hofmann at Erlangen (d. 1877). All conservative theologians were influenced by Schleiermacher's new method. The outstanding characteristic of the Erlangen School was the principle that revelation is a *history of redemption*.¹²¹ He also wrote a work on "The Scripture Proof" (*Der Schriftbe-*

119 See R. G. Gruetzmacher's publication of texts for dogmatics, pp. 57 ff., also C. E. Luthardt, *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre Gemeinverstaendlich Dargestellt*, pp. 90 ff., and cf. F. Pieper's sharp critique of Frank in his *Dogmatik*, vol. 1.

120 Other men of this earlier school of revived Lutheranism were Hengstenberg, Sartorius, Rudelbach (Denmark), Harless, Thomasius, Theodosius Harnack (in Dorpat, under Russia), Caspari, (Oslov in Norway, also of Jewish parents).

121 This was developed by Hofmann in his work *Prophecy and Fulfillment* (*Weissagung und Erfuellung*), 2 vols., 1841-1844.

weis, 1852-1856). In proving from Scripture he fought the unhistorical, detached method: The first question for proving fundamental doctrines reliably is to find out what Scripture, historically interpreted, *as a whole* has to say on the subject in question. And the context must be consulted, of course. In this way the applicability of a passage must be ascertained. It was felt that this was a "new way of teaching the old truth."¹²² Most of the Conservatives in Germany and the Scandinavian countries during the past generation belonged to this school, (in the wider meaning) and present-day conservatives in the universities of Erlangen, Leipzig, Goettingen and other schools occupy similar positions or very near to it.¹²³

We have been speaking of theological schools which contributed to the making of the Lutheran Church as it presents itself today. Putting the whole development after the Reformation into a few words, let us say: There was (1) the old school of strictness in adhering to the Confessions. (2) After the old Rationalism or rather in conflict with it, also with the Union, there arose the Philippian school of revived Lutheranism, which had a great and honorable part in the defeat of that Rationalism, a school with a really preachable theology, with sermon books and prayer books of a remarkable quality, which followed the old German immigrants to America into the virgin forests and served them in the great struggle for new homes. Then followed (3) the Erlangen School with its historical stimulations for systems of truly Christian thought. These last mentioned two schools, in distinction from each other and in mutual coöperation, had part in a great theological work. Germany had the lead, but the Scandinavian countries and America participated. Certain topics of Lutheran theology were further developed: the historical interpretation of the Confessions, Christology (cf. Thomasius), the conception of the sacraments (Harless) and of the church (Dorner, Vilmar, Loehe, Kliefoth, Stahl, Hoefling) and

¹²² As names of this school, besides Hofmann and Frank, we should mention F. Delitzsch (d. 1890) and C. E. Luthardt (d. 1902) and L. Ihmels (d. 1930).

¹²³ In Great Britain this same theology has been represented by men like P. T. Forsythe, J. Orr, A. M. Fairbairn, A. B. Bruce—not to mention others.

eschatology (Hofmann, Loehe, C. Stange, P. Althaus). These doctrinal developments are frequently spoken of as "Neo-Lutheranism."¹²⁴

In recent decades, the same as in England, the development of Christian theology has not been moving in distinct schools, but the individual theologian stood each for himself. We mention Karl Holl, R. Seeberg, C. Girgensohn, K. Stange, K. Heim, A. Koeberle. It seemed for a while as if R. Seeberg might become the center of a so-called "Modern Positive School" (with Theodore Kaftan and others). But it was not possible.¹²⁵

In this picture of post-Reformation Lutheranism, we have not included *Theological Liberalism*, i. e., the left wing of the development from Schleiermacher: Hegelianism, Ritschlianism, Historico-Religious school. These are pictured in detail in our above mentioned *History of Christian Thought* (Vol. II, Book, V). They do not belong within denominational history, except by occasional references to influences received from that side. All Lutheran works on Historical and Systematic Theology deal most carefully with these influences. But they are extraneous to the historic tenets of Lutheranism as a church; they belong to the humanistic side of religious thought.

But it will be felt by some that our picture of the Lutheran Church ought to include a review of the remaining recent developments in the first third of the 20th century. This means, then, that we are to register the *post-war phenomena in the field of theology within the Lutheran Church of Germany*.

The fact is that in Germany the theology of Adolph Harnack and of Ernest Troeltsch, both giants in historical research, has lost credit. Students, together with influential professors such as K. Heim, P. Althaus, W. Elert, A. Koeberle, K. D. Schmidt, H. W. Schomerus, C. Schneider and many more have turned to conservative foundations. Even the mediating type of so great a theologian as Reinhold Seeberg—with a brilliant *History of Doctrine* in five large volumes and much more to his credit—does not hold the field at present. With Troeltsch, re-

¹²⁴ RGG, III, 1786 ff

¹²⁵ As to the reason see our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. V, A.

ligion was anthropogenetic: Christianity was just a stage in the intellectual (*geistige*) development of the human race. The absoluteness of Christianity was seen in this that it was the highest development of civilization. It was this naturalism and humanism of which students, after the war, were thoroughly tired, and hence they looked for evangelical teachers. Prof. W. Luetgert in Halle, then in Berlin (d. 1938), published a great work of 4 vols., under the title, *Der deutsche Idealismus und sein Ende*, in which he showed the final failing of German Idealism.¹²⁶ The reestablishment of theology in Germany upon evangelical foundations had much to do with the intense interest in the study of Luther's writings for more than a generation. In the years of German Idealism (by men like Lessing, Schiller, Goethe), Luther was seen chiefly in his heroic struggle for freedom of thought. The fact is that when they praised Luther they always meant Erasmus. But the persisting Luther scholars (such as Koestlin, Kawerau, Seeberg, Holl, Althaus, J. Ficker and many, many others) had learned that the chief significance of Luther lies in his positions on religion and theology. And Luther seeks the foundation of his theology in Scripture, that is, his teachings on God, on the incarnation, on redemption and the work of the Holy Spirit. This stimulated exegesis, with an orientation on the meaning of sin (as interpreted by Kirkegaard and Barth), on the monergism of divine grace, on justification and sanctification. It is these things that satisfy students and at present is producing great theologians of a younger generation.

Note: It would be naive to believe that today all theological teachers and theologians in Lutheran Germany are conservative and that this present condition will be final. Life in realms of the spirit does not manifest itself in such ways. It simply means that the Germany before the war had back of it the so-called "age of Harnack" in which theological Liberalism was the preponderating factor, and that after the World War this was reversed. Such things sometimes go by action and reaction. If conservatism lays itself open to just criticism, then, on such a point, there may result a radically liberal teaching. So it is in the countries where the church

¹²⁶ This is the name for the classical period in Germany's history, which we have described in our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. II, chapters 2-4. For a brief appreciation of Luetgert's work see the article by Prof. Horst Stephan (Leipzig) in RGG 2, Vol. III, 53 ff.

depends on the universities for ministerial education. And this is to be kept in mind: Conservatism in Europe is not identical with "Fundamentalism" in America. The Conservatives in Germany and many of their followers in America, in their historical approach to Biblical problems, will embrace positions for which the Liberalists have been contending. There have been certain elements of truth in theological Liberalism. Under conditions such as prevail in the Lutheran Church in Europe, theological Liberalism of many shades runs more or less parallel with theological conservatism.¹²⁷ It may be of service occasionally, but in the end it is there to be defeated. So it was with "vulgar rationalism"; also with the Hegelian type of religion (Strauss, the "Tuebingen School," in many respects also with Ritschlianism).

We referred to a development of Lutheranism during the nineteenth century, spoken of as Neo-Lutheranism, which was marked by the historical interpretation of the Confession, of a further development of Christology, of the conception of the sacraments, and of the Church.

But since the World War there is another development that has been attracting attention and has grown in influence. Among the younger Lutheran theologians as leaders, we mention such as Werner Elert, Paul Althaus and Herman Sasse, all at the Erlangen University, and Adolph Koeberle at Basel and Gerhard Kittel at Tuebingen. These have many followers. Their aim is to refute the theological liberalism of the pre-war Harnackian age. Some of their writings have become real theological classics, e. g., *Die Morphologie des Lutherthums* by Elert (2 vols. 1931 f.); a work on *Dogmatics* and a book on *Die letzten Dinge* by Althaus (1st. ed. of the latter in 1922; 4th ed. 1933); *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung* by Koeberle (translated from the third German edition into English by J. C. Mattes under the title, *Quest for Holiness*); *Wass heisst Lutherisch?* by Sasse (translated from the 2nd. German edition into English by Theo. G. Tappert under the title, *Here we Stand*, 1938; and last but not least, Kittel's monumental *Woerterbuch to the New Testament*, appearing in bi-monthly installments since 1932.

It is not a fully consolidated school within Lutheranism as is seen by the contributions to Kittel's Diction-

¹²⁷ In its radical forms, it is, to speak with Goethe's Faust "der Geist der stets verneint."

ary. In history and exegesis there is much coöperation by the dialectical theology of the Barth-Brunner camps.¹²⁸ Theology, to these men, is not, as with Greek intellectualism, a speculation about God's essence, but it deals preëminently with the relation between God and man, especially with questions such as: What does God think of man? What has He done for him and what are His demands of him? In these questions the interest is always in man as a whole, not preëminently in his intellect. Faith, consequently, is not just an intellectual faculty in man but a function in man as a whole.¹²⁹ The resurrection also of the body is stressed. In new studies of Luther's anthropology, for instance, by C. Stange and P. Althaus, the Platonic dualism of man is declined: Flesh and spirit are New Testament judgments of the whole man. Redemption, therefore, pertains to man as a whole, including the body. This has brought a new interest into the question of holiness of life: In conversion and regeneration the sinner is saved not only from his guilt (through justification), but also from the power of sin (sanctification). This, to be sure, is good old Lutheran teaching. (Cf. the articles 4 and 6 in the AC and in other places in this chapter). But it has revived the old question concerning the *relation* between justification and sanctification. (Cf. Koeberle's book). In agreement with Scripture, much emphasis is laid upon the "good works" or better, the "fruits of faith," constituting the *New Obedience* (Art. 6 of the AC. Note the phrase *fructus parere*). All believers must go through the final judgment in which the works will reveal their character. But in the face of shortcomings and sin the forgiving grace of God, *propter Christum*, will be for the truly repenting and believing. P. Althaus, in his *Die Letzten Dinge*, writes with regard to this most serious event of human existence: Even where, empirically speaking, not all sinful inclination has been overcome

128 Cf. the article by O. W. Heick on the *Existenzphilosophie und Formgeschichte in der neueren Theologie Deutschlands* in Dr. Reu's *Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, November, 1938.

129 Cf. the "Ganzpsychologie," or plenary conception of man, as contrasted with the dichotomic or trichotomic conceptions of man by the Greeks and in succeeding ages.

there is grace which overcomes all guilt in him who clings to Christ (Rom. 11:32).¹³⁰ The reference is constantly to an organism of opposites in the divine economy of grace, which shows that these Lutherans do not altogether disown the methods of dialectic theology.

Their theology, in its aim, is decidedly evangelical. The New Testament and Luther are their two chief criteria and standards. Still their Biblical studies are not apologetic in the old meaning of this term. This will be a matter of conflict between them and many Lutherans on both sides of the Atlantic. But their interest is in the Word of God. On the Bible they say that it is altogether divine and altogether human (ein ganz goettliches und ein ganz menschliches Buch). Lutherans have been accustomed to say that between the divine and the human in Scripture there is a relation comparable to the divine and the human nature in Christ (Meusel, Kirchl. Hand-Lexikon, "*perichoresis*," *permeatio*). But with respect to the introductory problems of the New Testament these new Lutherans are far more critical than were their two great teachers in this field, Zahn and Schlatter. In the Old Testament, for instance, they have abandoned the attempt of reconciling Genesis with modern science. The report of Genesis is to them not an historical account of the beginnings of the human race but a poetical and prophetic interpretation of God's dealing with man. They likewise discredit the statement that the Bible is the record (Urkunde) of divine revelation, but they say that the Biblical writers were witnesses of God's revelation. All the records of the Gospels are colored by the Easter experience. The "quest of the historical Jesus," they say, was a futile undertaking of 19th century liberalism. The Gospels do not want to be biographies of the man Jesus. These present-day Lutherans predict that our theologians will not any longer write on the "life of Jesus," but that their aim will be at grasping the significance of the "historic Christ," because the Gospels simply want to relate the saving words and deeds of the crucified and risen Lord.

130 See Althaus, 4th ed., pp. 200 ff. Cf. Koeberle.

VI. Institutions within Lutheranism

Have functioned as contributory schools of Lutheran thought: The "General Evangelical Lutheran Conference" with its Allg. Ev. Kirchenzeitung since 1865, and, since 1923, the "Lutheran World Convention."

The Luthergesellschaft in Wittenberg, Germany (since 1918), is the center of stimulation for Luther research. "It has served as a bridge for prominent theologians, formerly in the following of Schleiermacher and of the 'German idealism,' to return to Lutheran conservatism." The reference is to men like G. Holl and C. Stange and many among their followers. The Luther research in this society by publications on the reformer has rendered material aid to the interpretation of the Confessions. "Without it the systematic theology in the Lutheran Church of the last 35 years could not be understood."¹³¹

VII. On Art Within the Lutheran Church in Europe.

We mention the following: The Lutheran Reformation was not puritanic. Luther himself was an ardent lover of music and his genuine insight into the nature of the Gospel kept him from the tumultuous endeavors of the iconoclasts. In the preface of the first Wittenberg hymn-book, Luther declared, "I am not of the opinion that the various kinds of art should be destroyed and perish through the Gospel; rather I wish to see all art, especially music, employed in the service of Him who has given and created them." He preserved the ancient chants of the liturgical responses, prayers and lessons in the liturgies of his churches, and all these things are still in use in most of the Lutheran Churches of the world. In 1524, the first Lutheran hymnals were published in Wittenberg and Erfurt. Today the distribution and use of the hymnal among Lutheran people almost surpasses the Bible. Next to Luther himself, the greatest hymn writer is Paul Gerhardt (d. 1676). Other outstanding writers are such as Decius (d. 1541), Speratus (d. 1551), Heermann (d. 1647), Rist (d. 1667), Schmolck (d. 1737), and many others. In the Scandinavian countries the songs of men like Kingo (d. 1705), Broson (d. 1764),

¹³¹ P. Althaus, president of the Society in a letter to the writer.

Wallin (d. 1839), Grundtvig (d. 1872), Runeberg (d. 1877), Topelius (d., 1898), and Eklund (born 1863), are in the hearts and on the lips of the people.

Greatest among all Lutheran composers is Johann Sebastian Bach (d. 1750), in whom Lutheran art reached its highest perfection. A happy combination of genuine Lutheran piety coupled with the greatest natural talent has made Bach unequalled for all times in the realm of church music. Next to him Heinrich Schuetz should be mentioned (d. 1672), also Dietrich Buxtehude (d. 1707), teacher of Bach.

Of painters Albrecht Duerer ranks foremost during the early years of the Reformation. To Lucas Cranach, mayor of the city of Wittenberg about 1504, posterity is indebted for his portraits of Luther and other leaders of the Reformation. Cranach, with the assistance of other artists, has also furnished Luther's German Bible with its remarkable illustrations. In more recent times the Lutheran Church can claim artists such as Fritz von Gebhardt (d. 1926), and Rudolph Schaefer (born 1878).

In the field of architecture George Bahr should be mentioned (d. 1738). His monumental *Kuppelbau*, over the Frauenkirche at Dresden, marks the finest architectural expression of the idea of Lutheran worship: the perfect unity of the Word and the sacraments in the service of the Church.

Among works of plastic art the statue of Christ by Thorwaldsen (d. 1844), above the altar of the Fruenkirke at Copenhagen, is internationally known.

VIII. What has been the contribution of the Lutheran Church in America?

To answer this question it would be impossible to stay within our limits of space. We must refer the reader to the published histories.

A full History of the Lutheran Church in America, as to the status of things some forty years ago, was written by *H. E. Jacobs*, "The Lutheran Church in America" (1893). This book of 539 pages has been translated into German and supplemented by *Geo. J. Fritschel*, 2 vols., 1896-97. These Histories were followed, 1902, by a "Brief History" (200 pp.), written by *J. L. Neve* (German and

English), with a 2nd. edition in both languages, enlarged to 438 pages, 1916. The English edition was a translation by Dr. A. Bard.

These Histories and editions in much of their materials, are now out of date. Asked by the author and in consultation with him, Dr. W. D. Allbeck, 1934, prepared the book for a third edition of 400 pages. It is rewritten throughout and brought up-to-date. Dr. A. R. Wentz had published in 1923 a work on *The Lutheran Church in American History* which was republished in 1932, with the closing part of it rewritten.

It is these last mentioned two Histories to which the student is referred for further information. Much of our present discussion, however, deals with biography and developments in the Middle West, on which Dr. Wentz does not offer the needed materials. This is an explanation of why we do not always refer to his work.

In this chapter's discussion of the "Post-Reformation Influences Contributory to Present-Day Lutheranism" (see Sec. V), we have occasionally referred to the influences upon Lutheranism in America.¹³²

But we must not close this chapter on the Lutheran Church of the world without a special review of contributions to world Lutheranism that have come from the Lutheran Church in America. At the Lutheran World Conventions (Eisenach, Copenhagen, Paris), the influence of the American group was and will be felt in a number of ways.

The Lutheran Church in America developed by gathering the immigrants from Lutheran lands, their descendants and others in congregations and church bodies. These immigrants came with their own traditions as to doctrine, catechisms, forms of worship, types of piety, prayerbooks, hymnals. The all-important matter of finding a church-home corresponding to the church from which they came was the occasion for the formation of church bodies, it was the occasion also for division and reunion. The stories of these movements are told in American church histories; they convey many lessons for the Church at large, especially for World

¹³² Thus on the pages 226, 232, 246, 278 and at many places in the Appendix; also under "Pietism" V. 4.

Lutheranism. There were the Germans (including those of a "diaspora" in many countries). There were the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Danes, and the Finns—all with their own church histories. All these immigrants had their own pastors, theologically related with schools and institutions in the home lands.

Among the Germans there were conservatives as strict as was W. C. Berkenmeyer and his circle (about 1750), who remind us of the influential followers of C. F. W. Walther at a later time. The followers of the "Patriarch" H. M. Muehlenberg, with a heritage from Halle, a little later (about 1867), split into two conflicting camps (*General Synod* and *General Council*), with the *United Synod South* occupying a position between the two. Questions which were essential to historic Lutheranism and to the application of Lutheran principles in the final establishment of a Lutheran Church of America were to be clarified. The exchange of thought on such questions, through controversy and conferences, was accomplished especially in the years lying between 1867 (Fort Wayne) and 1918 (New York). Then followed the reunion in the organization of the United Lutheran Church in America.

The Norwegians in America, with habitations chiefly in the Northwest, brought causes for division with them from the homeland. The intense evangelistic Pietism of H. N. Hauge and E. Eilsen in conflict with the state church type of religion, and later the predestination controversy, functioned as causes of conflict until in 1916 a large union was formed: The *United Norwegian Church*. The Danes had had conflicts about Grundtvigianism which were settled by a union into the *United Danish Church in America* (1896).

The Swedes who were always united, had been an independent part of the General Council until the latter body united with the General Synod and the United Synod South. Today the Swedish Augustana Synod is part of the *General Lutheran Conference* composed of the American Lutheran Church, the Norwegians and the Danes. "Missouri," if we may use this term as comprising the large Missouri Synod and the other parts of the Synodical Conference, stands separate

on a very exclusive foundation, though in matters of doctrine there are no tangible differences, at least not from the General Lutheran Conference.

As to unity and division of the Lutheran Church in America we may sum up by saying that there are today three types.

(1) *The United Lutheran Church*. Statistics in 1937: Baptized, 1,503,803; Communicants, 1,112,814; Churches, 3,702. This group was the largest of colonial origin, but with doors open to later immigration. Theologically it was influenced by the developments in German theology: beginning with the theology about as it was in H. Schmid's *Dogmatics* (translated into English); on to Philippi's *Dogmatik* (cf. C. P. Krauth, H. E. Jacobs); on to the "Erlangen" theology with its more historical approach to certain problems (reflected somewhat by A. Voigt). The confessionally mediating trait of the Melanchthonians was dominating in S. Sprecher's "Groundwork" and later in M. Valentine's *Dogmatics*. The conflict between the General Synod and the General Council stimulated both sides to the "study of tendencies within the Lutheran Reformation." In another connection we quoted at length from E. J. Wolf's series of articles on "Melanchthonian Lutheranism." Dr. Wolf taught and wrote as an advocate of gradual reunion of the two bodies on the basis of accepting not only the Augsburg Confession but the whole Book of Concord. From an opposite standpoint J. W. Richard, colleague of Prof. Wolf in Gettysburg, wrote his *opus magnum*: "The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church." (1909). In reply appeared the work by T. E. Schmauk and C. T. Benze on "The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church" (1911). It was a time of much agitation. The liturgical problems were involved and found their solution in the adoption of the "Common Service" (G. U. Wenner, B. M. Schmucker), of a common hymn-book and of common formulas for ministerial acts. All this was an expression of a common position that has been found between the three oldest bodies of American Lutheranism (General Synod, General Council and United Synod South) which for years had coöperated in a combined "Common Service Committee."

The United Lutheran Church in America, through the Lutheran World Conventions, maintains an exchange of thought with conservative Lutheranism in Europe. In unison with the representatives of the "American Lutheran Church," at the Luth. World Conventions it has contributed strongly to upholding the identity of World Lutheranism. The late Dr. J. A. Morehead, outstanding leader in the Lutheran World Movement (since 1919), was a member of the United Lutheran Church. Prof. A. R. Wentz and President F. H. Knubel are in constant coöperation with European Lutheranism. Special mention must be made of Dr. R. C. Tappert who as editor of the *Lutherischer Herold* has had for many years a strong influence along practical lines on leading Lutherans on the other side of the Atlantic. And among the publications from this camp there should not be overlooked the publication in English (by the United Lutheran Publication House in Philadelphia) of the Holman Edition of Luther's Works (on the basis of the German edition by Buchwald, Berlin, and other editions).

(2) The large *Synodical Conference*, with the Missouri Synod as the most influential factor, represents the strongly conservative wing of Lutheranism in America. Statistics of 1937: *The Synodical Conference*: Baptized, 1,495,947; Communicants, 1,042,957; Churches, 5,156.

The largest body within the Synodical Conference is the *Missouri Synod*: Baptized 1,230,705. Communicant, 854,109. Churches, 4,224. This is a much unified body with a very marked confessional character.

It may here be mentioned that the Concordia Theological Seminary of this body in St. Louis has 720 students, of which number one-third is always out on the field. The relation between the parts is that of a confederation. They claim absolute unity in all matters of religion, insisting that there must be no fellowship in holy communion and in the pulpit where this unity is not perfect. Even at prayer in doctrinal conferences there must be that absolute unity in the faith. This was the position of the fathers and is still the attitude of the strictest among them. We are sure, however, that very many of present-day Missourians do not follow that practice. The Missourians are carefully courteous when expressing disagreement, but they have tender

consciences when they feel it to be their duty to defend the Faith and to act consistently. The root of their position lies in the fact that they do not recognize "open questions" regarding teachings of Scripture, even if in their dogmatical structure these are not central. They are convinced that in most cases the teachings in the periphery affect the teachings of central significance. It is this position which makes it impossible for Missouri to coöperate with a constituency such as is represented in the Lutheran World Conventions where Lutherans of differing traditions (German, Scandinavian, Australian and American) must be recognized as a brotherhood in the faith.

The Missourian polemic does not flow out of a pleasure to be in friction with others, but they look upon it as their sacred duty to point out the truth and to help the erring. It is easily seen that this leads to conflict, estrangement and isolation. But Missouri, in the largeness and strength of her organization and history, is willing to be the "sect" "that everywhere is spoken against" (Acts 28:22). The question will be asked how the Missourians can be so sure that their interpretation of Scripture is always final. To this, the late Dr. F. Pieper, successor of Dr. Walther in Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis, pointing to the perspicuity of Scripture, answered at one of those inter-synodical conferences: "Suppose two men stand at noon-day in the bright light of the sun, and one says it is dark like the night! Such a man cannot be helped, something that he ought to have is lacking." The reply from his opponent (Dr. Allwardt) was: "True, Scripture is clear, but it is the mind of sinful man which does not see." Cromwell once said to a group of debating theologians: "Don't overlook that you can err!"

It is the strong feeling among the Missourians that by participating in the Lutheran World Conferences they would commit themselves to a coöperation which amounts to compromise and union. These Conferences would be helped, we know, by the contributions from the Missourian camp with its energy and ability and experience along exegetical and confessional lines. Missouri itself needs the contact and exchange of thought with World Lutheranism for the cultivation of the ecu-

menical outlook from which no large Lutheran body can separate itself without suffering injury. Right now the Lutheran World Conference is launching out on a large literary program for the Church, European and American scholars coöperating, on the basis of the unaltered Augsburg Confession. Missouri has developed its Lutheran character in the following controversies: on eschatological matters (chiliasm, resurrection, Antichrist) with Loehe and the Iowa Synod; on predestination and conversion with the Joint Synod of Ohio and Iowa Synod; on the Church and the ministry with Buffalo, Ohio and Iowa Synods.¹³³

As outstanding publications of permanent value from the Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis, Mo., we mention the publication of J. G. Walch, *Works of Luther in German*, Dr. A. F. Hoppe as leading editor (1910); also the *Concordia Triglotta* by Drs. F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau; also the *Dogmatics (German)* in 3 vols. by Dr. F. Pieper (1917). We should also mention in this place the fine work on scientific *Dogmatics (German)* by Dr. A. Hoenecke in the seminary of the Wisconsin Synod (Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis.); and back of these publications we call attention to the book by C. F. W. Walther, *Pastorale*. And never in the history of the Lutheran Church should be forgotten his 39 lectures on *The Right Distinction between Law and Gospel*, translated into English by Dr. Dau.

(3) *The American Lutheran Church*. Statistics in 1937: Baptized, 512,477; Communicants, 359,246, Churches, 1,829. It has already been said that this body is the union of the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Synod of Iowa and the Buffalo Synod, which union was consummated in 1930. Outstanding among the theologians of Ohio were Professors M. Loy, F. W. Stellhorn and R. C. H. Lenski. Dr. Stellhorn, as professor in Capital University, 1881-1919, as editor of *Theologische Zeitblaetter* through all these years and as author of commentaries (Gospels, Acts, Pastoral Epistles, Romans and the Catechism) wielded a strong influence. He died in 1919. He was the chief opponent to Walther's doctrine of predestination. In the conflict he was aided by Dr. H. A. Allwardt.

Dr. Lenski, successor to Dr. Stelhorn in 1911, had been editor of *Die Luth. Kirchenzeitung* for 20 years, a real pupil of Dr. Loy, unyielding in his zeal for Lutheran consistency. He was a prolific writer; author of the *Eisenach Gospels*, the *Eisenach Epistles*, the *Eisenach O. T. Selections*, the *New Gospel Selections*; author also of a text book on *Homiletics* and, finally, of a *Bible Commentary* of many volumes. These works are an independent reproduction of the best treasures of European exegesis, and in just that form they are doing a great service to the many pastors who in their reading are confined to the English. He died in 1936.

In the *Iowa Synod* it was the Fritschels (the brothers Gottfried and Sigmund, both pupils of Loehe, and George J. Fritschel, son of the former) who wrote much against Missouri's doctrine of predestination. The ministers of Iowa remained in touch with Loehe and his seminary in Neuendettelsau after the break with the Missourians (1875), and were advocates of Loehe's more historical approach to matters of theology, in which he was influenced by the men of the Erlangen School (see above, on "Schools," V, 5).

Dr. J. M. Reu, Professor in Dubuque Seminary, also identified with the Loehe influence, has not taken any special part in the controversies with Missouri; but has given himself to much study of Lutheran pedagogy (*Wartburg Lehrmittel* in 8 volumes; a book on *Catechetics*; *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts, 1530-1600*; *Luther's Small Catechism, its History*). His book on the Augsburg Confession, offers a collection of its sources with an historical introduction. His *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* is a periodical of special value, because of its reviews of literature and events.

Buffalo, a small body, had not been in agreement with Iowa and Loehe in their conflict with Missouri on the office of the ministry and other topics. But the interest in this controversy had died down, and so there was no objection, 1930, to the proposition of merging with Ohio and Iowa into the new body, the American Lutheran Church.

Speakers of the American Lutheran Church stress that this body occupies the middle position between "Missouri" and "Schmuckerism."

The Scandinavians and Finns. As we have been going along we have again and again referred to the Scandinavians.¹³⁴ We have mentioned the Swedes with their trait of guarding against division. As part of the former General Council they existed as an independent synod within the Council. The ecclesiastical connection with the first immigration was lost. (See Neve-Allbeck and Wentz, Histories.) Their pioneers for a succeeding generation were L. P. Esbjorn (d. 1870), T. N. Hasselquist (d. 1891) and E. Norelius (d. 1916). Doctrinally their position was that of the former General Council. After the merger of 1920, they held themselves separate in order to deal with their own peculiar problem of Home Missions.

Much division prevailed among the Norwegians. As one cause we have mentioned Evangelistic Pietism versus the forms of church life, spoken of as tending to "churchianity." The former had its leadership in the United Free Church, grouped around Augustana Seminary in Minneapolis, Minn. (G. Sverdrup, Sen., d. 1907); the latter influences, finally, after the success of union endeavors to overcome a division which had resulted from the argumentation of predestination, united in the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (1917) with Dr. H. G. Stub as president. The Drs. Sverdrup and Stub were men of an extensive literary activity, all in the Norwegian language. Church and ministry were much discussed. The Lutheran Free Church position, as represented by Sverdrup and much defended by Dr. J. O. Evjen in his article on "Sverdrup" in Hauck's PRE, vol. 24, and again in his recent book on J. H. W. Stuckenberg, has in one or the other form always had its advocates within the Lutheran Church; in an especially original and quite comprehensive way by R. Sohm. Thoughts of Luther can here be quoted. In principles of organization and practical work the Lutheran Church finds itself between two opposites, the spiritualizing and Darbyite tendency (see our chap. 14 on Darbyism) of looking upon the Church as a constantly functioning spiritual influence, in a continuous process of self-creation (*die fuer den*

134 On early Scandinavian immigration in New York see J. O. Evjen.

Glauben sammelnde Gemeinde) and the Romanizing tendency of looking upon the Church as being essentially an institution (*die im Glauben versammelte Gemeinde*). The truth on both sides must be recognized.¹³⁵

In Scandinavian thought the confessionally irenic and ecumenic interest is quite noticeable, as was pointed out by Prof. O. Moe of Oslo, in an interesting article, a number of years ago, in which he described the German, the Scandinavian and the American types of Lutheranism.¹³⁶

Danish Lutheranism in America has been influenced by the deep thinkers of this nation in the homeland (Martensen, Scharling, Grundtvig, Kirkegaard). And at the Lutheran World Convention, as also at the "Luther Academy" at Sondershausen, we learned that the Finns in America likewise have in their homeland a heritage from which to draw.

Disadvantages and Shortcomings of Lutheranism.

In answer to a letter addressed to Reverend Dr. F. H. Knubel, President of the United Lutheran Church in America, in which we had asked him for a brief expression as to the points *where Lutheranism in America has its shortcomings or disadvantages*, he wrote: "In general I would say that our shortcomings as a Church (in America) have centered largely in our inability or hesitancy to work out our principles into the practical life of the Church. This is true, for instance, concerning Church polity, concerning Church architecture, and concerning social problems.

"As regards our disadvantages as a Church, they center quite largely, I believe, in the fact that our Church represents generic Protestantism. We do not have any fad doctrines which give publicity value to our name. Episcopalians have their special ideas concerning the ministry; Baptists have their own ideas concerning bap-

135 Cf. our interpretation of article 8 of the AC, *Introduction to Symbolical Books* 2, pp. 195-198.

136 Allg. Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung of Feb. 24, Mar. 2 and Mar. 9, 1928. Title: "Die drei Hauptzweige der Lutherischen Kirche." Translated by A. R. Wentz for the Lutheran Church Quarterly, July 1928, under the title: *A European Characterization of the Three Main Branches of the Lutheran Church*.

tism; Calvinists have their teaching of a double predestination. So I might continue with other Christian groups. Lutherans are not known for their over-emphasis upon any particular doctrine. This is a distinct disadvantage from the standpoint of the attention we attract to ourselves."

On the same question of advantage and disadvantage of Lutheranism, another scholar, Dr. O. W. Heick, sent us the following: "Lutheranism, in the Augustinianism of its character, holds that the new life in man is a divine gift. God acts, man is merely receiving. This gift, however, is not conditioned upon an unchangeable eternal decree. Predestination is the expression of divine love. The sinner is made conscious of the grace of his election to eternal life by the divine act of justification. The call of the Gospel is universal, and the sacraments are truly imparting the divine gift. Lutheranism wants to lift the believer above his own self and have him know that his assurance rests upon God's saving act. Therefore, the efficacy of the Word and the sacraments does not depend upon the worthiness and quality of its ministers. Neither is the grace of justification dependent on man's feeling.

"But it is just here where a real danger of Lutheranism is seen: As soon as this message loses a little of its prophetic fervor and it is overlooked that the Gospel of grace is for the contrite sinner only, then the church, its ministry and members may become indolent and take the monergism of grace as a pillow for spiritual rest. But recourse to the genuine message of Luther and to the confessional heritage of his church will arouse the sleeping, for in his strong testimony faith is a truly active power in man. The quest for holiness is inevitably connected with a true Lutheran and Pauline conception of justification. (Rom. 6)."¹³⁷

Three Racial Branches of Lutheranism.

The first convention of World Lutheranism at Eisenach, Germany, 1923, made the Lutherans of all countries conscious of the fact that racially the Germans, the Scandinavians and the Americans constitute the outstanding

¹³⁷ Read in this chapter the Section IV, C, 4, at close.

three branches. A man who wrote with much practical insight on this situation was Professor Dr. O. Moe of Oslo, Norway.¹³⁸ Here we shall extract from this series of articles only a few especially characteristic statements.

A. *The Lutheran Church in Germany.* Her contribution has been theological achievement. (1) Being able to read Luther without translation it has been her mission to watch over the treasures of his own theology. There are the outstanding scholars of Luther research. Luther, however, is claimed by many conflicting schools: Old Lutherans, Erlanger, Biblicists, Unionists, Ritschlians, even by the followers of "German Idealism." (2) Germany had been the battleground between Lutheranism and Calvinism with the result that very many Lutherans incline to the Union (See Appendix A). (3) The aim of German theology has been to effect contact between the Church and modern culture, particularly with philosophical thought. (4) Because Germany had been the special battleground between Protestantism and Rome and because of that Luther Research, German Lutheranism of the evangelistic type is especially fitted to lead in the struggle against Roman Catholicism.

B. *The Lutheranism of the Northlands.* Most of the Scandinavian and Finnish theologians have studied in German universities. Yet in each country there has been an independent development. Denmark and Norway accepted as official confessional bases only Luther's Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession. Sweden, later, under pressure of circumstances, added the FC, in which it is followed by its American immigrants. But this is of importance: Sweden retains from Rome, from Eastern Orthodoxy, and from Episcopalianism the apostolic succession and lays much emphasis upon it. And all the Scandinavian countries have their special consecration of bishops. The aim is to preserve in their liturgies the heritage of the Ancient Church. In Sweden there is a tendency towards Catholicism in church forms, resulting from the present day contact with Anglicanism. Thus there is observable in Scandinavian Lutheranism the ecumenical tendencies (Stockholm Conference in

¹³⁸ We have referred to this series of articles and to their translation by Dr. Wentz.

doctrine, and with less interest in the ethical side of religion. But is this charge correct? Note the wealth of ethical ideas in the writings of Luther and his followers. There is Luther's "Freedom of the Christian Man" (1518), by Dorner called the "fundamental type of evangelical ethics." Before 1517, Luther had preached and written much on the ethical parts of the catechism. We mention further his "Interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount" (1532). Among his smaller writings there are these: "On Usury" (1519), "On Good Works" (1520), "On Obedience to the Government" (1521), "On Marriage" (1522), "On Military Service" (1526), "Against Antinomians" (1539). In more than a hundred volumes of the Erlangen Edition of his works and in all other editions, there is far more on ethics than on doctrine in special discussions. In addition to this, note the many works on Christian ethics produced by Lutheran theologians: Martensen, Vilmar, Cullman, Dorner, Harless, Frank, Luthardt, Deinzer, von Oettingen, Piper, R. Seeberg; in America we have the books of Weidner, Keyser, Stump.

Chapter Five

THE REFORMED AND THE PRESBYTERIANS

Literature: Here we shall limit ourselves to literature of general significance for the Reformed Churches. The literature for the special features of our subject will be placed at the beginning or at the close of the special topics. We mention first the German Histories of Doctrine, among these especially the great four volume work by the late **Reinhold Seeberg** of Berlin University. See in Vol. IV 3, his discussion of the Reformation and of its leading men: Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin. The marked interaction between the Reformed and the Lutheran calls for occasional references to Luther's writings. Here our English readers will not overlook **J. Mackinnon's** *Luther and the Reformation*, 4 volumes; nor the **Holman Edition** of Luther's Writings (select) in English. For the German edition of Luther's Works the reader is referred to the literature in the preface to Chap. IV on the Lutheran Church. Zwingli's writings are usually quoted after **Schuler and Schulthess**. They are also in the **Corpus Reformatorum**, (CR) vols. 69 ff. **Calvin's** writings occupy the volumes 29 to 68 of the CR. His Institutes (in the matured form of the 1558 edition in vols. 29 and 30), can be read in English in the full English translation by **John Allen** (six editions since 1813), and in German in the full selected German translation by **K. Mueller**, in the 2nd. ed., with notes. The distinctive differences of the Reformed Church from the Lutheran Church are brought out by a number of writers: **Al. Schweizer**, *Glaubenslehre der ev. ref. Kirche*, 1844-47. By the same author: *Die protestantischen Zentraldogmen innerhalb der ref. Kirche*, 1854-56. **M. Schneckenburger**, *Vergleichende Darstellung des luth. und ref. Kirchenbegriffs*, 1855. **K. Mueller**, *Symbolik*, 1896. **K. Barth**, *Das Schriftprinzip der ref. Kirche*, 1925. **W. Heyns**, *Manual of Reformed Doctrine*, 1926. **M. J. Bosma**, *Exposition of Reformed Doctrine*, 4, 1927. Of special value for our study is **Phil. Schaff**, *Creeeds of Christendom*, Vol. I. Read his chapter: "The Lutheran and Reformed Confessions," pp. 211-219; also "John Calvin, His Life and Character," and "His Work," pp. 421-467. For orientation on the historical points of conflict one should read **J. L. Neve**, *History of Christian Thought*, (ready for publication), Bk. III, chapter 2: "Zwingli and His Theology"; chapter 3: "The First Conflict regarding the Lord's Supper"; chapter 6: "Bucer and Calvin"; chapter 7: "Controversies in the Lutheran Church resulting in the Formula of Concord." Another book by the same author should here be mentioned: **Neve**, *The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union* (1921). The last named work traces the failure of all these movements—about ten in number—to effect a real union between the Reformed and the Lutherans over a period of three centuries. To Protestantism in Germany this experience has yielded

the lesson: It is possible to maintain a certain limited unity of mutual support (before the State) without the need of organic union. Widely circulated brief discussions of the present time: **K. Mueller**, *Warum sind wir Reformierte in Deutschland noetig?* 1925. (F. W. Koehler, Elberfeld, Germany). **W. Niesel**, *Was Heisst Reformiert?* 1934. **H. Sasse**, *Was Heisst Lutherisch?* 1934. (Both at Kaiser, in Munich). Much use will be made of "Religious Bodies II, 1926," (United States) and its abbreviation by E. O. Watson for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. For the literature on the Presbyterians see later (Section III, A).

I. INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

The Reformed in the Common Evangelical Movement with Its Inner Conflicts.

As to method the reader must again be reminded that neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed Church can be presented without occasional reference to the other Church, and in a book like ours on *Christian Symbolics*, which was formerly called "*Comparative Symbolics*" the feature of comparison must not be sacrificed. See at the beginning of this book, "Introductory Matters," on "Methods."

Luther, through his nailing of the 95 theses in protest against the indulgences (1517) and especially also because of his remarkable personality in the conflicts which followed, had become the most conspicuous leader of the Reformation. His great Reformatory writings of the year 1520—the one addressed *To the Nobility of the German Nation*, his deliverance on *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*—resulted in his excommunication from the Church, to which Luther replied by simply burning the papal document (1521). Subsequent to all this, the new emperor, Charles V, invited Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms (1521), where he made his heroic stand. This was followed by his abduction to the Wartburg where he began his translation of the Bible (1522).

All these rapidly succeeding events had allowed the world almost to overlook the fact that simultaneously with Luther and Melanchthon at the Wittenberg University, there had arisen Zwingli at Zurich in Switzerland as a preacher of evangelical theology and as a reformer of the Church. The question of priority as to

the beginning of the Reformation has been raised and debated between Lutheran and Reformed theologians.¹

Gradually there appeared certain differences between the Swiss and the Wittenberg reformers. The first and most tangible of them was concerning the eucharist. It was discussed at the Marburg Colloquy, 1529. Luther insisted upon the "real presence" of Christ in His body and blood (as an expression of the organic union of the divine and the human in Christ). Zwingli rejected this idea; the sacramental act meant to him chiefly a memorial of the death of Christ for our salvation. The last of the Marburg Articles reported disagreement only on this one point. But in the light of succeeding controversies, the opinion of all the participants in the colloquy that this was the only real difference proved to have been too optimistic.

We may describe the persisting doctrinal differences between Luther and Zwingli as follows: There was (1) the relation of the two natures in the Person of Christ. Here Zwingli inclined to the Nestorianizing, side-by-side, relation between the divine and the human in the historic Christ, after the fashion of the old Antiochian School (Theodore of Mopsuestia). Luther, on the other hand, stood for the organic personal union, following the Alexandrian School (Cyril). There was (2) an actual difference on man's natural depravity. Zwingli would admit only a weakness in man, which does not become real sin until it results in sinful acts. Luther insisted that this natural, sinful condition is the real, special sin of mankind. This difference affected (3) the conception of baptism. To Zwingli baptism was a declarative act serving as a badge of recognition as a Christian, a kind of an initiation into the church. To Luther it was a sacrament of regeneration, of forgiveness of sin and of an imputation of Christ's righteousness. With large agreement (4) on justification by faith and good works there was on the part of Zwingli a humanistic approach to the inner problems of religion which made for fundamental differences from Luther's doctrine of sin and

¹ See K. Mueller, *Symbolik*, pp. 379 ff. Cf. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte* 4, and R. Seeberg, *DG*, IV 4, as reported in our *History of Christian Thought*, Book III, chap. 2.

grace. The meaning of this will appear from the following: *An Unconscious Difference*. W. Koehler of Heidelberg University, a Swiss theologian, (successor to the late H. von Schubert), in a book entitled *Ulrich Zwingli und Die Reformation in der Schweiz* (1923), has written interestingly on this subject. With W. Dilthey and E. Troeltsch he praises Zwingli as having had an open mind for modernistic ideas. This, of course, was unconscious on the part of Zwingli who believed in the fundamentals of conservative Protestantism, including the divinity of Christ and his atonement as a vicarious sacrifice. But his unconscious contact with later liberalistic theology, lay, according to Koehler, in a certain humanistic coördination of the Bible with the sources of classical antiquity, in his stress upon reasonableness as a criterion of truth, and in his insistence that the pagans also have real saving religion. To Luther, Calvin and the other reformers there was a fundamental dividing line between Christianity and paganism, a chasm that cannot be bridged. Zwingli bridged this chasm in humanistic fashion with a wider conception of religion. In this he was a pioneer of modern theology. It reminds one of the problem of "inclusiveness and exclusiveness" in foreign missions.

All the points which we enumerated above, coupled with the Zwinglian concept of the Church and State as a theocracy, to which Luther was fundamentally opposed, show that back of the Fourteen Marburg Articles of agreement there was a large sphere of disagreement. On this both Luther and Zwingli did not and could not have the knowledge that we have today. However, they must have felt the difference. Luther expressed it objectively in the words: "Ye have another spirit than we." He might have said "another theology." But every theology, when it works itself out in piety and church life, has its peculiar "spirit." The Reformed Churches of Protestantism might say with equal truth to the Lutherans: "Ye have another spirit than we."

Calvin, the chief leader of Reformed thought, stood doctrinally much closer to Luther than did Zwingli. But against Lutheranism he developed an independent mediating conception of the eucharist; in this he differed from Zwingli also, but was in agreement with the latter's

Christological presuppositions. He also differed from Luther on the general significance of the sacraments. With more perspective than was possible at the time of Zwingli, Calvin gave to the Swiss Reformation its doctrinal character. The work of Zwingli was national in character, but Calvin's influence was universal and international. Later (see below, Section V) we shall have occasion to describe Calvin's positions.

There was, of course, the difference of personality between the Reformers, also the difference of temperament and early training, their racial endowment, the peculiar Christian experience of each, their individual starting point, the opposition which they had to meet. Of these and related matters we have written in our *History of Christian Thought*.² The sociological study yields interesting explanations, but these must not be used to brush aside the significance of the actual doctrinal differences as they bear upon the faith and the life of the Church.

2. *The Name Reformed*.³ By holding to the name "Reformed", the followers of Calvin wanted to express the need of more thorough reformation from the elements of practical Romanism in the direction of Puritanism that the Lutherans approved by their conservatism. The designation Reformed "means originally the Catholic Church reformed of abuses."⁴ In this the Reformed were more radical and independent than were the Lutherans. The Reformed called their church "die nach Gottes Wort reformierte Kirche."⁵ It is of historical interest that the distinctive name "Reformed" for Calvin's church was consciously claimed at the colloquy at Poissy.⁶ The deliberations at the colloquy at Poissy

2 Bk. I, chap. 1 (Intro. Matters); and later in Bk. III, chap. 1 (Luther), 2 (Zwingli) and 6 (Calvin).

3 Compare the following remarks with what was said in connection with our investigation of the name "Lutheran" (Chapter Four).

4 Schaff, *Creeds* I, 211.

5 Geo. W. Richards in *Year Book of the Reformed Church*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1936.

6 Here, in 1561, Theo Beza, colaborer of Calvin, presented to Charles IX of France this French Confession (*Confessio Gallicana*), which had been adopted in 1559 by the first national synod of the Protestant Church of France at Paris.

show the intended meaning of the name "Reformed."⁷ In an attitude of opposition toward their Lutheran opponents they stressed the principle of independence. They considered the Lutherans to be too conservative, not only pertaining to interests of "puritanism," but also in recognizing certain doctrinal authorities of the church fathers who had stressed the "real presence" of the Lord's Supper and the objective sacramental character of Baptism.

Phil. Schaff, himself a Reformed, referred to this characteristic independence when he wrote: "The Reformed Church had a large number of leaders, as Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Calvin, Beza, Cranmer, Knox, but not one of them, not even Calvin could impress his name or his theological system upon her. She is independent of men, and allows full freedom for natural and sectional modifications and adaptations of the principles of the Reformation."⁸

3. *Friction and Union Endeavors between Wittenberg and Geneva.* Calvinism was started on a policy of making inroads into Lutheran Germany.⁹ In Germany there had been the literary conflict between Westphal and Calvin, 1552 ff.¹⁰ There followed the Philip-pistic, the synergistic and the so-called "crypto-Calvinistic" controversies. Lutheranism, finally, established itself upon the Formula of Concord (1583), to which the Reformed (Ursinus, author of the Heidelberg Catechism) replied by the Newsted Admonition.¹¹ The Reformed theologian R. Hospinian analyzed the Lutheran Formula of Concord as a *Concordia Discors* (1609), to which the Lutheran theologian L. Hutter opposed his *Concordia Concors* (1614). In this conflict the Palatinate was lost to the Lutherans who nearly lost Saxony also. Influential princes (Frederick III, the princes of Anhalt and Hesse, the Hohenzollern) favored Calvinism and led in movements against Lutheranism. The Luth-

7 Concerning the name "Reformed" see also W. Niesel, *Was heisst reformiert?* pp. 5-7.

8 *Creeds*, I, 216.

9 See our *Union Movements*, pp. 19-48.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

11 Comp. Geo. J. Fritschel in our *Introduction to the Symbolical Books* 2, p. 187. *Ibid.*, p. 34-36.

erans had to struggle for their very life. All told, these conflicts lasted fully three hundred years.

The conflicts were interspersed with endeavors at union, one after the other. (Cf. Appendix, A, II, 3).

4. *The Reformed as a Church Family.*

The Reformed in Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Hungary and America and the Presbyterians of the English speaking countries (Great Britain, United States and Canada), with a large diaspora in many places of the world, are sisters. The early history of the Reformed, as we have seen, ran contemporaneously with that of Lutheranism. Since 1875, these churches are united in the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System," with a representative quadriennial council dealing with matters of interest common to the whole group.

Is it correct to speak of "daughters" of the Reformed Churches in the manner frequently done among Lutheran churchmen on the European continent? They write of all the churches in America, which since 1908 are organized for united action in the "Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America," as "the Reformed wing of Protestantism." Philip Schaff wrote in his *Creeds of Christendom* (I, 212): "The designation Reformed is insufficient to cover all the denominations and sects which have sprung directly or indirectly from this family since the Reformation . . . , and hence in English and American usage it has given way to sectional and specific titles." He closes with an enumeration in which Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists are also mentioned. He adds: "The term *Calvinism* designated not a church, but a theological school in the Reformed Church, which in some sections allows also Arminian views. Puritanism, likewise, is not a term for a distinct ecclesiastical organization, but for a tendency and party which exerted a powerful influence in the Anglican and other Reformed Churches on questions of doctrine, government, discipline and worship."¹² Are we justified in speaking of these churches as being "indirectly" the daughters of the Reformed Church?

¹² *Ibid.*

In a fuller discussion of this question the conflicts in England, Scotland and Ireland, upon which we shall touch in other connections, must be held in view.

The old Congregationalists had indeed the Calvinistic conception of the sacraments, although without binding themselves to creeds as such. This confessional independence was a further development of the general independent, elastic attitude of the Reformed Churches to their many and somewhat varied "Confessions" of Faith, which do not have the authority of "creeds" in the Ancient Church or of the "symbols" in the Lutheran Church. The Congregationalists covenanted in each situation separately, a practice which was also used by the Presbyterians in Scotland and America. The *Baptists* and their relatives, especially the Mennonites on the continent as their predecessors, which were all congregational, showed their leaning toward the Reformed in their Zwinglian conception of the Lord's Supper as a memorial. The adult "baptism of the believers" followed naturally out of the principle of independence: The spiritual sovereignty of the individual seemed to demand that the regenerated must decide for themselves when they are ready to accept baptism. Schaff does not mention the Quakers but evidently had them in mind when speaking of the Baptists. The *Puritans* among the Reformed in Scotland were established upon the principle: "Salvation direct from God without the mediation of churchly acts." The *Quakers* applied this to the preaching of the Word when they insisted upon the "immediacy of grace." The *Methodists* are mentioned in Schaff's enumeration here under review. Wesley in his Articles of Faith held to the Reformed interpretation of the sacraments. This is what Schaff wants to convey, and to that extent they may be spoken of as "daughters" of the Reformed Church. At the same time it is true that in church polity, type of theology, and piety they constitute church families of their own, as we shall see.

5. *Flexibility of Character and the Matter of Identity.*

We spoke of the subjective, flexible character of the Reformed Churches. In some quarters and groups

of the Reformed this raises the problem of maintaining the church's identity. There are Reformed theologians who ask seriously whether one is justified in speaking of one Reformed Church; or whether one should aim merely to describe this church by picturing a series of individual organizations. Prof. K. Mueller, a Reformed theologian, in discussing "Unity and Multiplicity" in the Reformed Church¹³ remarks: It is true we cannot speak of the Reformed Church in the manner we speak of the Lutheran Church. Our reason is, of course, that the Reformed theology did not spring from one source like the Lutheran, but out of many. But the Reformed have not stressed doctrinal correctness (Mueller, "korrekte Lehre," p. 377) as the Lutherans have done; they make more use of the general content of Scripture than does confessionally orientated Lutheranism.¹⁴ It is interesting that Karl Barth wrote on "Desirability and Possibility of a Universal Reformed Confession."¹⁵ This gives to the Reformed Church larger elasticity which is observable in a considerable variety of thought and in free departure from the original Reformed type. It also explains the fact that while Lutheranism has hardly produced a sect, the Reformed Church has become a mother of sects.

Still, as to the identity of a Reformed Church, when the "sisters" alone are under consideration, K. Mueller in his "Symbolik" insists that Reformed Christianity is not without the marks of a unified church ("ist eine einheitliche Groesse," p. 378). This identity, he remarks, can be traced all through the related communions of Reformed Protestantism. As such marks, he mentions the personality of Calvin, especially the widely controlling influence of his *Institutes*, also the *Heidelberg Catechism* which is so generally accepted and used. Mueller points to the large degree of unity in the diversity of Reformed Confessions. He calls attention to the work of the French theologian Salnar who

¹³ See his *Symbolik*, p. 376 and compare the article by Cordier in the *RGG*, p. 1787 ff. who says: Eine geschlossene Reformierte Kirche gibt es nicht."

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 377.

¹⁵ *Zwischen den Zeiten*, III, 1925, pp. 311 ff. The reprint of this article is in *Die Theologie und die Kirche*, 1928, pp. 67 ff.

undertook to show in his *Harmonia Confessionum* that between eleven non-Lutheran Confessions there are nineteen common *loci theologici*. This work was adopted by the National Synod of Vitre, 1583.¹⁶

6. *Recent Revival of the Reformed Consciousness.*

In the centuries of continuous conflict between the Lutherans and the followers of Calvin, the theology of the Reformed had, besides Calvin's *Institutes*, its special support in the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566). During the age of Rationalism, of course, the Reformed had part in the general decline of religion, which is always accompanied by a lowering of confessional consciousness. But the 19th century again produced outstanding Reformed theologians: On *Swiss territory* we have names such as C. Malan, A. Vinet, A. Schweizer, K. von Orelli, K. Staehelin, F. Godet, A. Keller. In *Germany* we have M. Goebel, A. Ebrard, K. Mueller, A. Lang, W. Koehler, J. P. Lange, A. Schlatter. In *France* there was: A. Monod, M. Aubigne, W. Monod, E. Doumergue. In *Holland*, van Osterzee, later the very influential A. Kuyper. The contributions from the pen of Philip Schaff were of great service to American Protestantism. The present-day contributions in America from the Dutch "Christian Reformed Church," Grand Rapids, Mich., show that a church life which cultivates the study of the *Heidelberg Catechism* will not fail in producing a corresponding theology with serious discussion even of the decrees. K. Barth and E. Brunner of Switzerland, are Reformed theologians with their battle front not, as a rule, against Lutheranism, but with Lutheranism against the "New Protestantism" of the Schleiermacher-Hegel-Ritschl-Harnack-Troeltsch heritage of a passing age. The contributions should not be overlooked which come from professing Presbyterians of *Scotland* (Chalmers, Kingsley, F. W. Robertson, W. Robertson-Smith, and others); and from the Presbyterians in *America* (cf. the Princeton theologians such as C. Hodge, B. Warfield, G. Machen, and others) in this school. This whole revival of confessional consciousness in the Reformed Church of today shows itself in a new interest in the study of Calvin.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 387.

II. TERRITORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH WITH ITS STATISTICS.

Literature: For statistics under A, we follow in the main **Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart** 2, usually quoted **RGG**. See here the articles on "Reformierte Kirche" and "Reformierter Bund," Vol. IV, and read also on the churches in the various countries now to be enumerated.

In this Sec. II we shall not include the Presbyterians of Great Britain and America, or its diaspora in many countries. Of these we will read below after a brief orientation concerning the history and principles of Presbyterianism has been given.

In this book we aim to treat the church groups in families, but we must not overlook the fact that the Reformed and the Presbyterians at the present time constitute distinct and separate church organizations. Here, then, we are to give a brief picture of the territory and constituency of the Reformed Churches, including their statistics.

A. Reformed Churches in Europe

1. *Switzerland*. Due to the battle at Kappel where Zwingli fell, where the Roman side gained the victory (1531), and due to Roman Catholic successes in the counter-reformation, 41 percent of the inhabitants, that is 1,585,311, have remained Roman Catholics. The census of 1930 yielded the number of 2,308,689 "Protestants" in Switzerland.

2. *France*, according to a census of 1927, has 600,000 Reformed, with 645 pastors, in the following three churches: (1) the Eglise Reformee Evangelique, (2) the Union d'Eglise Reformee de France, and (3) the Eglise Reformee Unie.

3. *Holland* (census, 1920) has 3,456,549 Reformed, distributed in four churches as follows: (1) Netherland Reformed 2,826,261, (2) Walloon Reformed 8,962, (3) Christian Reformed 49,492, (4) Reformed, 571,834. (Besides these groups there are 31,215 Remonstrants who are professed Arminians.)

4. *Germany*. The situation here is described by the Reformed Prof. K. Mueller as follows: Among the 40 million Protestants about the tenth part or 4 million may

be Reformed or "uniert" with a character approaching the Reformed type. (From his printed address *Warum sind wir Reformierte in Deutschland noetig?* 1925). The Reformed in Germany are found especially along the Rhine, due to the combined influence which proceeded from Bucer and Calvin; also in the former Palatinate and in East Prussia. And small Reformed congregations exist in many cities with garrisons. Several of the university faculties, as for instance Halle, Erlangen, Bonn, have a Reformed professorship. To the statistics of Reformed in Germany as mentioned above, must be added the Reformed in Austria since that has now become a part of Germany.

5. *Hungary and Roumania*. In the old Hungary census of 1910, there were 2,603,381 Reformed. In the Hungary after the World War (census 1920) there were but 1,670,144 Reformed. The loss means an accession to Roumania.

6. *Czechoslovakia* counts 210,000 Reformed in Slovakia and Carpathia and Russia.

7. *Lithuania* has 10,600 Reformed.

B. The Reformed Churches in America.

References: The Religious Bodies, II, 1926. **E. O. Watson**, Year Book of the Churches, 1924. Latest Year Book of the Churches, 1937.

Through emigration from Holland and Germany three Reformed church bodies have established themselves in America:

1. *The Reformed Church in America* (Dutch). This is the oldest church of Dutch origin in America, with headquarters (including publication house) at 25 E. 22nd st., New York City. The first Reformed pastor arrived in 1628. The first congregations were under the care of the West India Company and under the classis of Amsterdam in Holland. Their independent organizations date from 1771. The stream of Dutch immigrants ceased in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In about 1800, the Dutch language ceased generally to be the language of worship, and in 1867, the word "Dutch" was eliminated from the title of the church. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a new immigration from Holland the greater part of which set-

tled in Michigan, Iowa, and other parts of the West where the Dutch language again came into use.

The body is served by two theological seminaries, the one in New Brunswick, N. J., the other in Holland, Mich. The *Christian Intelligencer* is the organ of the body. Membership: 157,504. Churches: 726.

The church is distinctly Calvinistic. The confessional standards besides the ecumenical creeds, are the Belgic Confession, the Canons of Dort and the Heidelberg Catechism. As to polity the church is Presbyterian with membership in the "Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System."

2. *The Christian Reformed Church* (Dutch) is another but later church of immigration from Holland. The headquarters and publication house are in Grand Rapids, Mich.

Its founders had been in conflict with the authorities in the home country and came to America in 1846 and 1847, settling in central Iowa and western Michigan. For a time they were joined with the "Reformed Church in America," but later made use of a reserved right to withdraw if in their own judgment this should be necessary. They charged laxity in doctrine, and they protested against secret societies. With accessions of like-minded persons from various quarters in neighboring states they succeeded in forming the Christian Reformed Church.

In matters of doctrine and discipline this body is very conservative and strict. The Heidelberg Catechism is explained in sermons during one of the Sabbath services, throughout the year. Much emphasis is placed on catechetical instruction.

As to liturgical practices (use of psalms for singing, etc.) they are related to the United Presbyterians. Theologically this church, so pronounced in its creedal character, is very active. Its "Calvin College," with a theological seminary, is in Grand Rapids, Mich. This body has grown to 245 churches with a membership of 98,534, which shows that a truly confessional church has something with which it can maintain its life. Their English church paper, a weekly, is *The Banner*.

3. The Reformed Church in the United States is of German origin. The immigrants forming this body came from the Reformed sections in Germany (Palatinate, Hesse, Anhalt, Bremen, East Prussia,) localities which developed under the influences of Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin and the attitude of Melanchthon. Their ecclesiastical leaders were decidedly Calvinistic on the eucharist and with regard to Christology, also with regard to church government; but they were disinclined to follow Calvin and the Canons of Dort in the pronounced statements concerning predestination. In Germany they favored the union between Lutherans and Reformed, although this movement contributed to the absorption of the Reformed constituencies and influences in many of the isolated localities. They had their chief hold on the Reformed Churches along the Rhine, in East Prussia, also in Hungary and adjacent territories.

The history of the immigrants from these churches to America, under noble leaders such as John Philip Boehm, M. Schlatter, ran contemporarily with that of the Lutherans. Between these two churches there was much association and friendship. In 1747, a first synod was organized. Among them, much as among the Presbyterians, in that day of first endeavors at adjustment, there was friction: the one party emphasizing doctrinal and ecclesiastical regularity, the other being more in accord with the evangelistic and pietistic developments of the time. Leading among the latter was P. W. Otterbein who later identified himself with the United Brethren.

By 1793, the synod of the German Reformed Church, meeting at Lancaster, Pa., was established. (At first 1825, the theological seminary had been in Carlisle, Pa., then, 1829, it removed to York, Pa., thence to Mercersburg, Pa., 1837; since 1871 it has been located in Lancaster, Pa.)

Expansion to the West led to the organization of a "Western Synod." Heidelberg College and a theological seminary, at Tiffin, Ohio, were founded (1850). Later the theological seminary was located at Dayton, Ohio. In 1863, at the 300th anniversary celebration of the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism, the Eastern

and Western Synods, after much friction, united into a General Synod. In 1936, this general body had a membership of 347,208. The leading church papers were *Die Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*, and for its English constituency, *The Messenger*.

The most outstanding event in the history of the "Reformed Church in the United States" was its union with the "Evangelical Synod of North America," 1933, fully consummated in 1938, a body of 314,518 communicants. (Cf. Religious Bodies, 1926). During a history dating from 1840, this body was *originally* composed of about 20 percent Reformed and 80 percent Lutherans. The union took place under the name "The Evangelical and Reformed Church." In the constitution of the new body this was added: "Congregations and institutions may retain their names, but they shall designate their membership in the Evangelical and Reformed Church." Concerning doctrine it reads: "*We acknowledge and accept the historical confessions of the two churches as the doctrinal basis of union.*" The confessional basis of the "Reformed Church in the United States" was the Heidelberg Catechism. The confessional paragraph of the Evangelical Synod, which was worded to satisfy the large Lutheran element in that body, read: "The German Evangelical Synod of North America. . . accepts the interpretation of the Holy Scripture as given in the Symbolical Books of Lutheran and Reformed Churches, the most important being the Augsburg Confession, Luther's and the Heidelberg Catechisms, *in so far as they agree* (italics ours), but where they disagree the German Evangelical Synod of North America adheres strictly to the passages of Holy Scripture bearing on the subject, and avails itself of the liberty of conscience prevailing in the Evangelical Church." (For a critical review of this confessional paragraph see our book on the *Union Movements*, in full title referred to below, pp. 190 ff.) This paragraph of the Evangelical Synod, then, is now a part of the new general body's confessional basis.

In this union the Lutheran Church of the world has suffered a tremendous loss.¹⁷ The very large per-

17 Cf. Chap. VIII, A, 1.

centage of Lutherans from Germany, which during the second half of the 19th century and longer was directed to the Evangelical Synod in North America by the Union Church of Germany (which is not absorptive but confederative in character and as such is overwhelmingly Lutheran), had a natural right to be under the religious guidance of Lutheranism. The same must be said of the many Lutheran immigrants in America who by preaching, by the hymn book and by catechetical teaching were led to believe that they had become members of a Lutheran Church. The Lutheran influences in this merger may still continue for a while. But in any such union, especially through the interchange of pastors, the positive confessional character of the Reformed Church is bound to absorb the confessionally indifferent and neutral element of the Evangelical Synod, and this absorption, we believe, will be complete.¹⁸

The combined statistics is set forth in the following figures, the latest obtainable: 2,925 congregations with a total membership of 645,353, served by 2,647 ministers. For a publication surveying the historical development, as seen by the leaders, cf. J. H. Horstmann and H. H. Wernecke, *Through Four Centuries*, 1938.

Because of this merger the Dayton Theological Seminary of the Reformed united with the Eden Theological Seminary in Websters Grove, Mo., (St. Louis). Leading church papers in this merged body are: *The Messenger*; *The Christian World*; *Die Kirchenzeitung*; *Der Friedensbote*. Two Publishing Houses: the Christian Board of Publication, 1505 Ray St., Philadelphia, Pa.; the Eden Publishing House, 1720 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

III. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, HISTORICAL ORIENTATION. STATISTICS.

Introductory Observations: Presbyterianism, with Great Britain as its motherland, has its own history.

¹⁸ See the writer's book on *The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union*, the chap. 6: "The German Evangelical Synod of North America," pp. 138-197. To our knowledge the critical review in this book (published by the United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia) is the only existing endeavor to analyse critically in all aspects the situation of the Evangelical Synod. When this book was reviewed by the *Evangelical Magazine*, St. Louis, Mo., its editor, Dr. H. Kamphausen, wrote: "Never have we been treated more fairly."

1. *General Characterization:* Retrospectively we say: For the Reformed in Switzerland, Germany, France, the topics of interest were dictated chiefly by the conflicts with Lutheranism on the means of grace and in connection therewith on the Christological presuppositions underlying the differences concerning the eucharist. In Holland, owing to the conflict with Arminianism, the special subject of the debate was predestination. In Scotland and England the settlement of the conflict through the Canons of Dort kept alive that interest in predestination, as seen in the expression of that subject by the Westminster and the Scotch Confessions. But here, other interests were added: Against Anglicanism there developed the strong Puritanic trait, and also the Calvinistic stress on the "Presbyterian" form of church government. Both of these interests, together with the teaching of predestination, marked the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and England in its beginnings. It must be added, however, that very soon, in ever widening circles, the Arminian emphasis on the universality of grace crowded predestinationism into the background—this to such an extent that the way was paved for a "latitudinarian" theology which led many Presbyterian congregations into Unitarianism. This was a development in which the Anglicans participated also.¹⁹

2. *The Puritanic trait in Presbyterianism was mentioned.* Underlying a Puritanic trait was the Reformed principle: "Salvation from God directly without the mediation of churchly acts." The whole order of service in the Church was to be purified from all "idolatrous" features of Romanism (altars, crosses, candles, pictures and symbols). There is a certain relationship between the terms Puritan and Reformed which was expressed above (sec. 2) when we discussed the name Reformed and quoted P. Schaff saying: "The designation Reformed means originally the Catholic Church reformed of abuses."²⁰ The more radical of the Presbyterians, especially the Scotch followers of John Knox, who had

¹⁹ For detailed description see our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, chapter 2, "Arminianism in Holland"; and chapter 3, "Arminianism in England."

²⁰ *Creeds* I, 211.

returned from Geneva an advocate of strict Puritanism, would not tolerate the hymns in Christian worship except in forms of the Psalter. Zwingli, who also had convictions along the line of Puritanism, once appeared before the city council in Zuerich singing a petition. When asked why he did so he answered that this is what they had been doing up to this time in the church services. The question arose whether the use of organs should be tolerated since this was an artificial approach to God permitting something purely human to serve in divine worship. Strange argumentations took place. The Puritan agitation under the leadership of Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers reached its culmination in the controversy of 1587 and following years. These discussions were then overtaken by political events (Cromwell's army with the Congregationalists as a factor). The Puritans, following John Knox in their cultivation of a species of religious rigorism, introduced also an extreme concept of the Sabbath commandment (Westm. Conf., art. 21). Zwingli and Calvin had here preserved a certain freedom of interpretation, in which they were followed by the Heidelberg Catechism.²¹

A. Presbyterians of the British Empire.

Literature: **A. H. Drysdale**, History of the Presbyterians in England, their Rise, Decline and Revival, 1889. **J. N. Ogilvie**, The Presbyterian Churches, Their Place and Power in Modern Christendom, Revell Co., 1897, pp. 95 ff. **R. G. Thompson**, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, 1895. (Am. Ch. History Series). **W. W. MacPhail**, The Presbyterian Church, a brief account of its Doctrine, Worship and Polity, 1908, 225 ff. **J. Vant Stephens**, The Presbyterian Churches, Divisions and Unions in Scotland, Ireland, Canada and America, 1910. **R. G. Reed**, History of the Presbyterian Church in the World, 1917, pp. 205 ff. For reading involving many details the descriptions of **Phil. Schaff**, Creeds I, 670 ff. are very fascinating.

1. *England*. Presbyterianism in the former "Three Kingdoms" which we today call Great Britain, looks back to John Knox of Scotland as its founder (1560). Its special expounder and father in England was Thomas Cartwright, a graduate of Cambridge, who labored between 1569 and 1603. He laid down six propositions which formed the platform of the Presbyterian party:

21 Cf. K. Mueller, *Symbolik*, pp. 493 f.

(1) That the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished. (2) That the offices of the lawful ministers of the church, viz., bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolic institution: bishops to preach the Word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor. (3) That the government of the Church ought not to be entrusted to bishops, chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own minister and presbytery. (4) That ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have charge of a particular congregation. (5) That no man ought to solicit or to stand as a candidate for the ministry. (6) That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people." By these principles the Anglicans and leaders of the Established Church were very much disquieted. The work of Cartwright upon the basis of such a conception of church government, which was further deepened by personal contact with Beza in Geneva, made him the father of English Presbyterianism.²²

The Presbyterians were part of the Puritan group within the British Parliament. They found a practical representation in the Westminster Assembly at London in England, 1645-1649. This was not a distinctly Presbyterian body, for it represented in its membership all English speaking Christians. It was called into being by an act of parliament to consider the state of the entire country in matters of religion. It fostered also the development of the Independents who afterwards became the Congregationalists.

Note: The outstanding creations of the Westminster Assembly (1643-1648) must here be mentioned. After a directory of worship and a form of ordination it created: (1) a Form of Government, (2) a Confession of Faith and (3) two Catechisms. These standards have become of greatest significance for Presbyterians in all countries. For an extensive review of the history of the Westminster Assembly and its work read **Philip Schaff**, *Creeeds* I, 727-829. Cf. MacPhail, pp. 243 ff.

The Anglicans, of course, took no part in the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly. They were

²² R. E. Reed, p. 207 f. A very fitting and lucid description of Presbyterianism is given in **RGG**, IV, p. 1438 f.

watching with concern the development of the Dissenters. Queen Elizabeth had died in 1603. A conflict between Anglicanism, as the "Established Church," and the Dissenters had been developing. It had culminated in the effort of the new King Charles I (called from Scotland) and his episcopacy in Scotland.²³ This precipitated a revolt. Parliament in the session now known as the famous "Long Parliament" (1640-1653), with Puritanism as a growing majority, turned against King Charles I and organized the opposition. So far, Puritanism and Independency had refused to be more than an influence within the established Church of England, aiming by legislative measures, simply to reform more and more the national church in the interest of primitive purity and simplicity. But now these two influences came into separate existence and were ready to overthrow Anglicanism. Historians for Presbyterianism tell us that a step very favorable to the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in England was taken by the Parliament in 1647: All parishes within England and Wales were to be brought under the form of Presbyterian government, with synods, classical presbyteries and a national assembly. But the machinery was not put into operation. The Presbyterians were shy regarding the Erastian feature. Parliament wanted to hold the reins of power in its own hands; the Presbyterians wanted a church free to govern itself.²⁴

In 1642, war broke out between Parliament and the King. At first the opposition lost ground. But the situation changed when Oliver Cromwell appeared at the head of an army which he had selected from the ranks of the Puritans. Says Schaff: "It was an army such as England never saw before or since—an army which feared God and hated the pope; which believed in the divine decrees and practiced perseverance of the saints; which fought for religion; which allowed no oath, no drunkenness, no gambling in the camps; which sacredly respected private property and the honor of woman; which went praying and psalm-singing into the field of

²³ For characterization of both King and Archbishop read Schaff, *Creeds* I, 709-718.

²⁴ See Reed, p. 217.

battle, and never returned from it without the laurels of victory. And when the warriors were disbanded at the Restoration they astonished the royalists by quietly taking their place among the most industrious, thrifty and useful citizens."²⁵

The government inaugurated by Cromwell is called the "Commonwealth." It was of short duration—"a brilliant military episode." It ended with the death of its "Protector," 1658. The military government which he had created left no affection and love among the people.

Archbishop Laud had been executed in 1645 and the King himself in 1649. For a carefully worked out characterization of Laud, see Ph. Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 711-716, and for a similarly careful picture of Charles I, pp. 709-710. Between the judgments of opposite partisans, he insists that "they were good men in private life, but bad men in public." This study of Laud by Schaff is especially instructive in a number of points. He was deservedly much hated by many because of the type of his High-Churchism. Schaff: "A zealous ritualist, a pedantic disciplinarian, and an overbearing priest." John Stoughton, I, 33: "His influence extended everywhere, over everybody and everything, small as well as great—like the trunk of an elephant, as well suited to pick up a pin as to tear down a tree." Schaff again: "His religion consisted of High Church Episcopalianism and Arminianism in the nearest possible approach to Rome, which he admired and loved. . . . But while Arminianism in Holland was a Protestant growth, and identified with the cause of liberal progress, Laud made it subservient to his intolerant High-Churchism, and liked it for its affinity with the Semi-Pelagianism of the Greek fathers. To enforce this Semi-Pelagian High-Churchism, and to secure absolute uniformity in the outward service of God in the three Kingdoms, was the highest aim of his administration, to which he bent every energy. In England he filled all vacancies with Churchmen and Arminians of his own stamp. He kept (as he himself informs us in his diary) a ledger for the guidance of his royal master in the distribution of patronage: Those marked by the letter O (Orthodox) were recommended to all favors, those marked P (Puritans) were excluded from all favors."²⁶

We are here speaking of the speedy crumbling of Cromwell's "Commonwealth." While Archbishop Laud had made himself hateful to many, yet there were many more who looked upon him as a towering bulwark and even a symbol of the Anglican type of religion which they loved; of a Church which had given them their version of the English Bible and a Prayer Book without which they could not live. And King Charles II, while des-

²⁵ *Creeds*, I, 718 f.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 712 f.

potic, like so many monarchs in that day, was a man of good moral character and the member of a dynasty to which the inclination of the people in all three Kingdoms began to turn as soon as the weakness of the Commonwealth appeared. With Charles II followed the restoration of the Monarchy, and with it the Episcopacy and the Liturgy in 1659. It became evident that England, as it had been manipulated by Henry VIII, and theologically and devotionally shaped and established by Cranmer, had definitely decided for Anglicanism with its Bucerian middle-of-the-road articles, its attractive liturgies and beautiful Prayer Book, which, through Laud, already had a history in conjunction with and in support of the crown.

With the Restoration the Dissenters had to go through humiliating experiences. In a spirit of mean revenge the body of Cromwell which had been buried in Westminster Abbey at the side of the legitimate Kings of England, was dug up, hanged and decapitated and then buried under the gallows, while its head was planted on the top of Westminster Hall. Soon the Act of Uniformity was published, 1662. Absolute conformity to the revised Liturgy and episcopal ordination was required. Several thousand objecting Presbyterian churchmen were thrown out of their offices and into misery. A similar act of the Presbyterian Parliament against the Anglican clergy had taken place in 1647.²⁷ English Presbyterianism at that dark hour came near losing its identity.

Presbyterianism in England, then, failed to develop into a national institution, such as it seemed destined to become at the time of the Westminster Assembly.²⁸ Retrospectively, the cause for this outcome may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Anglicanism had its very large adherence. (2) The Presbyterians did not want to put the final decision of church matters into the hands of Parliament, but they wanted a Church free from the State, in harmony with Calvinism.²⁹ (3) Cromwell later favored the Independents of the Congregationalist type.

27 MacPhail, p. 255 f. Comp. Schaff I, 722, footnote 1.

28 Besides Schaff, *Creeds I*, see MacPhail, pp. 225 ff., Reed, pp. 205 ff.

29 *Institutes IV*, 20, 3. 41, 76.

He feared that the Presbyterians would not tolerate congregational Independentism. It was a time of prolonged friction between Cromwell and the Presbyterian Parliament, aggravated by the flight of the defeated king into the Scottish-Presbyterian army. This led to a purge which drove 200 Presbyterian members out of parliament, upon which there followed the execution of the king. This the English Presbyterians, the Scottish representatives and the Irish Presbyterians protested as a blunder and a crime.³⁰

The revolution of 1688 against James II and the incoming of William of Orange from Holland, finally, brought the "Toleration Act" of 1690 and with this freedom also for the Presbyterians to organize and to work according to the dictates of their conscience.

This led to quite a revival of church life. The scattered parts of Presbyterianism found each other, and came to temporary union agreements even with sections of the Independents (Congregationalists). This union, however, did not mature to any permanency. Dr. R. C. Reed in his *History* (p. 221), deplores the fact that at that time the Presbyterians "made no attempt to revive the series of courts which are essential to fully organized Presbyterianism." They believed in a "National Establishment," but they did not want to risk a relationship to the State in which the Church would be asked to put some part of its government into the hands of state authorities. This is a matter on which Presbyterians, together with The Reformed everywhere in Europe, are very sensitive.

Note: Compare the following with Section V, E, 2. It should here be said that Lutherans have always differed from Calvinists in the emphasis laid by the latter upon the Presbyterian form of church government as a matter settled by Scripture; they refuse to take the example in the New Testament as a command and want to leave this matter as an adiaphoron, and as something to be developed by situations and history in the various localities. In article 7 of the Augsburg Confession on the Church, the matter of church polity is not even mentioned. But as to the position of Presbyterians the following statement by MacPhail (p. 151) should also be noted: "Presbyterians do not unchurch those who are unable to find Presbyterianism in the New Testament. They do not make Presbyterianism an article of faith. It has no place, for example, in the Westminster Confession, and the Presbyterian Church of England has relegated the subject to an appendix of its Twenty-Four Art-

30 Cf. MacPhail, p. 251 ff.

icles." Not all Presbyterians may agree to mediating positions on this matter, and such will refer to the whole manner in which Calvin speaks of the offices in the Church.³¹

About the opening of the eighteenth century, Protestantism all over Europe suffered a lowering of evangelical piety. In England there went with it that doctrinal Latitudinarianism, which opened the doors for "Arianism" and a very aggressive Socinianism. The Presbyterians were much affected.³² In 1812, there were in England only 100 confessional Presbyterians and 152 non-subscribing Presbyterians, the latter actually Unitarian. Then came a revival, due partly to rising Methodism, and particularly Scotch influences. Then there followed developments and reorganizations. About 1836, the Presbyterians in London and to the north received into their membership a considerable number of immigrants from Scotland. Sympathy on the part of the Free Church in Scotland at the time of the "disruption" in 1843 in Scotland, brought further accessions for the sister church in England. In 1863, these churches were organized into a synod. This is today the Presbyterian Church of England with a membership of 82,000 communicants and a theological seminary "Westminster" adjoining the Cambridge University.

2. *The Presbyterian Church of Wales*

It is the only section of Presbyterianism that owes nothing to Scotland. It originated as a revival movement in reaction against the deadness of the official Anglican Church. A great teacher (Rev. G. Jones) established Bible Schools all over the country (215 with more than 8,000 scholars). This work was followed by great evangelists (H. Harris outstanding among them). It had the support of Whitefield. "Societies" were established as by the Methodists in England with no intention of making them independent of the Church. Their hymn writer was W. William. He who, by giving permanency to the work, may be called their father, was Rev. T. Charles of Bala. When separation become necessary their "societies" issued into presbyteries and their associations of societies turned into Synods (1811). They found them-

³¹ See his *Institutes*, Book IV, chap. 3, sections 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10.

³² MacPhail, p. 263 f. Reed, p. 221 f.

selves to be Calvinistic in doctrine. Their first name had been "Calvinistic Methodist Connection." In 1823, they adopted a Confession of Faith of 42 chapters. In 1864, the organization received its final touch when the Northern and the Southern Synod united in a "General Assembly" for all Wales. The communicant membership of this body in 1835 was 187,000. It is a member of the World Presbyterian Alliance which in 1925 held its meeting in Wales.

3. Scotland, *the Stronghold of Presbyterianism*.³³ Here, different from the outcome in England, Roman Catholicism was "cut out by the roots." (Reed, p. 132). The Church which was founded was patterned after ideals which John Knox had received at Geneva in conference with Calvin. But he gave it a "flexible polity" adapted to the conditions in Scotland. Our above descriptions of events in England covered also much of the history of Scotland. For a more detailed description see especially Reed, as referred to: pages 133 (The Church's Polity); 148 (Participation in the Westminster Assembly); 151 (Dealing with Cromwell); 152-160 (Conflicts with Episcopalianism); 160 ff. (The Church Reconstituted).

The bitter opposition of the Stuarts to the Reformation through John Knox because he demanded independence of state control, was met by *The First Covenanting in Defense of Presbyterianism in 1580*. There was a renewal in 1638. In 1643, after brief hostilities, the "Solemn League Covenant" was received by the "English Parliament and Assembly of Divines." The Covenanters bound themselves to preserve the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland and to reform religion in Ireland "in doctrine, worship, discipline and government . . . and to endeavor to bring the churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship" . . . to "endeavor the extirpation of popes, prelacy (that is church government by archbishops and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy)

³³ Easily accessible for information: P. Schaff, *Creeds*, I; MacPhail, pp. 3-10; R. E. Thompson, *The Presbyterians in the American Church History Series*, Reed, pp. 126-172; J. N. Ogilvie, pp. 68-84.

. . . and whatever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. . . ;” to “endeavor the discovery of . . . incendiaries and malignants, hindering the reformation . . .” This covenant was signed by members of both houses, and, very reluctantly, also by Charles II in 1650, when he was hoping to recover the English throne. But after his restoration, the majority in the House of Commons in 1661, ordered it to be burned by the common hangman. The Scottish Parliament also renounced the covenant and declared the king supreme. Now the protesting Covenanters (“Conventiclers” and “Hamiltonians”) were subjected to fierce persecution (up to 1689). Then followed the “Revolution Settlement” which again made the Presbyterian Church the state church of Scotland.

A matter regarding which we had no occasion to write in our review of conditions in England and to which there should be a brief reference is the following: “New Thought,” or “Moderation” made itself felt as a “rebound from the intensity of religious life and narrowness of thought which had marked the previous centuries” (Ogilvie, p. 75). This aided the “Secessions” or divisions from the leading church body, of which there were three in number, (cf. *Ibid.* pp. 74 f.), one in 1733 (Secession Church), one in 1761 (Relief Church), and later the disruption of 1843 (Free Church). As to the last mentioned secession the old patronage matter came up again: Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Candlish insisted that it hurts a church’s spirituality when it accepts aid from the state, and, in the year mentioned (1843), they led in forming the Free Church of Scotland. It took 451 ministers out of the established Church which had numbered 1204 ministers. Chalmers, in the prosecution of his ideal, had a successor in Dr. James Robertson. The secession upon a ground which involved so much sacrifice made this church very popular.

In Scotland there is today one chief branch of Presbyterianism: *The Church of Scotland*, the result of a union between the old “Established Church of Scotland” (organized under the influence of John Knox, 1680, and recognized by Parliament in 1692) and the “United Free Church.” This last mentioned body was a merger of the

"Free Church" and the "United Presbyterian Church" which combined had 435,000 members. These two great churches united in 1929.

Unfortunately at each of these unions there was a dissenting minority, so that there are still five small Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, outside of the national church with a total of some 35,000 communicant members among them. There is no essential doctrinal difference; all six churches adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith, but the formula of adherence is less rigid in some than in others.

The full and complete autonomy of the Church of Scotland was recognized (*not* granted) by Parliament before the Union of 1929, thus finally abolishing the difficulties which had caused most of the divisions in the past. The communicant membership of the Church of Scotland is over a million and a quarter; she has four faculties of Divinity, and about 3,400 ministers.

4. *Ireland*.³⁴ The Presbyterian Church owes her origin to Scottish colonization, in 1613. The Scots settled in considerable numbers in the province of Ulster. Under the influence of the Scottish kings there was at first much conflict with Episcopalianism. The strong influence of Archbishop Laud in England made itself felt, which led to an ejection of Presbyterianism for the time being. But after five years the latter returned, Scotland aiding its weak daughter in the Green Isles. In 1660, there were 80 congregations in Ulster, 70 ministers, 5 presbyteries and 100,000 communicants.³⁵ There followed a century of persecution on the part of the kings of Scotland until finally in 1769, the Presbyterians were recognized. From 1702 on (death of William of Orange) they had an Annual Synod. But the "Test Act" of 1704 (not revoked until 1780), deprived loyal Presbyterians of the right to hold offices. It finally started the great emigration of Ulster Presbyterians to America (about 1729), which was an irreparable loss to Irish Presbyterianism. Communicant membership in 1935 was 113,811, taken care of by 570 ministers.

Two Doctrinal Controversies belong to the full characterization of the eighteenth century history of Protes-

³⁴ Consult the same literature.

³⁵ Ogilvie, p. 87.

tantism in Ireland, in which the Presbyterians were the chief factor:

a. *Opposition to Creed Subscription* was made by a group of ministers led by J. Abernathey of Antrim (1719). The movement was spoken of as the "New Light." They maintained that sincerity of belief justified lack of orthodoxy, and denied the Church's right to impose a creed upon her ministers.³⁶ This started a great commotion in Ireland. After years of controversy on this subject (1726), the "New Lights" were segregated in a presbytery by themselves and soon expelled. This could not stop the movement, of course.

Note: It was this conflict which caused the disciplined party in Ireland to join with representatives of the Secession Church of Scotland (1750). Historians have said: If this had not resulted, then these Irish oppositionists would have joined Unitarianism and would have been lost to the Presbyterian Church.

b. *A conflict with "Arianism"* was the other Doctrinal Controversy through which the Presbyterians in Ireland had to go. This type of Unitarian teaching had also found followers among the Irish Presbyterians of Ulster. The Rev. Henry Cook led in the overthrow of it. After a prolonged and excited controversy, the Synod of Ulster declared it to be "incompetent for any one holding Arian views to occupy an office in the Church."³⁷ Seventeen ministers withdrew. The whole conflict contributed to an undertaking which brought the Synod of Ulster into complete doctrinal harmony with the Secession Synod of Scotland. The result was the formation of the *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland*. 141 congregations from Scotland and 292 from Ulster took part in this union.

Note: In Canada, 1925, a union was effected of all the Methodists, all the Congregationalists and of the larger part of the Presbyterians. Of this union we will speak in our Chapter VIII, which deals with the Union Bodies of Christendom.

5. *Presbyterianism in the British Colonial Churches.*

Australia, almost 100,000 members; New Zealand, over 50,000 members; The Church of Christ in China, 125,000 members; Dutch Reformed in South

³⁶ Ogilvie, p. 90: Cf. Reed, 197 ff.

³⁷ Ogilvie, p. 91.

Africa, 340,000 members; Netherlands, 725,000 members; Roumania, 750,000 members.

B. Presbyterian Churches in the United States of America.

The larger history is **R. E. Thompson**. We continue **Ogilvie** (A. C. Zenos) and **Reed** and add: **W. H. Roberts**, *A Concise History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Philadelphia, 1920; Religious Bodies II, **Bureau of the U. S. Census** 1916 and 1926. The Year Book of the Churches, edited for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America by **E. O. Watson**. Brief mention of the bodies by **E. Klotzsche**, *Christian Symbolics*.

The beginnings of American Presbyterianism go back to emigration from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Early congregations of these settlers were found in the New England colonies, in and around New York City and Philadelphia, in North and in South Carolina.³⁸ The beginning of organized Presbyterianism came through the labors of F. Makemie who had come from Ireland (1683): a man "of strong personality, of sagacity, and of good executive ability." The first presbytery was organized at Philadelphia in 1706. The first synod followed in 1717. Here we shall discuss as the lineal successor of this pioneer organization, the first of the present Presbyterian general bodies, the parent body of American Presbyterianism.

1. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (the Parent Body).

The historians of this parent body of American Presbyterianism stress the fact that "the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," was American-born. "It was constituted by a Presbytery which was self-organized," not by any authority on the other side of the Atlantic.³⁹ The Episcopalians have rivaled the Presbyterians in claiming to be "The American Church." And the Congregationalists at present insist upon this honor.

a. *The Adopting Act*. The Presbyteries had all tacitly recognized the Westminster Standards at the time

³⁸ Thompson, pp. 13 ff. Roberts, pp. 7-18. Zenos, 101 ff. Reed, 232 f. **Rel. Bodies**, (1926), 1127. Watson 178.

³⁹ W. H. Roberts, "A Concise History" etc. Compare his attached address on the 200th anniversary of the General Synod, 1920, p. 91.

of their organization. But the time came when formal creed subscription was demanded. There was history back of this demand. We have spoken of the "New Light" controversy in Ireland, 1719. R. C. Reed writes: "It was a revolt against creed subscription as a sin against personal liberty; sincerity of belief shall be accepted in lieu of any creedal profession . . . It opened the door for many doctrinal errors, especially in the direction of Arminianism, Arianism and Socinianism. As the Church in this country continued to look to Scotland and Ireland as the principal source of ministerial supply, grave alarm was felt" (p. 239). In 1729, the "adopting act" was passed which declared: "All ministers of this Synod, or that shall be hereafter admitted to this Synod, shall declare their agreement in, and their approbation of, the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechism of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of doctrine, and do also adopt the Confession and Catechism as the Confession of our faith." To this was added in the same paragraph: "And in case any minister of this Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have scruples with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall, at the time of making such declaration, declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or the Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds; and to ministerial communion; if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge his scruples or mistake to be about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship and government." (For full text cf. Thompson, Appendix.) Dr. W. H. Roberts, stated clerk of the General Assembly, declares in his *Concise History*, 1920, that from this year (1729) forward this solemn declaration of belief in the Teachings of the Westminster Standards has been required (p. 23). He underscores that "by this Act the American Church became a 'Confessional Church,' a church holding to a definite system of doctrine." (p. 23).

b. *The Problem of Application of the Confessional Principle.*

The "adopting act" of the Presbyterians in America represented a movement which had counter-parts in

other religious bodies of that day. In England Presbyterianism of that time was under the blight of indifferentism, as we saw (on page 287). Scotland and Ireland were affected. The Lutherans in America felt the rationalizing influences from Germany and only gradually arrived at confessional positions.⁴⁰ And while in Germany itself we witnessed a great revival of confessional theology there developed also first an Hegelian and then a Neo-Kantian theology through leaders such as Baur, Strauss, and then through Ritschl and through the Historic-Religious School.⁴¹ There were followers in England and in America (Coleridge, Martineau and others). In America there was the rise of Unitarianism, both of the dynamistic and the modalistic type. The Congregationalists in America at the time of their conflict with the Unitarians held at first to their Calvinistic heritage, but gradually lost it by their principle of refusing, as a general body, to have confessional tests.⁴² The Unitarians of today, while composed of a membership which is anti-Trinitarian and rationalistic, have no doctrinal tests, not even with regard to their own traditional tenets (Priestley, Channing, Theodore Parker, et al). It is in the face of these developments in the denominational world about them that the Presbyterians are confronted with the task of upholding and applying their "adopting act" of 1729. And it must also be remembered that within their own camp there were the differences between the varying forms of strict Calvinism on the one hand, and of an Arminianism with constant inclination to run into Latitudinarianism, on the other.

It may here be said that the above second quotation of the "adopting act" has been held and is used by many to hold open a door for tolerance of and reconciliation with liberalism. The question is, of course, how far this can be extended without affecting the heart of "the system." There will be those, even in the "judicatories" of present-day Presbyterianism, who will carry the concessions into the spheres of old "Arianism," "Socinianism," "Unitarianism"—to speak in the language of con-

40 J. L. Neve, *History of the Luth. Church in America* 3, pp. 95 ff.

41 See our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. V.

42 See our Chapter IX on the Congregationalists.

flict among the old Scotch defenders of the faith. The difficulty is that a living conservative theology in the current conflict with the clearly erroneous position of decided liberalism presents in so many cases the problem of an overlapping. Ogilvie, as referred to, in discussing that second part of the "adopting act" (p. 106), looks forward to "a new type of Presbyterianism which, while retaining its historic connection with the original stock in Great Britain should be more flexible and adapted to the new condition of its environment." May it be given to the great Presbyterian Church to hold fast to what is essential for the preaching of a full Gospel of salvation of the sinner through Christ! With these thoughts in mind let us now report on a number of events which have tried the confessional principle of the Presbyterians.

c. *Conflict, Disruption and Reunion following the "Great Awakening" of 1745.* Conflict began with the revival conducted by Rev. William Tennent and his son Rev. Gilbert Tennent, in which also Geo. Whitefield of England (arrived 1739) participated, and by which the Presbyterian Church profited greatly in accessions of members. William Tennent had established an academy ("Log College") for training ministers, 1728. By 1737, he had prepared seven or eight men for the ministry. But objections were made to receiving them for ordination on the ground that their education was insufficient. Hitherto it had been required of all candidates that they should be graduates of some British university or American College. The advocates of the revivals, called the "New Side," favored the "Log College" because of its evangelistic training, and they complained of their opponents ("Old Side") that they were upholding an "unconverted ministry." Upon this Gilbert Tennent preached a course of searching sermons (1740), which agitated the Church to its depths. The conflict led to a disruption in 1741. But in 1758, the bodies reunited upon the Westminster Standards pure and simple, and by mutual concessions, with fine tact, omitted all references to the question that had caused the division. During the time of separation the New Side established Princeton University (1758). In 1768 John Witherspoon was called from Scotland and in 1812 installed as president and professor of divinity.

d. *An Endeavor at Coöperation with the Congregationalists.* As long as the Congregationalists were Calvinistic in their theology there could be no real objection to a union with them. But their long fellowship with the Unitarians had begun to set the pace of American Congregationalism in the direction of their recent antagonist. More and more they stripped themselves of the Calvinistic marks, and they followed their original trait of opposition to doctrinal tests (see above under b. and compare our chapter on the Congregationalists). The "Plan of Union" with the Congregational Associations in England was begun in 1801 and terminated by the Old School Presbyterians in 1837. It was initiated with the laudable intention to avoid competition and to conserve the results of the religious revivals throughout the country, and also to further the cause of home and foreign missions. But it was bound to spell a weakening of Presbyterianism in that territory—western New York and Ohio—which later needed very much the salt of theological conservatism. The histories before us⁴³ all speak of distinct advantages for Presbyterianism from the Plan of Union. Nevertheless, this interdenominational plan had to be terminated. One step in this direction was taken by the Pittsburg Synod in the founding of the Western Foreign Missionary Society (1831). The Calvinism of New England became diluted with all the novelties that ultimately made up the "New England theology." Reed says (p. 256), "The Plan of Union opened the flood-gate for this stream of diluted doctrine to affect the Presbyterian Church . . . Friends of the old order became seriously alarmed . . . It was evident that a new and degenerate type of Presbyterianism was rapidly developing. Friction sprang up between the old and the new . . . and by and by, the whole Church was converted into a battleground." Such is the price that has to be paid for a union which can be characterized by the question: "How can two walk together when they are not agreed?"

e. *An "Old School" versus a "New School."* The Presbyterians that were opposed to the continuation of the "Plan of Union" were known as the *Old School*; and

43 Ogilvie, 113. Reed, 255. Roberts, 47. Watson, 180. *Rel. Bodies*, 1129. Cf. Thompson.

a growing faction within the Presbyterian Church, which inclined to entertain and look with favor upon things that they could learn from New England, was spoken of as a *New School*. The conflict between these two schools soon evidenced itself in very exciting heresy trials (Lyman Beecher at Lane Theol. Seminary in Cincinnati, O.; Albert Barnes in Philadelphia). Matters finally issued into the schism of 1838, in which the *New School* with an adherence of 1,000 ministers, 1,260 churches, and 106,000 communicants made itself independent; while 1,615 ministers, 1,673 churches, and 126,000 communicants remained in the *old body*. But beginning in 1863, endeavors were being made looking toward a reunion of the two bodies, and finally in 1870 it was effected.

This being the time of large emigration from Europe and of the moving to the West of many from the East, it is observed that in spite of the schismatic situation between the two sides, the Presbyterian Church had a marvelous growth in membership. In 1870, at the time of the reunion, it numbered 4,238 ministers, 4,526 churches and 578,671 communicants.

Both schools in separate organizations gave evidence of their patriotism when the Civil War threatened. The *New School* passed their "Anti-Slavery Resolutions," 1853. Upon this the Southern presbyteries withdrew and formed a separate organization. The *Old School* passed its "Spring Resolution" and expressed loyalty to the federal government, 1861. The vote was not unanimous because Prof. Charles Hodge warned with fine insight that an ecclesiastical body had no right to determine questions of civil allegiance.

f. *Conservatism in Doctrine*. It was after the reunion of 1870, in the years following 1891, that the *heresy trials* of Prof. C. A. Briggs and H. P. Smith took place. Both were suspended from the ministry.⁴⁴ Proceedings, earlier, against Prof. D. Swing (1874) and later (1899) against Prof. A. C. McGiffert took place. They withdrew before final steps could be taken. These things were "indications of conservatism in doctrine" (Reed).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Thompson, pp. 261 ff.

⁴⁵ There is a fuller review of these "heresy trials" by S. G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism*, 1931, pp. 122-131. Here the liberal side is favored. The footnotes to this book, however, contain references to the literature on both sides.

g. Beginning with 1889, there was a *rethinking of the Confessional Standards*. A revision was under consideration. In 1903, this matter "came to a happy consummation" (Reed). This revision contains two declaratory statements explaining Chapter III of the Confession on God's eternal decree and of Chapter X, sect. 3, concerning election of infants. (For details on these two points see our closing section of this chapter, page 321). We also mention the addition of two chapters to the Confession of Faith (One was on the Holy Spirit). It was clearly understood at the beginning of the revision that it must "in no way impair the integrity of the system of doctrines set forth in the confessions and taught in the Holy Scripture." Reed remarks (p. 262): "One year after the revision was adopted, the General Assembly deliberately declared that the revision had not impaired the system of doctrine contained in the Confession." And this is of importance for the confessional situation in the parent-body of the American Presbyterians, namely, that the Assembly of 1902 adopted a "Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith," comprising 16 articles. It was prepared, "not with the view of becoming a substitute for, or an alternate of our Confessions of Faith," . . . but that in untechnical language, it "should be employed to give information and a better understanding of our doctrinal beliefs."

h. *Present-day Confessional Situation*. The decades after the revision of the Standards have continued to impose trying tests upon the confessional position of this parent-body of American Presbyterianism. In the "Five Points" of doctrine in 1910, the body reaffirmed "adherence to the historic standards as being the system of truth taught in the Holy Scriptures and to be followed in the future as in the past" (Minutes, 1910, p. 273). There had been the advance of theological liberalism in the Ritschlian and Harnackian age of Germany with a very large literature, culminating in Harnack's "Essence of Christianity." Then came the Historico-Religious School, with Troeltsch, Bussuet, et al. as leaders. Many of England's theologians responded favorably to these movements.⁴⁶ America soon saw an emancipation of the

⁴⁶ See W. Vollrath, *Theologie der Gegenwart in Grossbritannien*, 1928.

divinity schools (Harvard, Union, Chicago Divinity School, Garrett Biblical Institute) from the Church's supervision. The "New England theology," stimulated from abroad, issued into a general "Modernism" which through press and platform and pulpit, through college and university teaching, has worked itself into the denominations. There can be sane progress in method, in the approach to problems. The purely apologetic approach can be toned down to admit new light through avenues of history, philology and philosophy. But this progressiveness must not seek the avenues of humanism with a radicalism which conflicts with sacred theology. These developments, stimulated by the growth of anti-creedalism among the Congregationalists, the Northern Baptists and the Disciples and in American Protestantism almost everywhere, also affected the Presbyterians. Many in the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., had reacted against the heresy trials which we have mentioned. There was an inclination to larger liberalism. Many had wanted a modification of the expression on the decrees in the Westminster "Confession of Faith," in Chapter III. Such modification was desired also for the purpose of union with the Cumberland Presbyterians.⁴⁷

Now something took place, which contributed toward keeping this parent body of American Presbyterianism in commotion:

A Presbyterian Congregation (First Presbyterian Church in New York City) called the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick, a Baptist, as an assistant to its pastor. It was in the days of heated conflict between "Fundamentalists" and "Modernists." Dr. Fosdick had become the champion of Modernism and published a course of lectures which he had delivered in Harvard University under the title: *The Modern Use of the Bible*.

In this and in a number of other publications he said many things to which, so far as the method of the historical approach was concerned, there needed to be no objection and which have long been recognized by truly con-

⁴⁷ The change appears in a "Declaratory Statement" in the form of an appendix, coupled with a reference in the added Chapters 34, 3 and 35, 1 and 2. See the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., as we shall quote it in Section V of this chapter.

servative theologians in Germany and England. Still, it was a movement which was very outspoken in the propagation of principles which are characteristic of the humanistic type of theology with which evangelical churches cannot identify themselves without abandoning their Scriptural foundations as they profess them in hymn, liturgy, ministerial acts, and in creeds which have grown out of the experience of the Church. We cannot here go into details but must refer the readers to an essay which we published at that time in the American Lutheran Survey and which is reprinted as Part B of the Appendix to this book.

The demand of the Presbyterians was that Dr. Fosdick, if he desired to continue in the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church in New York, subscribe to the Standards of this body (1923). Fosdick then accepted the call to the Riverside Baptist Church in New York. This closed the incident, but it did not end the division of opinion as to the theology which Dr. Fosdick had been preaching in the Presbyterian pulpit.

This division and the accompanying agitation led to the publication of a pamphlet called the *Auburn Affirmation* (1924). It was an affirmation "designed to safeguard the unity and liberty of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," receiving the signatures of 1,274 ministers. A few statements from this *Affirmation* must here be quoted to characterize the situation:

"At the outset we affirm and declare our acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, as we did at our ordinations, 'as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures'. . . But 'manifestly it (the church) does not require the assent to the very words of the Confession, or to all the teachings, or to the interpretation of the Confession by individual or church courts. The Confession of Faith itself disclaims infallibility.' Its authors would not allow this to church councils, their own included: 'All synods and councils since the apostles' time . . . may err, and have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice . . .' (*Conf. of Faith*, 21, 3). The Confession also expressly asserts the liberty of Christian believers, and condemns the submis-

sion of the mind or conscience to any human authority: 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His Word . . . The requiring of an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also.' (*Conf.* 20, 2)."

"With respect to the interpretation of the Scriptures the position of our Church has been that . . . 'the supreme judge by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined and all decrees of councils, opinions . . . , doctrines of men and private spirits are to be examined . . . , can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture' (*Conf.* 1, 10). Accordingly our church has held that the supreme guide in the interpretation of the Scriptures is not, as it is with Roman Catholics, ecclesiastical authority, but the Spirit of God, speaking to the Christian believers."⁴⁸

The *Affirmation* then proceeds: "There is no assertion in the Scriptures that their writers were kept 'from error.' The Confession of Faith does not make this assertion; and it is significant that this assertion is not found in the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed, or in any of the great Reformation confessions." And then the following statement is made: "We hold that General Assembly of 1823, in asserting that 'the Holy Spirit did so inspire, guide and move the writers of Holy Scripture as to keep them from error,' spoke without warrant of the Scriptures or of the Confession of Faith, that the Scriptures 'are given by inspiration of God, to be a rule of faith and life'," (*Conf.* 1, 2). How far will the signers of the *Auburn Affirmation* go in refusing to believe that in the inspiration of Scripture the Holy Spirit had kept the sacred writers from error? The *Affirmation* held to the guidance of "the Spirit of God, speaking to the Christian believer." So Dr. Cole interprets in his book on *The History of Fundamentalism* (p. 103). Evidently they do not mean to limit the possibility of error in the Bible to matters pertaining to the accidents

⁴⁸ On this problem read our comparative study of the position of the Quakers, the Baptists, the Reformed, the Presbyterians and the Lutherans in our chapter on the Quakers, XI in this book.

in historical happenings or to things of nature with no religious significance (as for instance in details of historical report, or in the statement that the coney chews its cud when it is a fact that this is not the case). But they seem to be willing to admit that in matters pertaining to salvation Scripture may err as well as other religious literature, is subject to error and cannot claim more than that it is searching after truth.

The signers of the *Affirmation* declare with great emphasis in bold print: "We all hold most earnestly to these great facts and doctrines; we all believe from our hearts that the writers of the Bible were inspired of God; that 'Jesus Christ' was manifest in the flesh; that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, and through him we have our redemption; that having died for our sins He rose from the dead and is our everlasting Savior; that in His earthly ministry He wrought 'many mighty works' and that by His vicarious death and un-failing presence He is able to save to the uttermost."

The *Auburn Affirmation* closes with severe criticism of the General Assembly of 1923, which dealt with the Fosdick case. It had declared that "doctrine *contrary to the standards* of the Presbyterian Church had been preached in the First Presbyterian Church of New York City," and that this court had "*in effect condemned* a Christian minister without using the method of conference, patience and love . . ." The Assembly is told "the constitution of the church provides that its doctrine shall be declared only by *concurrent action of the General Assembly and the presbyteries*. Thus the church guards the statement of its doctrine against hasty and ill-considered action by either General Assemblies or presbyteries."

The conflict centered on the question: Is the Christian religion "exclusive" or "inclusive"?⁴⁹ Many say: it is inclusive in the meaning that the non-Christian peoples to whom the missionaries go have certain truths which need only to be supplemented. To this conception of the Historico-Religious School, which makes foreign missions a problem of "comparative religion" and of the "philosophy of religion," and which stresses **education** at the expense of evangelism, Dr. Machen opposed the old position that Christian religion is "exclusive" and absolute, not just one religion among other religions;

⁴⁹ Read again our characterization in this chapter of "Zwingli as pioneer of modernistic ideas." (Introduction).

but that, as the religion of redemption through Christ, it is the only saving religion. Surely, the fact that other religions have in their systems elements of truth which the practical missionary may use as an approach, as did Paul in his address at Mars Hill (Acts 17), does not justify us in speaking of these elements of truth as anything coördinated with Christianity. We miss the note of redemption through the cross of Christ. As inseparable parts of erroneous systems they appear in hopelessly distorted forms, so that the missionary finds himself in the situation of needing to break new ground. The men who make so much of some seeming resemblance with Christianity refer almost always to the field of ethics by itself with its feature of humanitarianism, which participates so largely in what is not distinctly Christian (cf. Aurelius, Epictetus). But the Christian religion is not first of all a system of general ethics, like Masonry, but it is a system of Christian doctrines with principles which produce a Christian ethics.

In his zeal for evangelical Christianity in the Presbyterian Church Dr. Machen participated in founding the new Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia (1929). When Dr. Machen found his protest against conditions in the foreign field ignored, he with his friends brought an independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions into being (1933). Upon this the participants in the movement were excommunicated. Then they organized a new branch of Presbyterianism, the "Presbyterian Church of America." But on a journey in the Northwest death overtook Dr. Machen (1937).⁵⁰

Note: The offices of the Mission Committees of the Presbyterian Church of America are in the Schaff Building, Philadelphia. The number of ministers of that church is exactly one hundred at the present time. Twenty-one missionaries, or aid-receiving ministers, are laboring in this country. The Foreign Missions Committee of the church has appointed, and has on the foreign field, eleven foreign missionaries, laboring in Japan, China and Manchukuo.

Our judgment of this division appears from the critical review given above. We add the following: This schism may last only for a time. A reunion will follow, as has been the experience with preceding conflicts within this parent body of Presbyterians. In this present case the original cause was the admission of theological liberalism into the pulpit of a church established on conservative standards. The influence of a radically liberal type of thought is the trying test of practically all conservative bodies in present-day Christendom. In some cases it may be caused by an ultra conservatism with regard to unmaintainable positions. In general, theo-

⁵⁰ With the passing of this man, seemingly in the midst of his years, American Protestantism lost a real theologian. The titles of his primary books are as follows: *The Origin of Paul's Religion*, 1921. *Christianity and Liberalism*, 1923. *New Testament Greek for Beginners*, 1923. *What is Faith?*, 1925. *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1931. *The Christian Faith in the Modern World*, 1936. *The Christian View of Man*, 1937.

logical liberalism as a concerted movement with practical aims against Scripture revelation, against creedal obligation, against the treasures of the church's piety and Christian experience in hymn, liturgy and polity, has its origin and support in humanism with a critical attitude toward the foundation of Christianity. The Reformation is looked upon as a misdevelopment: "It came too early," or "it stopped short" of what the Renaissance and the humanists had in mind, and so on. Conservatism has no thought of denying the facts of science. Its open-mindedness for sane progress is evident on every hand, in many lands, in universities of highest reputation and in a large literature. But conservative churches have the sacred duty of watching over their identity as a Church of Christ, established upon the Word of God and entrusted with the means of grace. A prohibitory attitude to be taken, always depends upon the inner character of the situation, upon the question which is at stake. The general assurance of indifference that, within a body such as Presbyterianism there is "room for ministers of varying theological views, providing that no one tries to retard the thinking of another" (History of Fundamentalism p. 107) is a very misleading principle and, if followed, would be of gravest consequences for conservative religion also in many churches. Churches with a leaning toward liberalism are hoping that a "left wing" of the Presbyterians will develop, and that a future union will reveal that a moderate rationalism is the characteristic of the "American Mind." If that should develop then many of the conservatively evangelical groups would be left without guidance. But evangelical conservatism for the Presbyterian Church should not be decided by an alternative between Calvinistic predestinationism and Arminianism, but it should be something between the two: something similar to what is expressed in the **Manual of Faith and Life**.⁵¹

As to the future settlement of their present difficulties: the Presbyterians on both sides of the conflict should feel their duty, not only to their own historical past, but also to the Christian Church at large.

i. *Pertaining to the Constituency* of the parent body of Presbyterianism, the following may here find its place: American adherents to the *Welsh Presbyterian Church* (membership 15,000)⁵² united in 1920 with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This body of Welsh language, which in England has been under the influence of Whitefield was Calvinistic in theology, Presbyterian in policy and Methodist in the conception of spiritual life.

j. *Present-day Constituency.* *Educational Institutions.* With this addition (union with the Welsh) the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has

51 By H. T. Kerr, authorized by the General Assembly.

52 Cf. this chapter, Sec. III, A.

now a membership of 1,834,487 which is served by 9,708 pastors in 8,847 congregations. Her leading colleges are at Wooster, O., Wabash, Ind., Centre and Danville, Ky. Its theological seminaries are at Princeton, N. J., Auburn, N. Y., Pittsburgh, Pa., Cincinnati, O. and Chicago, Ill. Influential Church publications at the present time are: *The Presbyterian*, Witherspoon Bldg., 1217 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa.; *Christian Faith and Life*, 111 N. 6th St., Reading, Pa.; *Christianity Today*, 525 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.; *The Presbyterian Guardian*, 112 Commonwealth Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. Headquarters, Witherspoon Bldg., 1319 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

2. Two Separations from the Parent Body of American Presbyterians. The Cumberland Presbyterians and the Presbyterians in the South.

(1) *The Cumberland Presbyterian Church* came into existence out of the parent body through a controversy concerning lowering the educational standards for the ministry (1810). Among the churches of the Transylvania Presbytery in Kentucky in the closing years of the 18th century, there had been a revival that continued to spread with the result that the demand for ministers became greater and greater. The Presbytery of Cumberland ordained men to the ministry who in the judgment of the Synod of Kentucky lacked in theological and sound doctrine. Controversy followed. In 1806, the synod dissolved the Cumberland Presbytery. But there had already been controversy about the "idea of fatality" in the Confessional Standards. In 1810, finally, the Presbytery of Cumberland, Md., organized itself into an independent church.⁵³

The Westminster Confession was adopted only "as far as" it was in agreement with Scripture.⁵⁴ The doctrine of reprobation was rejected, but the divine sovereignty and the perseverance of the saints was maintained. In 1814, and again in 1883, the Westminster Confession was revised in favor of human responsibility. Features of Arminianism were recognized. Cumberland Presbyterianism developed more and more into a *via*

⁵³ Watson, 180.

⁵⁴ See *Rel. Bodies*, 1926, p. 1144 f.

media between Calvinism and Arminianism. Still it was not willing to accept the full Arminian position taken by the Methodist Protestant Church. The revision of 1814, was designed to be a popular statement of doctrine, much like the "Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith" of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1902), to which we shall refer in our closing Section V, B.

Endeavors at reunion with the parent body have been in progress from the very beginning of the organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. But its consummation occurred only in 1906, and even then a minority opposed the union and insisted upon independence.⁵⁵

Its membership in 1936 was almost 67,000. The educational interests are represented by Bethel College and a theological seminary at McKenzie, Tenn. The leading church organ is *The Cumberland Presbyterian*, Nashville, Tenn.

Note: There is also a *Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church* with almost 12,000 members. Before the Civil War the colored with the white belonged to the same congregations, although, on the side they had preachers of their own race and often held separate meetings. These preachers were licensed to be exhorters, they were not ordained. The changed conditions at the close of the Civil War made separate organizations advisable. The first General Assembly was organized 1874, at Nashville, Tenn.

In adopting the *Westminster Confession* the article on predestination was interpreted by the following statements: (1) There are no eternal reprobates; (2) Christ died not for a part only, but for all mankind; (3) All persons dying in infancy are saved through Christ and the sanctification of the Spirit; (4) The Spirit of God operates in the world co-extensively with Christ's atonement in such a manner as to leave all men inexcusable. Headquarters: Nashville, Tenn.

(2) *The Presbyterian Church in the United States (South)*. The excitement of the outbreak of the Civil War brought disruption also to the Presbyterian camp.

⁵⁵ See *Rel. Bodies*, II, 1926, 1147 f.

At the General Assembly of 1861, in Philadelphia, a series of resolutions introduced by Dr. Gardner Spring ("Spring Resolutions") declared loyalty and support to the Federal Government in preserving with force the integrity of the United States. 166 voted in favor and 66, holding to the Southern side, voted against. A protest was offered to Dr. Charles Hodge and signed by himself and by 57 members of the assembly, including 14 of the 16 commissioners who were present from the south. In this protest the signers declared that they denied the right of the General Assembly to decide a political question and to make that decision a condition of membership in the Presbyterian Church. But the vote as it was taken caused the separation of the Southern Presbyterians and their sympathizers in other parts of the United States. The position taken by the dissenters was (1) that the Church has no right to decide political questions, because this inevitably introduces strife and rancor; (2) that slave holding is no sin. Presbyteries in the South, numbering 47, withdrew and organized a new assembly (1861), which in 1864 took the above name. This assembly of so many presbyteries was enlarged by the accession of two bodies: the Synod of Kentucky 1869, and the Synod of Missouri in 1874.

After the excitement connected with this war had subsided, efforts were made at reunion, generally on the initiative of the Northern Assembly. But so far these have not been successful. The South has developed certain points of emphasis. Among these are: (1) Strictness of Calvinistic creed subscription. (2) The consistent distinction between church and state to be shown by avoiding all political discussion in the church. (3) Holding to the plenary inspiration of the Bible and its inerrancy. (4) Observing the Biblical rule that women must not publicly preach, and must desist from the functions of an ordained minister. (5) Ruling elders being entitled to deliver the charge at the installation of a new pastor. They may even serve as moderators in the higher courts of the Church. (6) Concerning the race question, this church stresses with other bodies in the South the policy of separation as a guard against social embarrassment which might result from ecclesiastical relations. It is convinced, also, that the best development of

the negroes is secured by the responsibility of church government laid upon them. There is a negro synod in this body.

Membership 441,657 in 3,541 churches. *Seminaries*: Austin, Texas; Columbia, S. C.; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Va.; Tuscaloosa, Ala., (Colored). *Periodicals*: *The Christian Observer*, Louisville, Ky.; *Presbyterian Standard*, Charlotte, N. C.; *The Presbyterian of the South*, Richmond, Va. *Headquarters*: Publishing House, 6 & 8 N. Sixth St., Richmond, Va.

3. The Presbyterians of Covenant and Secession Tradition. Five in number:

(1) *The United Presbyterian Church of North America*. This body was formed 1858, in Pittsburgh, Pa., by a union of two strains of Scottish Presbyterianism, which had emigrated to America: the Scotch "Covenanters" and the "Free Church of Scotland."⁵⁶ The immigrants to America of these two Scotch groups had much trouble in arriving at a union. The most successful attempt was the one realized in the "United Presbyterian Church of North America" when "the greatest part of the Associate Synod (Secession) and of the Associate Reformed (Secession and Covenanters) were brought together."⁵⁷ A number of points of emphasis had here been taken over as heritage from the various sides in this union: (1) Freedom of the Church from the state; (2) at the same time the Calvinistic idea of a certain theocratic conception as to the relation between the church and the state;⁵⁸ (3) opposition to secret societies; (4) the practice of "close" communion; (5) the exclusive use of Psalms instead of hymns in church music. (Up to 1881, seceders had been forbidding instrumental music in public worship).

⁵⁶ Cf. in this Chap. Sec. III, a, 3. However, the name "United Presbyterian Church" in Scotland, of which we read in that history, has nothing to do with the United Presbyterian Church in North America which we are here discussing.

⁵⁷ *Rel. Bodies* II, 1926, p. 1159.

⁵⁸ See our Section V, F in this chapter. Compare in our *History of Christian Thought*, Book III, chap. 6 on Calvin. And see below the most consistent functioning of this principle in the "Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America."

It was these heritages which dictated to the United Presbyterian Church of North America the type of its confessional position, namely, the interpretation of the Westminster Standards by the so-called "Judicial Testimony" of 18 articles as reported in the *Religious Bodies* II, up to its 1916 edition. But in 1925, this "Judicial Testimony" was replaced by a new Confessional Statement of 44 articles. Among these we note the following: "Restriction of divorce to marriage-unfaithfulness (willful desertion no longer being recognized as a valid cause for divorce), the unequivocal avowal of universal infant salvation, the extension of sacramental privileges to all who have professed their faith in Christ and are leading a Christian life, the withdrawal of any protest against secret oath-bound societies, and the abandonment of the exclusive use of the Psalms in worship. The church maintains its insistence on the plenary, verbal inspiration of Scripture as the rule of faith and practice and takes a strongly conservative stand on all the theological issues of the day. Stress is placed on the old pillar doctrines of grace wherein are affirmed the sufficiency and fullness of the provision God has made for the need of a fallen race, through the atoning work of Jesus Christ, the eternal and only begotten Son and the renewing and sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. Echoing its associate forefathers in Scotland, the UPC teaches that the Gospel contains a free unlimited offer of salvation to all sinners alike."⁵⁹

This church is very active in Missions and stands very high in contributions for church work.

Membership according to the Year Book of American Churches, 1937 edition: 171,088 in 875 churches. The chief field of activity: Pittsburgh, Pa., and near-by states. The *Theological Seminary* is in Pittsburgh, Pa. The *Publication Bldg.*, 209 Ninth St., is also in Pittsburgh. Here are published the leading periodicals: *The United Presbyterian* and *The Christian Union Herald*.

(2) *The Associate Synod of North America (Associate Presbyterian Church)*. *Historical*: In the union that led to the formation of the "United Presbyterian Church" a smaller part of the "Associate Synod" (eleven

ministers) refused to enter this union and constituted this body. Its *Doctrinal Foundations* are the Westminster Confession and Catechism interpreted or augmented by an "Associate Testimony." *Practice*: It encourages "solemn covenanting," "provides against occasional communion," opposes secret societies and prescribes the exclusive use of Psalms in praise services.⁶⁰

Membership and Institutions: 250 members in 8 churches and 4 ministers. (Year Book of American Churches, 1937 ed.) It maintains a theological seminary at Beaver Falls, Pa.

(3) *Associated Reformed Presbyterian Synod* (Formerly the Associate Reformed Synod of the South). *Historical*: In 1782, there occurred in this country the union of the Reformed Presbytery (Old Scotch Covenanters) and the Associate Presbytery (Associate Synod of Anti-Burghers of Scotland) to form the "Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church." From this body a synod covering the Carolinas withdrew (1821), because it doubted the loyalty of this body to the distinctive principles of the Scotch Churches. *Doctrinally* this organization is in harmony with general Presbyterianism, also in *Polity*. Its distinctive principle is the exclusive use of Psalms in Church service. Members in 1936: 20,431, in 138 churches with 116 ministers. *Educational Institutions*: Bryson College, Fayetteville, Tenn., and Erskine College, Due West, S. C., with theological seminary at Due West, S. C. *Periodical*: "Associate Reformed Presbyterian," Due West, S. C.

(4) *The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America* (known as the "Covenanter Church" and "Old Light"). *Historical*: The special condition of this church justifies the following brief review of Scotland's Church History.

The original Presbyterian Church as organized by John Knox in 1560, on his return from Geneva where he had been in conference with Calvin, must be studied. Review it as reported on page 288 ff. It gives us the historical origin of the "Covenant Church" (Old Light) in America. The position had been taken by some in Scotland that the above mentioned "revolution settlement" of 1689

60 Cf. *Rel. Bodies* 1926, p. 1177.

involved a serious compromise of Reformation principles. The advocates refused to recognize the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, naturally, because in an "Assembly" or in a "General Synod" the special interests of this body could never be realized, and, therefore, identified themselves with the Covenanters of the previous years. And much later, 1743, an organization was perfected called the "Reformed Presbytery of Scotland."

Adherents of this organization in America constituted in 1744, the Reformed Presbytery which united eight years later with the Associate Presbytery. In 1798, there was a reorganization to remove the dissatisfaction of some. In 1809, the presbytery was constituted a synod.

Conflict regarding the relation to the state in America was bound to develop. This culminated, 1873, in a division: the "Old Light" which is the body here under discussion, established itself upon the position *that its members shall not be allowed to vote or hold offices as long as the constitution of this state does not recognize God and Jesus Christ*. A "New Light" faction was opposed to laying such restrictions on its members and therefore formed an independent organization: "The General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church." The body here under consideration (Old Light) made a special covenant at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1871.

Doctrinal Positions: God is the source of all legitimate power (instituted by Him for His own glory and for the good of man). He has appointed Christ to headship over the nations. This must be recognized in the government of states. The Bible is the very Word of God and is the supreme law and rule in national as well as other things. The government of the state must be reformed "by a constitutional recognition of God as the supreme power, of Christ as the ruler of nations, of the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule, and of the true Christian religion." The true Christian is to "refuse to incorporate by any act with the political body until this blessed reformation has been secured." The positions are taken on the basis of the Confessional standards of Presbyterianism: the Westminster Confession and Catechism, the Reformed Presbyterian Testimony. The

testimony on order and worship, as summarized in the Westminster Form of Church Government and Directory of Worship, has special emphasis. The Covenant of 1871 in Pittsburgh, Pa., is regarded as binding on those who took it and on those they represented. In general: Presbyterianism is considered the "only divinely instituted form of government in the Christian Church." (*Rel. Bodies*, II, 1189). There is no General Assembly.

Other Characteristics: (a) Only members in regular standing are admitted to communion. (b) Children of church members only are admitted to baptism. (c) The metrical version of the Psalms alone is used in the service of praise. (d) Instruments of music are not allowed in worship. (e) Connection with secret societies is prohibited.⁶¹

Membership and Institutions. Members: 6,653 in 88 churches. *Educational Institutions:* Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa. Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa., College, Winchester, Kansas. *Leading Periodical:* *Christian Nation*, 1105 Tribune Bldg., New York City.

(5) *Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America General Synod.* (Known as the "New Light" of the Covenanter Church). *Historical:* The organization of this body is the result of the conflict in the Covenanter Church (See Reformed Presbyterian Church, Synod) between an "Old Light" and a "New Light" faction. The division took place in 1833, when the latter organized as "General Synod."

Doctrinal: The "General Synod" agrees with the "Synod": (1) in holding to the Westminster Standards; (2) in the demand that Christ be recognized as the head over nations; (3) in the doctrine of "public social covenanting"; (4) that only Psalms shall be sung in the church; (5) in restricted communion in the use of the sacraments.

It disagrees with the Synod in insisting that its members must be allowed to decide for themselves whether the government of this country is an immoral institution; that therefore they must themselves determine whether they can take upon themselves the duties of citizenship. In exercising the franchise, however,

61 Cf. *Rel. Bodies*, p. 1189. *Watson's Year Book*, p. 193.

and in holding office, they must not violate the principle forbidding connection with immoral institutions. It also refuses to say outright that incorporation, voting and office-holding on the basis of the constitution of the United States, as it now stands, involves sinful compliances with its religious defects. (It was on this point that negotiations for union failed in 1890.)

Note: The name "General Synod" indicates that with the larger Presbyterian bodies it agrees in recognizing the principle of a general assembly.

Membership and Institutions: Members 1,929, churches 13, ministers 13. Educational institutions: Cedarville College and Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary and College, both at Cedarville, Ohio.

IV. THE REFORMED AND PRESBYTERIAN CONFESSIONS AND STANDARDS OF FAITH.

Literature: **P. Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom I*, 354 ff. Here we have on pages 354 to 420 an historical introduction to the Confessions which show influences from Zwingli and his co-laborers, as also from the union endeavors of Martin Bucer. And on pages 467 ff. an historical review is given of the Confessions which mark the time of Calvin's influence in the countries which adopted his type of the Reformation. Cf. **K. Mueller**, pp. 376-444; **E. Klotsche**, pp. 196-203; **V. Schultze** 6, 105-110. Cf. **G. F. Oehler**, *Symbolik*. In addition to the introductory works we need to mention the collections of the Reformed Confessions: **H. A. Niemeyer**, 1840; **E. F. K. Mueller**, 1903; **P. Schaff**, *Creeds*, II, 1877; **E. G. A. Boeckel**, 1847. A new collection: **W. Niesel**, *Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen der nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirchen*, 1938.

A. The Confessions.

1. The *number of Confessions* produced by the Reformed Church is very large. Schaff speaks of over 30, K. Mueller of 58. This has its explanation in the historical situation. Calvin, the Reformer of the second generation, became the special leader of Reformed Protestantism as it presents itself today. It was the confessional activity of the Calvin's period later which produced the Reformed and Presbyterian Confessions of symbolical significance. It would not be correct to say that the previous Confessions did not also make their contribution to the Faith of the Reformed Protestantism. But the real confessional history for present-day Reformed Churches began with Calvin who reached the

height of his influence after the death of Luther. We may classify the confessional activity of the Reformed Churches as follows:

First: The Swiss Reformation, under the influence of Zwingli (died 1531), left these Confessional Writings: (1) The Sixty-Seven Articles or Conclusions, 1523; (2) The Ten Theses of Berne, 1528; (3) The Confession of Faith to Emperor Charles V, 1530; (4) The Exposition of the Christian Faith to King Francis I, 1536, edited by Bullinger.

The **doctrinal position of Zwingli** was contrasted with Luther in this chapter, I, 2. For a more comprehensive and for a lucid exhibition, presented from a very sympathetic attitude to Reformed teaching, we refer to Schaff, **Creeds I**, 369-384. With this description of Zwingli's theology compare our **History of Christian Thought**, Bk. III, chap. 2. With all this again may be compared the writings of a most recent Reformed student of Zwingli, the Reformed theologian Prof. W. Koehler.⁶²

Second: Before proceeding to the Calvinistic Confessions we mention a few confessions aiming at mediation between the followers of Luther and those of Zwingli, in which the stimulation and influence of Martin Bucer at Strassbourg is noticed. After the Tetrapolitana of 1530, we have: (1) The First Confession of Basel 1534; (2) The First Helvetic Confession, 1536; (3) The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566. Schaff calls this last mentioned Confession "the last and best of the Zwinglian family." He describes its contents in Vol. I, 390-420.

Third: Then followed the Calvinistic movement in the history of the Reformation. This movement was attended by a production of Confessions that extended far into the seventeenth century. The countries covered were Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland, America, certain dominions to the East of the European continent (East Prussia and Hungary), parts of Western Germany, especially along the Rhine. Due to Calvin's successes, the Lutheran movement became limited to Germany and to the Scandinavian countries, with the diaspora of these lands in Eastern Europe and in America.

62 Zwingli als Theologe, 1919. Zwingli und die Reformation in der Schweiz, 1919. Die Geisteswelt Zwinglis, 1920. Zwingli und Luther, ihr Streit um das Abendmahl I, 1924. Das Buch der Reformation Zwinglis, 1926.

2. *The successes of Calvinism* in the post-Reformation period must be explained: (1) out of the Bucero-Calvinistic mediating doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which, at that stage in the history of that controversy, was felt by many as a relief from the conflict between the realism of Luther and its explanation by the ubiquity on the one side, and the spiritualism of the enthusiasts, and the rationalism of Zwingli on the other side; (2) out of the practical-aggressive-legalistic features of Calvinism over against the mystical-quietistic features of Lutheranism, the former making a special appeal in England and Scotland; (3) also out of the special favor with which many of the princes in that day looked upon Calvinism because it seemed to be so much more humanistically pliable than was the doctrinally unchanging Lutheranism.⁶³

3. *The significance of Confessions* in the life of the Reformed has not been the same as in the Lutheran Church. Schaff remarks: "None of them has the same commanding position as the Augsburg Confession in the Lutheran Church." He adds that most of them "have now little more than historical significance." The observer of present conditions will agree that this is even more true today than some 45 years ago when Schaff wrote his great work. The Reformed Churches, however, have looked from the beginning upon the Scriptures as a special book of laws and rules. It was this that inclined them to lay less stress upon her historical Confessions and to use more directly the Biblical standard. In general, the Reformed, with so many local Confessions in their history, have not aimed at so close a doctrinal union as did the Lutheran Church which is known everywhere as the Church of the Augsburg Confession. And yet it is true that a large part of the theology in the Reformed Confessions has continued to exercise even today a noticeable influence upon the life of the Reformed Church. This is expressed in their current theology, in their doctrinal writings (at pres-

63 The princes, however, overlooked the fact that they had forced the Lutherans into a position where as a church they had to struggle for their very life—a situation that has been duplicated over and over in Germany where there was always an inclination of the State to rule over the Church.

ent in much of the agreement with Karl Barth), in their hymns, in their church polity and in traditional practice handed down from generation to generation and constantly reappearing in new points of emphasis in the deepening of the church's life.

4. Before beginning to enumerate the Calvinistic Confessions, however, it is important that the following statement be made: The Reformed and the Presbyterian Churches have a special union between them in Calvin's *Institutes* of the last edition (1559). This first accomplishment of a rounded evangelical dogmatics was far greater than the earlier pioneer endeavor of Melancthon in the creation of his *Loci* (1521). Let us say that the Reformed Confessions of the Calvinistic period must be studied in the light of Calvin's *Institutes*.

5. The Reformed (and Presbyterian) Confessions are now to be given in a selected enumeration. We shall confine ourselves to the most important of them, 13 in number. But among these are 6 of outstanding importance, which in the following will be marked with a star.

* (1) Among the specifically Calvinistic Confessions we may begin with *Calvin's Genevan Catechism*. It appeared originally (1536) in the form of a brief doctrinal discussion. Later (1542) it was put into the form of questions and answers. For a time it was used with confessional authority in Switzerland, France, England and Scotland. But later it was generally superseded by the more practical Heidelberg Catechism (see below, sub. 7). Dr. Geo. W. Richards remarks: "The Catechism of Calvin seeks to teach men how to glorify God, and every part is controlled by that idea—God's glory and God's will. It is theological and legalistic in spirit."⁶⁴ The first question of Calvin's Catechism reads: "What is the chief end of human life?" The Heidelberg begins with the question: "What is your sole comfort in life and death?"⁶⁵

* (2) *The Consensus of Zurich* (*Consensus Tigurinus*), 1549, between the theologians of Zurich and Calvin.

64 The *Heidelberg Catechism*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 99.

65 Literature: Schaff. *Creeds I*, 467 ff.

It signified the union effected between Zwingli's and Calvin's movements.

(3) *The Geneva Confession of 1552*. Calvin's doctrine of predestination was attacked by A. Pighius (1543) and by J. Balsac (1551). He replied in 1552. Controversial. Received official authority only in Geneva.

(4) *The Gallic Confession of 1559, for the French Church*. Calvin is believed to have been its author (Cf. Philippi, 387. Cf. PRE VI, p. 232 ff.)

(5) *The Belgic Confession, 1561*. Chiefly by Guido de Bres. It is mildly Calvinistic. Approved by the Synod of Dort.

(6) *The Hungarian Confession, 1557*. Expression against Socinianism. Polemical against Lutheranism. Silent about Calvin's double predestination. Soon pressed into the background by the Second Helvetic Confession and by the Heidelberg Catechism.

*(7) *The Heidelberg Catechism, 1562*. Result of the conversion of Frederick III and the Palatinate from Lutheranism to Calvinism. Evasion of Calvin's double predestination. Of large doctrinal value. Recognized by the Synod of Dort. Most universal among Reformed Confessions.⁶⁶

*(8) *The Second Helvetic Confession*. Thought to have been written by Bullinger at the solicitation of Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate (to be opposed to recognition of only the Augsburg Confession at the Augsburg Religious-Peace Treaty in 1555). Adopted in the Palatinate, Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, France and Poland. Next to the Heidelberg Catechism it is the most widely adopted Confession of the Reformed Church.

(9) *The Scotch Confession, 1560*. On Sacraments and Predestination, mildly Calvinistic.

*(10) *The Canons of Dort, 16, 18-19*. Schaff I, 508, ff. Cf. III, 550. (Latin) with English extracts, p. 581. German translation by Boeckel, 508.

*(11) *The Westminster Confession of 1646*. It teaches a strict Calvinism.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Cf. the books by Geo. J. Richards and by I. O. Good on **The Heidelberg Catechism**.

⁶⁷ C. R. Reed, 213 ff. W. M. MacPhail, 117-214 ff. For its history and theology see the critical review in Schaff I, 701-816. On its difference from Lutheranism read in this chapter, Sec. V.

(12) *The Formula Consensus Helvetica*, 1675. For safe-guarding Calvin's predestination against the modification at Amyraut et al.

*(13) *The Westminster Catechism* (larger and shorter Catechism). In comparing the Reformed Church with the Lutheran it is often said: The Reformed Churches have about 50 Confessions, mostly of a national character and generally more of historical significance; while the Lutherans have (besides the ecumenical creeds) only six particular Confessions of symbolical significance.⁶⁸ But if we count the more important Confessions of the Reformed Churches, those that have here been marked with a star: then both churches have the same number of Confessions. And some of the Reformed Confessions exercise a deep influence upon the Church's life.

As to the practical church life among the Reformed and Presbyterians all over the world, Professor K. Mueller feels justified in saying that "of all Reformed Confessions the Westminster, besides the Heidelberg Catechism and perhaps the Second Helvetic Confession, exercise the widest and deepest influence."⁶⁹

B. Vital Confessional Factors in the Reformed (Presbyterian) Churches.

It has been mentioned frequently that the Reformed Confessions have more historical than doctrinally normative significance. This is true in the main, but it does not cover all the Reformed localities. There are confessionally strict groups which study and use certain Reformed Confessions (especially the Heidelberg and the Westminster) for preaching and instruction with much devotion to the faith of their fathers, as for instance among the Dutch Reformed in Michigan (see on page 276). But under the above superscription we want to enumerate a number of confessional factors, not documents—of generally standard significance, which cover large constituencies of the Reformed and

68 Luther's Small and Large Catechisms, the Augsburg Confession with its Apology by Melancthon, Luther's Smalcald Articles and the Formula of Concord.

69 *Symbolik*, p. 425.

the Presbyterian Churches. These may be stated in the following three points:

1. *The Biblicistic principle* that the believer should go independently to the Bible direct, and not search for truth through the eye-glasses of confessional statements, is a growing characteristic of Reformed Protestantism, with increasing emphasis among the daughters of the family. (See Introductory Observations I, 4). In this connection we should also note the way Scripture is used according to Calvin and the Confessions following him: No discrimination as to normative authority between Old and New Testament is allowed.⁷⁰ "Without exception all that is delivered in the Sacred Scriptures" is to be accepted.⁷¹ Differing from the Lutheran "Symbols," the Reformed "Confessions" in the different countries have a well developed teaching on the inspired Scripture: its composition, significance, authority and applicability.⁷²

2. *The personalities of the historic reformers* have the practical significance of chief mediators and standard-bearers of truth. There is Zwingli, in exchange of thought with his co-laborers: Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Leo and Jude, Bucer and Capito. While overshadowed, absorbed and superseded by the Reformation of Calvin, the influence of Zwingli as the first pioneer of the Swiss Reformation was and continued to be considerable. We refer to his constant use of Scripture as the source and norm of all truth, to his stress on Puritanism and to his zeal for theocratic ideals. His memorial idea in the interpretation of the eucharist also had an appeal to many (Mennonites, Baptists). The significance of Calvin as a personality and as a theologian especially through his *Institutes*, meant a deep-going influence upon the character of the Swiss Reformation. His Biblicism, according to which the Bible appears so much as a book of laws to be followed, the rigidity of his ethical ideals (his rule at Geneva), his mediating conception of the sacraments, his emphasis upon the double predestination (to life and

⁷⁰ Inst. II, 10, 2.

⁷¹ Ibid. I, 18, 4.

⁷² For a full discussion of this subject see W. Walther, pp. 218 ff; in condensed presentation by Klotsche, pp. 204 ff.

reprobation) for the glorification of God in the congregation of believers: all this, in addition to his fundamental agreement with Zwingli concerning the matters of Puritanism and theocracy, gave to him a marvelous leadership over his age and a voice for future history, which even today stands out as a living standard for doctrine and life in the Reformed Churches. The things which have here been enumerated have made for specific views concerning the individual and society, and for polity regarding the relation between church and state. Calvin was strong as a church organizer and in matters pertaining to church discipline. Effects of his principles are seen in church art, hymnody and other features of public worship, also in programs of his church along lines of social service.

To what has here been said of "vital confessional factors of standard significance" must be added:

3. The significance of *Arminianism* for the territories of the Reformed (Presbyterian) Churches. Arminianism as a modification of historical Calvinism is a potent influence in the Reformed Churches of today; not only with regard to the one topic of predestination, but in many other ways. "Arminianism was a great deal more than a dogmatic theory. It was also, or at least it rapidly became, a method of religious inquiry. . . . The method alone has given to it enduring significance in the history of Christian thought."⁷³ Phil. Schaff writes: "Calvinism represented the consistent, logical, conservative orthodoxy; Arminianism an elastic, progressive, changing liberalism."⁷⁴ Oehler remarks, however, that with all their influence upon theology and with all the scholarship the Arminians contributed their part to putting the stamp of Latitudinarianism (*Verflachung*) upon the Biblical branches of theology."⁷⁵ One must read the Confession which Episcopius prepared after the Canons of Dort had been published. (See our footnote sub. Chap. VII, Methodist Family; Sec. IV, 1, a). We can trace it as a growing "attitude of mind" in England where it issued into the Latitudinarianism of the eighteenth century (Tillot-

⁷³ J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I, 28.

⁷⁴ *Creeks* I, 509.

⁷⁵ *Symbolik*, p. 197.

son as a type) and into the "Broad Church" theology of the nineteenth century. It was this development that opened the door wide for past and present day influences of humanism, not only among the "sisters" but also among the "daughters" of the Reformed Church family. The Baptists and also the Methodists have in their constituencies both Calvinistic and Arminian organizations.⁷⁶

V. HISTORICAL POINTS OF EMPHASIS CONCERNING DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES. DIFFERENCES FROM LUTHERANISM.

It is, then, the historical points of emphasis, which must have our attention. A rather frequent reference to the positions of Lutheranism must here be expected, because historically the doctrinal establishment of the Reformed Church took place under constant friction with the Lutheran Church. (1) The conflict began with a controversy on the *Lord's Supper*. With further doctrinal experience, especially through the appearance of issues peculiar to the age of Calvin, other problems added themselves (the sacraments in general; also the Word, although this did not become an issue). (2) Certain presuppositions touching the *two natures of Christ* and His work were also argued. On this matter, however, as on some others (man's sinfulness and Christ's redemption) we shall refer the reader to what was offered in Chapter IV on the Lutheran Church. (3) There followed the doctrine of *predestination*, with its implications. (4) Certain interests connected with the appropriation of salvation (the *call and conversion, faith and repentance, justification and sanctification*) followed logically. Next (5) we shall speak of views on *Christian ethics* including the stress of the Reformed on the Old Testament; next (6) of Church, church government and discipline; then (7) on the relation between church and state, and finally (8) on the social gospel.

Following this plan we begin now with the eucharist because it was on this point that the difference from the Wittenberg reformers came to public notice.

⁷⁶ See the description of this development in R. Seeberg, DG. 3, IV, 631 ff.

A. The Lord's Supper. Conception of the Sacraments.

1. To Calvin the sacraments were fundamentally "a pedagogy of signs for aiding a weak faith." *They work through the psychological impression of a symbolical act.* Through this impression, as a work of the Holy Spirit, the fruit of Christ's suffering is received. In explaining the eucharist, Calvin made much of certain analogies.⁷⁷ As bread and wine nourish our bodies so do the spiritual influences from Christ's body nourish our souls. (2) As with our mouth we eat and drink bread and wine, so we receive by faith the fruits of Christ's suffering. (3) As surely as in the Supper we receive the visible elements, so surely indeed is Christ's body given to the believer, in connection with the Communion, as a pledge of the forgiveness of sin. Bishop Martensen somewhere in his *Ethics* expressed the difference between Zwingli and Calvin as follows: Zwingli took bread and wine to be symbols of Christ's Body and Blood; Calvin saw in the partaking of bread and wine a symbol of the spiritual receiving of Christ's Body. He deepened the purely symbolic illustrative conception of Zwingli by seeing in this sacrament the promise of the Gospel sealed and certified. This idea of the certification of the preached Word still holds the emphasis among the Reformed and Presbyterians: The sacraments "stand altogether in the service of the preached Word. They are to underscore the Word and to seal it." (W. Niesel as referred to.) It is in the system of these analogies that the fundamental doctrine and the design of the Lord's Supper is seen. An old Reformed writer, Amandus Polanus, speaks of this system as a "*pulcherrima illa analogia et similitudo signi et significati.*"⁷⁸

2. Here may be the place to ask what Calvin meant when in his *Institutes*, as in art. 8 of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, he spoke of the Body of Christ in the Supper, in which the believers are participating.⁷⁹ On closer examination we find that by this he meant simply that Christ, by giving Himself in His Body, died and

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* IV, 17, 1. 3.

⁷⁸ Cf. our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. III, chapter 6.

⁷⁹ *Inst.* IV, 17, 9.

suffered for us; or he refers it to the Church as the body of Christ, as spoken of by Paul to the Ephesians.⁸⁰ To Calvin, Christ's Body, to be received in the Supper, was regarded as confined to the "Right Hand of God" in Heaven. He says: "From the hidden fountain of divinity, life is, in a wonderful manner, infused into the flesh of Christ, and then flows out to us."⁸¹ This then takes place through a faith which lifts itself up into heaven to the "Right Hand" of God. Calvin accepted the language of the words of institution, particularly the terms "body" and "eating," but he interpreted these on the basis of his "analogies" so as to mean Christ's life and suffering which we appropriate through faith for our salvation.⁸² Charles Hodge called Calvin's conception of Christ's presence at the Supper "a dynamic presence." Others have called it a "virtual presence." Hodge remarks that the "almost universal answer of the Reformed Confessions" is that the communicant receives and appropriates "the sacrificial virtue or effects of the death of Christ on the cross."⁸³ Calvin contended with great determination for two statements as being fundamental: "(1) that believers receive elsewhere by faith all they receive at the Lord's table; and (2) that we Christians receive nothing above or beyond that which was received by the saints under the Old Testament, before the glorified Christ had any existence."⁸⁴

3. For comparison with the confessional testimony in article 10 of the Augsburg Confession we quote from the *First Helvetic Confession* of 1549, Tigurinus, in article 22.⁸⁵ "Not that . . . here but a physical, carnal presence, but that, according to the institution of Christ, bread and wine are highly significant, sacred and true signs, by which Christ Himself, through the service of the Church, communicated to the believers the true

80 *Ibid.* IV, 17, 1, 5, 9.

81 Niemeyer's *Collection of Confessional Writings*, pp. 213 ff.

82 *Inst.* IV, 17, 5.

83 *Systematic Theology* III, 628. 645 f.

84 Hodge, III, 647.

85 This confessional document is pronounced by E. Staehelin, biographer of Calvin, "the solemn act by which the Zwinglian and Calvinistic reformations were joined in everlasting wedlock as the one great Reformed Church." *Johann Calvin* II, 121.

fellowship of His body and blood. . .”⁸⁶ The reference to a “physical, carnal presence,” while directed chiefly against Rome’s transubstantiation, may here also have reference to the Lutheran “Real Presence.”

As to this “real presence” of Christ’s body in the Supper it should not be overlooked that in the clarified expression of the FC (art. 7), it is stressed that the oral receiving of Christ’s body takes place “after a spiritual and heavenly manner, by reason of the sacramental union”; “not capernaïtically.”⁸⁷ The whole Lutheran argument on this subject presupposes Luther’s great thought of the mystery in the organic union between the divine and the human natures of Christ. (A rationalization of it hardly entered his mind.) And it presupposes the other thought of Lutheranism pertaining to the means of grace, namely, that the divine is communicated through the created: through the words of human speech, as in Scripture and in sermon; through a baptism of regeneration by the Word in connection with the element of water; through a communication of the glorified body of Christ in the communion by means of bread and wine. These two thoughts, which have their roots in the incarnation, as taught by the ecumenical creeds of the Ancient Church, are foreign to all spiritualistic theology.

It was here where Calvin (with notable moderation) sided with Zwingli and the Anabaptists in the maxim: **Finitum non est capax infiniti**; the human and earthly is neither fit nor worthy of the divine in its essential content. This principle had already functioned in the early church in the spiritualistic thought not only of Clement and Origen, but also in the rationalizing Christology of the Antiochian School (Theodore of Mopsuestia). Lutheran theology, from the beginning, fitted better into the Biblicism of Irenaeus and Athanasius and into the realism of Tertullian and of the occidental theologians, also into the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria (*mutatis mutandis*, of course). To guard against misleading optimism in the union problem it is well to keep in mind that the differences between Lutherans and Reformed on this subject go back to conflicting tendencies in the Ancient Church, continuing through the Middle Ages (Calvin prototyped by Berengar), and that at the Reformation the two opposites reappeared historically in the eucharist conflicts between Wittenberg and Zurich-Geneva.

Pertaining to means of grace, Reformed theology, then, differs from Lutheranism concerning the communication of the divine through earthly, visible and created means. It wants to guard against what it calls “sacramentalism” and “ecclesiasticism.” Upon this position it follows the direction: Salvation from God direct, without the need of human means.

⁸⁶ P. Schaff, III, 225. For comparison the student will here want to read the brief statement of the Augsburg Confession in Article 10 on the Lord’s Supper, quoted in Chap. Four, Lutheran Church.

⁸⁷ The term “Capernaïtic” is derived from John 6:26, 51, 52. Jesus said to the Jews at Capernaum: “The bread that I give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world”; on which, misunderstanding, they said: “How can this man give us his flesh to eat?”

Here would be the occasion also for a digression into the varied interests of Puritanism. We have before us the two printed lectures by K. Mueller, the Reformed professor at Erlangen University: (1) *Warum sind wir Reformierte in Deutschland noetig?* (1925), and (2) *Warum Reformiert?* (1932), both contrasting the Reformed ideal of simplicity of service with the high church tendencies in Lutheran Germany, spreading into the Reformed territories.⁸⁸ On this point, by the way, it is interesting to observe in this present day in America that the Reformed Churches (sisters and also daughters) introduce Lutheran practices: liturgies, vestments, the symbolism of art in the sanctuary, the observance of seasons (Lent) and festivals (Good Friday, Easter), etc. We cannot enter into that, but we must here content ourselves with merely citing the historical principle of the Reformed Church with its stress upon the immediacy in religion and its refusal to recognize the earthly elements as means and vehicles of the divine, (developed to an extreme by Quakerism as a daughter of the Reformed family).

4. Quoting from the confessional testimony of the Reformed Churches, especially with regard to the difference of the Reformed from the Lutherans pertaining to the sacraments, we must not pass by the *Heidelberg Catechism*. Our discussion here may begin with *Baptism*. It must not be overlooked that the Reformed conception of baptism as well as that of the eucharist issues from a fundamental conception of the sacraments in general: each of the two sacraments is to underscore the Gospel message of the Word (Niesel, see ante). Of baptism, particularly, the Reformed would say, covering comprehensively all its features: Baptism is a ceremony of initiation into the Church,⁸⁹ a testimony of the believer's confession before men,⁹⁰ a symbol of cleansing from sin, and, as such, is a symbol,⁹¹ an assurance of forgiveness of sin for the elect.⁹² The answer to question 73 in the Heidelberg Catechism is: "I am washed with the Blood and Spirit from the pollution of my soul, that is from all my sins, as certainly as I am washed outwardly with water whereby the filthiness of the body is taken away." Dr. Geo. W. Richards, in his book on the Heidelberg Confession points to this difference from Luther-

88 Niesel, p. 42, speaks of a "romantisches Reformiertentum" which indulges in the cultivation of manifold forms.

89 Second Helv. Conf. 20, 517; Calvin's *Institutes* IV, 15, 1.

90 *Ibid.* IV, 14, 13.

91 In the FC the Lutherans rejected "that bread and wine are only signs (tokens) instituted for a memorial, and having the character of seals and pledges," etc.

92 *Ibid.* 15, 1-6.

anism pertaining to the outward sign and he makes this interpretation: "The washing with blood and Spirit is not accomplished through the water; it is merely symbolized by the water." This is true, yet we need to note how Luther in his catechism, Part IV (III) says: "It is not water, indeed, that does it, but the Word of God in the water. For without the Word of God the water is nothing but water, and no baptism; but with the Word of God it is a baptism—that is a gracious water of life and a washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost, as Paul says, Titus 3:5-7." Regarding the *Supper*, the Heidelberg answers to question 75: "That with His crucified body and shed blood, He himself feeds and nourishes my soul to everlasting life, as certainly as I receive from the hand of the minister and taste with my mouth the bread and the cup of the Lord." Again Dr. Richards interprets, pointing to the difference from Lutheranism: "This nourishment, however, is not given *in, with* and *under* the bread and wine. For the bread and the cup of the Lord are no more than 'certain tokens of the body and blood of Christ—not vehicles and instruments.' The most that one could claim is, that the spiritual food is imparted by the mediation of the Holy Spirit *at the same time* (Italics ours) that the bread and the wine are received. Nor does anyone, save the believer, receive the Body and Blood of Christ; the unbeliever receives only bread and wine. This fact is not stated in so many words (of the Heidelberg), but it is a legitimate inference from the whole tenor of the Catechism."⁹³

5. Keeping in mind the title of this chapter, which includes the Presbyterians in sisterhood with the Reformed, we offer a few of the most significant phrases of the Westminster Confession on the Sacraments, as professed by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.⁹⁴ The Sacraments generally are spoken of as "holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, . . . to represent Christ and His benefits, . . . also to put a visible difference between those that belong unto the Church, and the rest of the world . . ."⁹⁵ "to

⁹³ Richards, p. 90.

⁹⁴ Quoted from the Constitution of this body, 1936, with references to the *Larger Catechism*.

⁹⁵ *Larger Cat. que.* 162.

signify, seal and exhibit unto those that are within the covenant of grace, the benefits of His (Christ's) meditation, to strengthen and increase their faith and all other graces." Under question 35 it is said of the sacraments that in them "grace and salvation are held forth in more fullness, evidence and efficacy to all nations." "The Sacraments of the O. T., in regard of the spiritual things thereby signified and exhibited, were, for substance, the same with those of the New. . ."

On Baptism: It is to the baptized "a sign and seal,⁹⁶ of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins. . ." "Although it be a great sin to condemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated." This is in reply to the AC in art. 9: "Baptism is necessary to salvation."⁹⁷ Larger Cat.: "Unto whom is Baptism administered?" Not "to any that are out of the visible Church, and so strangers from the covenant of promise, till they profess their faith in Christ . . . ; but infants descending from parents, either both or but one of them, professing faith in Christ . . ." Again: As to the "efficacy of Baptism. . . the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred *by the Holy Ghost* (Italics ours) . . . to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongs unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in His appointed time."

The Lord's Supper is "for the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice. . . , the sealing of all benefits. . ." "Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements. . . then also *inwardly by faith*, (Italics ours) really and indeed, yet not carnally corporeally, but spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified. Although ignorant and wicked men receive the outward elements . . . yet they receive not the thing signified thereby."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Note, not a means.

⁹⁷ See our *Introd. to the Symb. Bks.* 2, p. 202. But cf. Melancthon's remark in the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, art. 3, sect. 5: "This is not intended, however, for cases of necessity," (in *agone mortis*). Cf. the text of these *Visitation Articles* in Schaff, *Creeds III*, p. 184.

⁹⁸ On the matter of worthiness see the *Westminster Larger Catechism*, questions 170-175.

B. Predestination: Implication Concerning God and Redemption.

The Reformed and Presbyterians, in their confessional history, have been burdened with a continuous conflict regarding Calvin's doctrine of the "double" predestination (*predestinatio gemina*): not only to salvation but also to damnation; as contrasted with Luther's teaching of the "single" predestination: to eternal life for the comfort of the troubled souls.

1. To Calvin, this double predestination, which had been declared by Augustine and defended by Gottschalk, is clearly taught in Scripture. In his *Institutes* he devoted a special chapter (III, 21 ff.) to this proof. His own definition of this "decretum horribile," as he calls it, read as follows: "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in Himself what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others."⁹⁹ He looked upon it as part of God's general providence: God not merely foresaw the fall of the first man and the ruin of posterity in him, but He arranged it all by the determination of His own will. . . . "This (condemnation of so many), not being attributable to nature, must have proceeded from the wonderful counsel of God." Even the fall of Adam is part of this decree.¹⁰⁰ "It is an awful decree, I confess!"¹⁰¹ It should be added that the glory of God is spoken of by Calvin as His motive for the salvation of the elect and for the damnation of the non-elect.¹⁰² The same is said again and again in the Reformed Confessions dealing with the subject. (Canons of Dort and Westminster Confession.)

2. Calvin's doctrine of Predestination triumphed at the Synod of Dort (Nov. 13, 1618 till May 9, 1619) against the Arminian movement. Here the famous "Five Points of Calvinism" were adopted and the positions of the Arminians rejected. These points pertained (1)

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* III, 21, 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* III, 23, 4.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* III, 23, 7.

¹⁰² *Inst.* III, 22, 3; 24, 12, 14.

to the definition of predestination (the fall was here presupposed as a fact—(infralapsarianism); (2) to the death of Christ (atonement limited to the elect); (3) and (4) to the corruption of man, his conversion and the manner thereof (monergism of divine grace in the Augustinian sense, with rejection of Pelagianism, semi-Pelagianism and Arminianism); (5) to the perserverance of saints. On this subject there was the most careful and guarded expression at Dort, especially also on the assurance of election: to be found in “the infallible fruits of election, such as true faith in Christ, filial fear, a godly sorrow for sin, a hungering and thirsting after righteousness.”¹⁰³

There is something awe-inspiring in Calvin's doctrine of predestination, especially also because of the great religious earnestness of its advocates. No wonder that it has been an outstanding factor in the moral education of peoples who have been under this influence.

3. *The Helvetic Consensus Formula*¹⁰⁴ composed by J. H. Heidegger of Zurich, 1675 (111 years after the death of Calvin), in defense of genuine Calvinism, put the substance of Calvin's teaching into the following statements: “God decreed from eternity (1) to create man innocent; (2) to permit the fall (*permittere*); (3) to elect some to salvation and thus to reveal in them His mercy, but to leave (*relinquere*) the rest in the corrupt class. The doctrine (taught by Amyraut) of an antecedent hypothetical will or intention of God (*voluntas conditionalis*) to save all men on condition of faith¹⁰⁵ was rejected as unscriptural and as involving God in imperfection and contradiction. Christ died only for the elect and not indiscriminately for all men (against Amyraut). The call of God works salvation in the elect. This confession, however, never extended its authority beyond Switzerland. One can see that Calvin in his doctrine of predestination follows Luther's monergism of grace.

¹⁰³ Chapt. 1, art. 12. For a comprehensive description, read R. Seeberg *DG*, IV 3, p. 688 f. Cf. our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. IV, chapt. 2 on Arminianism in Holland.

¹⁰⁴ See Schaff I, 473 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Later strongly approved by C. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.* II, 544 ff.

4. The Arminians, at first banished, were soon permitted to return, and established churches and schools all over Holland.¹⁰⁶ At Dort there were present 28 foreign delegates of Reformed churches; from England, Scotland, France, Switzerland; and from Germany—the Palatinate, Hesse, Nassau, East Friesland and Bremen. Many of these urged moderation. The Reformed in Germany were largely Anti-Predestinarians in the full Calvinistic sense. In England, the Anglicans especially, and others, were open to Arminian influences.¹⁰⁷ For a study of Arminianism read in our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. IV, chapter 2 in its second part: "The Genius of Arminianism in the Light of its further Development." Note especially the Confession by Episcopius and observe how the liberalism of Arminianism expressed itself in matters outside of predestination, for instance on authority of the Confessions; on the Scriptures as having a mere "directive" significance, etc. (Cf. Part II, 5 and 6.)

5. Opposed to this liberalizing Arminianism, with Latitudinarian tendencies, there existed in Holland and in England, and particularly in Scotland the orthodoxy of the predestinarians who followed the Canons of Dort, represented by the divines of the Westminster Assembly who created the Westminster Confession. Touching the doctrine of predestination, our interest here is in Sec. III of the *Confession of Faith* as held by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and adopted by this body in 1729. This Sec. III of "God's Eternal Decrees" was supplemented by this church in 1903 with a "Declaratory Statement."

a. *The Westminster Confession* in Sec. III of the *Confession of Faith*, constitution of 1936, reads:

(1) "God of all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass, yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Schaff, I, 515 f.

¹⁰⁷ In our *History of Chr. Thought* Bk. IV, chapter 3 we have described the "Arminianism in England."

(2) "Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions, yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

(3) "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death.

(4) "These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

(5) "Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good-pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perserverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

(6) "As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

(7) "The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, and the praise of his glorious justice.

(8) "The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal

election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation, to all that sincerely obey the gospel."

b. In the amendment of 1903 (see this Chap. page 298), the following "Declaratory statement" was given and printed (p. 127 of the constitution 1936) at the close of *The Confessions of Faith*:

"While the ordination vow of ministers, ruling elders, and deacons as set forth in the Form of Government, requires the reception and adoption of the *Confession of Faith only as containing the System of Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures*, (Italics ours) nevertheless, seeing that the desire has been formally expressed for a disavowal by the Church of certain inferences drawn from statements in the Confession of Faith, and also for a declaration of certain aspects of revealed truth which appear at the present time to call for a more explicit statement, therefore the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America does authoritatively declare as follows:

First, with reference to Chapter III of the *Confession of Faith*: that concerning those who are saved in Christ, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine of His love to all mankind, His gift of His son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and His readiness to bestow His saving grace on all who seek it. That concerning those who perish, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine that God desireth not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the Gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that His decree hinders no man from accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned except on the ground of his sin.

Second, with reference to Chapter X, Section III, of the *Confession of Faith*, that it is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit who works when and where and how He pleases."

c. From the *Larger Catechism* we print in further explanation of Presbyterian teaching, the following three questions with their answers:

“Q. 12. What are the decrees of God?

A. God’s decrees are wise, free and holy acts of the counsel of His will, whereby, from all eternity, He hath, for His own glory, unchangeably fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass in time, especially concerning angels and men.

Q. 13. What hath God especially decreed concerning angels and men?

A. God, by an eternal and immutable decree, out of His mere love, for the praise of His glorious grace, to be manifested in due time, hath elected some angels to glory, and in Christ hath chosen some men to eternal life, and the means thereof; and also, according to His sovereign power, and the unsearchable counsel of His own will (whereby he extendeth or withholdeth favor as he pleaseth), hath passed by, and fore-ordained the rest to dishonor and wrath, to be for their sin inflicted, to the praise of the glory of His justice.

Q. 14. How doth God execute his decrees?

A. God executeth His decrees in the works of creation and providence; according to His infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of His own will.”

d. In a *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith* (see the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, Art. III), “The Eternal Purpose” is presented in these words:

“We believe that the eternal, wise, holy, and loving purpose of God embraces all events, so that while the freedom of man is not taken away nor is God the author of sin, yet in His providence He makes all things work together in the fulfillment of His sovereign design and the manifestation of His glory; wherefore, humbly acknowledging the mystery of this truth, we trust in His protecting care and set our hearts to do His will.

The following statement from Prof. Otto Ritschl at the University of Bonn in Germany will be of interest in this connection: The doctrine of predestination holds the central place in the Reformed system and is more fundamental than the Scripture principle which is degraded

to a matter of second degree (DG des Protestantismus, I, 44). The Reformed treat election as the Lutherans speak of justification. This will be true among the strictly Calvinistic theologians, but not among the Arminians.

6. *The Reformed doctrine of predestination philosophically considered.* Calvin was a keen theologian who was always conscious of the philosophical principle at the basis of his argumentation. One is constantly impressed with the sharp and relentless logic in his Institutes.¹⁰⁸

Before us lies a remarkable dissertation by H. Schomerus in which he aims to picture the philosophy underlying Calvin's predestination which we shall here try to reproduce with a few omissions and additions:

God is the independent and sole cause of all that takes place. All events have their last cause in this that God wills them. Now we learn that some men come to God and, by this, arrive at eternal salvation; and that others stay away from God and, therefore, are lost. That this actually occurs cannot have its cause in the free decision of men for or against God; because it would militate against "the honor of God," if in His acts He should first have to wait and see how man decides. The fact, therefore, that the ones are saved and the others lost must have its reason only in this, that by an immutable decree God had elected a certain number of men to salvation and a certain number to perdition. The succeeding events: creation, redemption, judgment and grace, then, were simply the execution of that eternal decree. The consistent followers of this doctrine of predestination must feel themselves forced into a resistless process of incontrovertible necessity. Even the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of God's Son are only links in this process. As to principle, and in *abstracto*, it might also be thinkable that Christ had never been, and that the elect would still be saved. The fact, according to the real predestinarians, is that Christ did in reality die only for those who were already saved.

As to the actual situation in the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of today regarding the holding to Calvin's teaching of predestination, it is not easy to offer

108 Read R. Seeberg, op. cit., IV, 570 ff.

fitting statements. The Reformed in Germany follow Calvin's doctrine of the eucharist, but not his teaching of predestination. In the recent publication by W. Niesel (leading Reformed theologian of the day) mentioned before, on, *Was heisst Reformiert?* in which he discusses the most essential present-day characteristics and problems of his church and in which he quotes Calvin so much, there is not one line on predestination. The same indifferent attitude toward this subject is observable among the Reformed of German origin in America (cf. page 275). In Great Britain, and in Holland and in America Calvinism and Arminianism exist side by side. Theologians of depth deal reverently with the old Calvinistic tenets, claiming the freedom, however, to have their own interpretations. They will say that with Calvin the treatment of predestination in his *Institutes* does not stand at the beginning of his system, but at the close. But that in his writing of the earlier parts of his *Institutes* the doctrine of predestination was all the time in the background may be seen from III, 1, 1: 2, 11. 14, 21. In some sections of Presbyterianism in America, especially among those of Dutch extraction or tradition, there is still serious preaching on the "four knotty points of Calvinism." The same is the case in some of the smaller bodies, as we have tried to show. Pertaining to the note of assurance of salvation in preaching, to which we referred, the rule among the Reformed and Presbyterians of today (if Arminian tendencies toward Socinianism do not lead the preacher off into humanism), will be that the first ground is sought in Christ's suffering, death and resurrection, and then, perhaps, secondarily, in a certain predestination, hoped to be functioning in a kind of auxiliary way. In spite of systematic thought, truly evangelical religion is not always logical. Calvinism or no Calvinism, when it comes to dying the truly Evangelical Christian will say with Toplady: "Nothing in my hand I bring, simply to thy cross I cling."

Note: **Luther also taught a predestination.** Melanchthon taught it also. But while Melanchthon receded and more and more established himself in an opposite direction (synergism), Luther never abandoned the position he had taken against Erasmus (1525).

In general, however, the Lutheran Confessions had shown evasiveness on this subject until later, after Luther's death (1546). After the influential voices of Calvin and Beza had been heard, the Lutherans also were forced to express themselves on this matter. It was done in Arts. 11 and 2 of the FC. In distinction from Calvin's double predestination, the presentation in the FC may be called the "single" predestination to eternal life.

What the FC offered was not a speculative discussion on the basis of philosophical principles, nor an endeavor to solve the old philosophical problem of necessity and freedom in the sphere of religion, which Calvin, with Augustine, by introducing the **double** predestination, had undertaken to solve as was described. This Lutheran endeavor in the FC starts with the infinitely disquieting fact of Scripture and of Christian experience concerning the holy and mysteriously hidden God (*Deus absconditus*) in His attitude of wrath to sinful man unable to free himself. And it proceeds by attempting to find the comfort of the Gospel in the Scripture's testimony concerning the infinite love of this same God as revealed in the wounds of Christ (without ignoring the guilty responsibility of those who despise this Gospel). Of this we have written in Chapter Four (Lutheran Church).¹⁰⁹

C. Interests Connected with the Appropriation of Salvation.

Continuing the comparative method of Christian Symbolics we shall here point out a few differences of Reformed from the Lutheran theology.

1. On the "*Call*," with *Conversion*, Calvin in his teaching of predestination insisted upon an *outward* call through the outward Word, which is held to be not effectual, and an inner call through the Spirit, in consequence of which conversion takes place.¹¹⁰ This teaching which found no rootage among the *German Reformed*, because of their Melancthonian leaning, was reproduced in the Westminster Confession by stating: "All those whom God has predestinated unto life, and those only, He is pleased, in His appointed and accepted time, effectually to call by His Word and Spirit," etc. (X, 1). In America, the union endeavors with the Cumberland Presbyterians led the "Presbyterians of the U. S.

¹⁰⁹ For a special study of it in comparison with the teaching of Augustine, Calvin and his followers we refer to our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. I, chap. 11, Sec. IV, B; Bk. III, chap. 6; Bk. IV, chap. 2. On the teaching of the "Missouri Synod" on election see the connected review of a long controversy on this subject in Neve-Allbeck *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, third edition, pp. 207-221.

¹¹⁰ Inst. III, 24, 1. 7 f. 12.

A." to modify the Westm. Conf. in Sec. III, 1, by an appended "Declaratory Statement" of 1903, as we saw. But does this remedy by a mere appendix, which leaves the original statement reinforced by the answers to questions 12 and 13 of the Larger Catechism untouched, really offer what the Church needs as a guidance on this subject? The milder statements of the Canons of Dort¹¹¹ also do not succeed in producing a unification of thought. Consistent only are Calvin's extreme and radical statements concerning the difference of the call in the case of the reprobates and the elect; here all is as clear as crystal, but the knot of the mystery is merely cut "as by an Alexander's sword," not solved in harmony with the Gospel.

From the standpoint of desiring to solve speculatively the mystery of a double predestination, the Lutheran treatment of election in the FC (art. 11), let us say here again, seems to be incomplete and can in no wise satisfy minds established upon the *gratia irresistibilis* as a necessary action of an absolute God. Still this article does offer the Gospel comfort for the troubled heart by stating that the call, through the Word, is always seriously meant, but that even such a call by the omnipotent God Himself, can be resisted by the hardened heart of man in the self-chosen bondage of sin.

Calvin, who agrees with Luther in taking *faith* as a free gift of grace, defines faith (with more stress on the intellectual than did Luther) as the knowledge of God and of Christ, as a belief that the Gospel of revelation in Scripture is true. But out of this assent there follows faith as confidence and peace of conscience much as Luther has it.¹¹²

2. *Repentance*. Calvin departed from Luther in language by teaching that repentance follows faith (III, 3, 1). In so doing he understood by repentance what the Lutherans called sanctification, a renewal of the Christian life, which has to be a lifelong process. In this process with its ups and downs the order is frequently reversed so that repentance revives faith. It is not necessary here to record a disagreement between Calvin and

111 Chap. III and IV, art. 8, compared with Chap. I, art. 7.

112 Inst. III, 2 ff. Seeberg, DG IV 3, 590 f.

Luther. Following the analogy of faith, of course, this is true: The appropriation of salvation for man begins with the preaching of the law, which produces "contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which is born of the Gospel," etc.¹¹³

3. *Justification*. Calvin with Luther speaks of justification as a forensic act. Luther finds in justification the two acts: (1) forgiveness of sin and (2) imputation of Christ's righteousness. Calvin agrees: God justifies us (1) by absolution and pardon and (2) by imputing to us the righteousness of Christ.¹¹⁴ Both speak also of justification "by faith." By this they mean that faith is the receiving hand for the forgiveness of sin and for the imputation of Christ's righteousness; all human work as ground for justification is excluded. This teaching of Calvin goes through all the Reformed Confessions.

It is to be expected, of course, that here (as in the case of the call and conversion) the predestinarian attitude will show its ever recurring difference. The Westminster Confession (XI, 4) says: "God did, from all eternity, decree to justify all the elect." There has been much discussion of a special act of justification of the elect in eternity, and of the view that in eternity God simply looked upon the elect as being righteous in His sight. Others point to the realization of justification of the elect through faith in time. We shall not again speak of the dissent (Arminian and Cumberland Presbyterians) which resulted in the reported modifications of the Westminster Confession.

4. *Sanctification*. This was the Lutheran term. Calvin, as we saw, used the terms "regeneration," "renewal," or "repentance" as a process to go all through life. (III, 3, 1. Cf. *Belgic Conf.*, art 24.) The predestinarians have at all times shown the profoundest interest in the topic of the "perseverance of the Saints." The Canons of Dort devoted a whole chapter to this subject.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ AC, art. 12 of Repentance.

¹¹⁴ III, 11, 11.

¹¹⁵ See our special study of this matter in our *History of Chr. Thought* Bk. IV, chapter 2 on "Arminianism in Holland."

D. Conception and Use of the Old Testament and the Matter of Legalism.

Many writers, also Reformed authors, have written on the differences of Calvin and many of his followers from the Lutherans concerning the use of Scripture. One of the first among the Reformed theologians to speak of this matter as one of the differences between the two churches was M. Schneckenburger, professor in Berlin University.¹¹⁶ This is a matter that has been much discussed ever since.¹¹⁷ The use of the Old Testament has always had strong emphasis in the Calvinistic churches. The glorification of God in the congregation of believers and before the world, was a leading motive of Calvin for stressing the ethical values of the Old Testament. He had an eye for the duties of man in so many directions, including the social as well as the private sphere, things secular as well as sacred. Furthermore, he saw new avenues for glorifying God even in politics, commerce and trade. For this the Old Testament seemed especially rich in offering stimulations and foundations. Thus the O. T. morality rendered a deep influence upon the ethics of Calvinistic countries. R. Seeberg speaks of a "complicated apparatus of divine laws."¹¹⁸ Among the adherents of a more limited religious insight into the heart of the Gospel, there rose a temptation toward legalism and toward an overlooking of the distinction between Law and Gospel. But from Niesel, referred to above, we may have to learn that in all Calvin's energy to proclaim Christian duty he did not lose sight of the fact that the fundamental aim of the Old Testament was "to preach Christ," "looking forward to Him," showing Him as the "Word" among "the words" of the Old Testament, as "mediator between God and man," as "mirror of the hidden God," as "the Redeemer," "in whom we have God's

116 *Vergleichende Darstellung des Lutherischen und des Reformierten Kirchenbegriffs*, 2 vols., 1855 f. See especially, I, 16, 20, 27.

117 We mention just a few of the writers: E. Troeltsch, *Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 2 vols.; translated into English: "**The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches**" cf. II, 585 f.; Cf. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 1934; R. Seeberg DG, IV 3, 565 f.; A. Lang, Joh. Calvin, p. 75. P. Wernle, *Der evangelische Glaube*, III, on Calvin, p. 268; W. Niesel, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-22.

118 *Op. cit.*, p. 561.

mercy." According to Calvin, the Old Testament does "not just point to Christ, but it even communicates Him," confirming God's promises through the sacraments of the old covenant. The Old Testament is not overtaken ("ueberholt") by the New Testament. Niesel proves these statements with convincing references to the works of Calvin, which show that these quoted phrases of his are not mere side-thoughts, but his one great leading estimate of the Old Testament. Niesel also insists that to the Reformed the Holy Scriptures are not just a code of laws, but, the same as with the Lutherans, a book for devotion.¹¹⁹

Still that charge of legalism by the Lutheran writers on Christian Symbolics has always been very persistent. Calvin's rule in Geneva, the procedure of Knox in Scotland and the practices of the old Puritans have been cited much for illustrating this charge. Much in the practice of present day social reform furnishes proof in the same direction. We have before us W. Walther's discussion of the "Principle of Christian Ethics" in the Calvinistic churches.¹²⁰ Pointing to Luther's principle of love as the motive for the "New Obedience" he says: "To such a father who has showered me with so many wonderful gifts I desire (ich will) to do what pleases Him with freedom, joyfully, and without reward,"¹²¹ Walther refers to some words always recurring in the writings of Calvin, such as "commandment," "law," "obedience." Man's willingness to obey must rest upon the conviction of God's sovereignty and that we are His property.¹²² "Because God is the only Lord and Master who has dominion over our consciences, and because His will is the only rule of all righteousness, therefore we confess that our whole life must be ruled after His holy law . . ."¹²³ Walther insists: There is a legalistic ring even over Calvin's discussion of the "Duties of Love."¹²⁴ Let us guard, however, against overdoing it

¹¹⁹ As cited, p. 10-22.

¹²⁰ *Symbolik*, p. 254 ff.

¹²¹ *Erl. Edition* 27, 196.

¹²² *Inst.* VIII, 7, 1.

¹²³ Paragraph for the rule of Geneva.

¹²⁴ Walther, p. 257, pointing to III, 7, 5. Cf. E. Klotsche, p. 227. See also R. Seeberg, *op cit.*, 612, 615, 627.

in this criticism of Reformed theology of today. The Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Catechism have the evangelical notes. And with these Catechisms the conservative pulpits aim to be in harmony.

Neither should we overlook the fact that Luther also and the Lutheran Confessions fought the Antinomians. Luther closed the interpretation of the Ten Commandments with the words: "God threatens to punish all those who transgress these commandments. We should, therefore, dread His displeasure and not act contrarily to these commandments. But He promises grace and every blessing to all who keep them. We should therefore love and trust in Him and cheerfully do what He has commanded us." And Luther introduced the interpretation of the commandments with the words: "We should so fear and love God as not to" But he makes much of Paul's distinction between the *filial* fear and the fear of the *servant* (Rom. 8:15). Melancthon's long article in the Apology to the AC "Of Love and the Fulfilling of the Law" and in the FC the articles 4 on "Good Works," and 6 on "The Third Use of the Law," explain what is here under discussion. Very much of this is the common faith of both sides. The differences appear frequently in points of emphasis and in the approach.

The Lutherans charge the Reformed with legalism; the Reformed ask whether the "evangelical" approach and stress of Lutheranism is not too idealistic and fails in results. And here, indeed, there has developed a point of controversy between the two camps, which was not known to be an outstanding point of difference in the older conflicts. The Reformed Professor K. Mueller at the Erlangen University, in his *Symbolik* (1895), discussed the issue under the two chapters touching the Lutherans on pp. 306 ff. and the Reformed on pp. 485 ff, respectively. The reference is to the above discussed relation between justification and sanctification. Calvin distinguished between the two as Luther had done, but he creates a different connection between justification and sanctification by insisting that the Spirit of holiness has already begun his work when justification takes place. The simultaneousness of sanctification with

justification was the clearly defined and formulated teaching of Calvin. The later Lutherans did not risk the use of Calvin's organization of matters on this subject because they feared it might open the floodgates of synergism and legalism.¹²⁵ We cannot here again enter into this subject which was discussed above. Students, desirous of looking over the whole situation in a Reformed review, are referred to K. Mueller.¹²⁶ In recent years Barth, Brunner and their followers frequently touched upon this difference of the Reformed theology from the Lutherans, and they thank the Lord that on this subject they are not Lutherans. It was Luther's concern that the assurance of salvation for the troubled souls be not lost by adding elements of sanctification to the divine act of justification. It should not be overlooked, however, that in the Lutheran camp itself there have been severe conflicts on this matter; not only in the Reformation time (Osiander), but even recently (between the late professors Walther at Rostock and Holl at Berlin). Cf. our chapter on the Lutheran Church, page 198 ff.

E. Church. Church Government. Discipline.

1. *Zwingli and Calvin spoke of the Church as "visible and invisible."*¹²⁷ The invisible Church is composed of the elect who are known to God alone; the Church visible has also the hypocrites. The AC, art. 7 and 8, had avoided these two terms for reasons spoken of in Chapter Four, but has later also used them with a certain care.¹²⁸

2. *Concerning the Organization of the Church*, Calvin took the reported example of offices in the New Testament as equal to a divine institution and command. He counted four offices: pastors, teachers, elders, deacons. Another Reformed leader, Lasko, spoke of only three offices, and Calvin admitted that in special situations more might become practical. We report this from W. Niesel (p. 58), to show that the organization

125 Inst. III, 16, 1. Also with regard to faith as the receiving hand for justification Calvin always took pains to qualify faith as proved by a Christian life.

126 Op. cit., pp. 463 ff. Compare R. Seeberg, DG 3, IV, 594-601.

127 Inst. IV, 1, 7 ff. CR, 29, 542.

128 Cf. our Intro. 2, pp. 195-198.

part of Presbyterianism is not quite that unalterably legal system which it is reputed to be. See also our note in Sec. III. We are told, however, that the oligarchical form of government by the elders is nearest to Scripture teaching. But is the example in the New Testament also a divine command? To Luther and his associates and followers the Scripture example indicated merely that the gifts of the Spirit in the congregation of believers must and will work themselves out in some fitting government for the needed guidance of the local churches and for the Church at large. The Lutheran Church is differently organized in the different countries. Article 7 of the AC demands for the unity of the Church only "that the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered." The Reformed Churches add to this the Biblical form of church government. Niesel rejects decidedly the democratic congregational form, and still more decisively the (episcopal) government by one man (pp. 58-60).

3. *Church Discipline*. Here again appears as a leading principle the honor and glory of God: "Above all, the honor of God is maintained in punishing crimes."¹²⁹ If at this place there must be reference to the discipline practiced in Calvin's theocracy in Geneva¹³⁰ it must be noted that this case was exceptional in the history of Reformed Protestantism and should not be told to characterize the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches at any time. It was a situation in Geneva, the only place where the theocratic ideal of Zwingli and Calvin was ever realized. Perhaps the situation in Massachusetts Bay (1644), can also be cited.¹³¹ Calvin's demand for the punishment of heretics (through the state) was reflected in the Second Helvetic Confession, 30, 3; also in the Gallic Confession, 39; also in the Hungarian Confession, 5, 32. It is not found in any Confession of the German Reformed, nor in the Belgic Confession

¹²⁹ Calvin in CR 41, 76.

¹³⁰ Within five years, from 1542-1546, 78 persons were exiled, and 58 were condemned to death—among them also the Anti-Trinitarian Michael Servetus—(cf. R. Staehelin in PRE, III, 668.)

¹³¹ We refer to W. A. Dunning, *History of Political Theories*, pp. 26 ff. and to E. C. Merriam, *History of American Political Theories*, pp. 1-36. Note the Williams-Cotton debate.

(cf. art. 32), and not in the Westminster Confession.¹³²

Luther, before Calvin had become a leader, admitted that in times of laying doctrinal foundations for the future there may be cases when troublesome agitators have to be told to leave the country. But he was opposed to doing them bodily harm. See in Chapter IV his immortal declaration against the practice of restraining heresy with force, instead of using against it God's Word as the only weapon to deal with it.¹³³ Speaking of the practice of persecution he said ironically: "With a death sentence they solve all argumentation."¹³⁴

As to church discipline, Christ and the apostles speak of excommunication, but nowhere is there a Bible command that heretics shall be put to death. Of course there is no other thought than this in the mind of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of today.

F. Relation of the Church to the State.

On this burning problem of the ages Calvin became the leader of thought for the Anglo-Saxon countries. While admitting the sovereignty of the state in its own realm, he stressed the independence of the Church from the State; at the same time he demanded that in matters of religion and morals the State must function as the executive arm of the Church. He insisted that the sins also against the "first table" of the Commandments must be punished. Here the State must conform its laws to the divine law.¹³⁵ The relation of the Church to the State, then, became that of a theocracy. The difference from Lutheranism appeared especially in the field of discipline, as we saw above. But Calvin with his ideal of a "modified aristocracy" (with Zwingli it was democracy) also found a way of safeguarding the interests of the Church by pointing out a foundation on the basis of which to proceed against godless kings. While urging his followers to go very far in bearing the yoke of

132 Our reference here is to the American edition of the Westm. Conf. as published in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1936. See chap. 23, 3 (of the Civil Magistrate); also chap. 20, 2 and 4 "Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience."

133 Enders. *Luther's Correspondence*, 7, 211.

134 Our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. III, chapter 6, g and h.

135 *Institutes*, IV, 20, 2, 3, 4. CR 33, 354; 41, 76; 57, 229; 63, 152.

tyrants "because of the honor due their station"¹³⁶ at the same time he wanted to see "a lower government" of *Ephoroi*, or a kind of elders in the State, comparable to the Lacedaemonians among the Greeks, or the consuls among the Romans, to take matters into their hands when the situation should become unbearable.¹³⁷ This took him away from the position of Luther who, on such matters, insisted upon the separation of Church and State. In the Reformed countries, the Netherlands, Scotland, England and also in America, this "lower government" was to function in judgment of the regular government.

To Luther, the State was something divine. In case of transgressing tyrants his conservatism would not allow him to do more than to exercise a passive resistance and if necessary to endure persecution. This stands in opposition to theocratic ideals. The Augsburg Confession in articles 16 and 28 established itself upon a careful separation between Church and State which included a refusal of revolution. With this we are touching observations to which we referred in Chapter Four on Lutheranism (p. 218 ff.)

Turning again to Calvin's theocratic ideal it should here be said that through the centuries this idea, frequently coupled with the State-Church situation, has functioned as a constant danger to political tranquillity among nations, sometimes even resulting in civil war. The history of Presbyterianism in England, Scotland and Ireland, as we have seen in this chapter (also in Switzerland and France and in Holland) offers illustrations of such. The idea of State and Church as a theocracy and the thought that the glory and honor of God may demand physical force against people who are considered to be heretical or unrighteous, can very easily plunge large groups of the world into armed conflict—even today. We need to keep in mind that the tenet of Calvinism on the matter here under discussion is not confined to the "sisters" in the church of Calvin, but it is the common tenet also of the "daughters" in the whole family of Presbyterianism.¹³⁸ For war propaganda, the

136 Inst. IV, 20, 25:27.

137 Ibid. IV, 31. Cf. Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, Engl. ed. II, 651.

138 Cf. Introductory Observation I, 4.

question of what is right and what is wrong is the most effective motive in the mass psychology for stirring the feelings against the political opponent.

Luther's mistake lay in the opposite direction: He put the government of the young church into the hands of the princes, temporarily, it is true, but with the practical result that the church has frequently been a department of the State and later had to take orders from the State. It had to serve the State and yield to arrangements such as church union on the basis of conflicting principles which has brought immeasurable injury to the Lutheran Church in Germany.

The problem on which we have here touched is as old as the history of the Christian Church. The first Christian emperors and later the Carolingian rulers show us the picture of an authority over the Church by the State ("caesaropapism"). Then with the rise of the papacy in Rome, as represented by Gregory VII, by Innocent III and by Boniface VIII, there followed the opposite position: In theocratic fashion the claim was made that the authority over the State is vested in the Church. Luther, against his will, paved the way for a caesaropapism with which the Lutheran Church in Germany is struggling today. With Calvin's theocratic ideal, while anti-Romish in intention, the Roman principle returned through the back door. In Germany there has always been the danger of caesaropapism (not altogether absent in England as shown by No. 21 of the Thirty-Nine Articles); in the Anglo-Saxon countries it was theocracy as an ideal, in which the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were leading.

At the recent Oxford Conference on Life and Work, of 414 delegates, the problem was up for discussion. It was one in a series of discussions: I. The Church and the Community; II. Church and State; III. The Church and the Economic Order; IV. Church Community and State; V. The Universal Church and the World of Nations, containing also a sub-section on Christianity and War.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ See *Christendom*, 1937, No. 4, which announced that all these articles will appear in a volume entitled: **The Oxford Conference: Official Report** by J. H. Oldham, published by Willett, Clark and Co.

G. Concerning the Social Gospel.

The Church of Zwingli and Calvin had acquired from her founders the practice of insisting, by threat of withholding loyalty, that the State coöperate with the Church in the enforcing of her moral program.¹⁴⁰

We shall speak in much detail of the problems of the Social Gospel in Chapter Seven on the "Methodist Church Family," and we have examined in Chapter Four on the Lutheran Church the charge that Lutheranism in America has been holding back from coöperation with the Federal Council's program regarding the Social Gospel. We shall here only say that the Reformed and the Presbyterians have stood in the front in promoting this program. The following, however, as especially characteristic of Calvinism, may here be added: Prompted by Calvin's leading idea that everything in this world must contribute to the glorification of God, Calvin taught his followers to exemplify this principle also in the field of trade and industry. The Lutherans of today in certain branches of their Inner Mission work and especially also in the field of foreign missions (Hermannsburg, for instance) do the same; but it is never more than auxiliary to the spiritual interests of the Church. As to utterances from Luther on the subject it must not be overlooked that he labored earlier than Calvin. There were not yet about him the matured sociological problems which Calvin found everywhere. Luther's utterances along this line, however, were as a rule of a more reticent nature, especially where the economic interest and the ethical interest overlapped, and he spoke, of course, with regard to conditions as they existed in the Germany of his day.¹⁴¹ Calvin's interest in trade and industry *per se* led to remarkable economic successes, especially in England and gradually also in America. It should not be overlooked, however, that the West of Europe along the Atlantic—the reference is to Holland, France and England as seafaring countries—was at that time far more capable of commercial development than were Germany and the central states

140 Cf. our *History of Chr. Thought*, Bk. III, Chapters 2 and 6.

141 Cf. Elert, II, p. 468.

of Europe. In Poland, Hungary and Germany, therefore, Calvinism has not had these same successes.¹⁴²

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS.

1. The thought of a *bishop* is an abomination to Reformed and Presbyterian churches. For the upholding of this position the Presbyterians in Great Britain suffered and died.

2. Likewise, the Presbyterians have always kept themselves *independent of the state*. Over this heritage from Calvin and Knox they have watched most carefully.

3. *Comparative Features between Calvinism and Lutheranism*.¹⁴³ Even though the double predestination of Calvin, as also his peculiar legalism are fundamentally out of line with the Lutheran system, yet it must be said that Calvin's theology, as presented in his *Institutes* (referring to his stress on God's omnipotence as the root of his predestination, the revelation of His divine essence through Christ, his doctrine of sin including the inherited natural depravity, his views of sin and redemption and in the main also his teaching on repentance and faith, regeneration, justification and sanctification) was an interpretation of Luther, in which, at some essential points, he had succeeded better than Luther's own co-worker, Melancthon. Still, Troeltsch is right when he says: The "whole color of the body of theology which Calvin held with Lutheranism was changed."¹⁴⁴ It was not first of all the divine love and assurance of forgiveness which attracted the attention of Calvin's followers, but it was His holiness, omnipotence and sovereign power in consequence of which evil men are overthrown. In itself this is Scriptural. But it is the emphasis which shows the difference from Lutheranism.

All this pertains to doctrinal matters. As to practical features in Calvinism, we refer first to Calvin's stress on a carefully settled canon as a book of laws for the

¹⁴² Seeberg DG, IV 3, 633, cf. 625. Cf. Troeltsch, English ed., II, 879.

¹⁴³ Cf. R. Seeberg, DG 3, IV, 627 ff; also Troeltsch in his *Social Teachings of the Churches*, II, 586 ff. The Macmillan Co., publishers.

¹⁴⁴ Op. Cit. II, 584.

regulation of private and public conduct. (Cf. this chap. p. 339). In connection with the conception of Scripture there was the emphasis on the above mentioned *discipline and organization* (p. 342) and on the insistence upon *simplicity in personal life*, cultivated on the background of a somewhat ascetic view of the things of this world, which was peculiar to Calvin and sounded so different from Luther's joyous appreciation of nature and art.

On the other hand, there was in Calvinism a disinclination to accept the obviously irrational, while Luther, when dealing with the mysteries of religion, had spoken of reason as something adverse¹⁴⁵ and to be overcome by faith.¹⁴⁶ Again: Calvin, living later than Luther, had about him the natural contact with the culture of his age. To this his reformatory activity was naturally related. It represents a certain *humanism*, in which, however, "the evangelical spirit never lost the bridle" (Seeberg). In the functioning of this "humanism," Calvin, with the aim of making the thoughts of Luther more acceptable, spiritualized and thus rationalized certain religious tenets of Luther (sacraments). In succeeding centuries the Lutherans wrote much on the "humanistic" trait in Calvinism.¹⁴⁷ This played quite a part in the union movements during the age of Calixtus and later.¹⁴⁸

4. *Theocracy*: In close connection with all these traits of historical Calvinism we observe the *theocracy idea*: the conception of God as "absolute sovereign will," the teaching of a predestination with the sole object of His glorification, with that continuous stress upon the moral law in Bible revelation. E. Troeltsch, a severe critic of Lutheranism in many things, in a section of his work where he is laying foundations for the praise of Calvinism as a factor much more efficient in social service than Lutheranism, describes Calvinism as conceiving of a "divine covenant with the Church upon the basis of revelation, in which the State is to serve the Church after

145 He spoke of it as "the devil's grandmother."

146 O. Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, III, 78: *Luther's Grundsatzlicher Irrationalismus*.

147 See, for instance, E. V. Leesch, *Historia Motuum*, II, 187 ff. Cf. H. Schmid, *Geschichte der Synkretistischen Streitigkeiten*, 1846, pp. 14-16.

148 See our *Union Movements*, pp. 82-84; 102 ff.

the manner of the kings of Israel, and in which public life is controlled by the pastors after the manner of the prophets." He continues: "Thus we may sum up the Gospel of Calvin in the following terms: "A new Israel has been born, a new holy city has been founded, established upon the divine law, which has been deepened by the spirit of the New Testament."¹⁴⁹ In this holy city God wants to rule through His law. We must say here that the Lutherans had the same interest in ethics. Besides the pedagogical significance of the law, they pressed the "new obedience" (AC., art. 6 and 20) and spoke of the "didactic" significance of the law for holy living. (See the FC, art. 6 on the "Third Use of the Law.") But they expected the driving impulse to come from the *experience of justification*, which, in their teaching, cannot co-exist with the continuation of a life in sin. And today they are opposed to very much of that "ecclesiastical policemen-ship" as the impelling motive for securing the needed status of ethics in society. (See p. 221).

5. *Neo-Calvinism*. We have referred to a Neo-Lutheran development which characterized the revived Lutheranism of the nineteenth century (See page 246). After having now discussed "Primitive Calvinism" at some length, there ought to be here a brief mention of "Neo-Calvinism." Arminianism came in as a modifying factor of Calvin's double predestination. The problem is the conservation of *grace* in the plan of salvation. The historical experience had been (in England, different from Holland and from Germany) that Arminianism issued into Latitudinarianism and Unitarianism.¹⁵⁰

E. Troeltsch, in his work on *The Social Doctrines*, etc., writes much on "Neo-Calvinism" (II, 656 ff.) He relates it to the large influence of the "Free Churches": Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, etc. Calvinism, as "Neo-Calvinism," means more than just Presbyterianism. Predestination or Arminianism has become a problem in all churches, including the Anglican. And it is to be said that, in the main, England's de-

149 Op. cit. II, 586, notes 14 and 15.

150 It is cause for rejoicing that in 1937 at the convention at Edinburgh and Oxford there was large unanimity in a conservative attitude toward "grace in religion."

nominations, notwithstanding their large variety, have maintained the supernatural character of religion. The Congregationalists, for instance, are more conservative in England than in America. The coming into existence of the "Free Churches" brought a development of Calvinism outside of the original Calvinistic groups. There was the encouragement of societies and conventicles which the emissaries of the Denominations brought with them to the Continent and to America. There are chiefly two characteristics of Calvinism which have communicated themselves to all the English speaking churches: Calvin's conception of the "kingdom" and his theory of the relation between Church and State. Both of these we have discussed above. They are now leading traits of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

6. *The Problem of Union with Lutheranism.* In this review of the Reformed and the Presbyterian Churches as sisters, we have been studying the special conservative leadership of American Protestantism. These churches represent the heritage from Calvin. In leading fundamentals, the Reformed and Presbyterians stand quite near to Lutheranism, although in their genius they are very different. For an enumeration of the union endeavors that have failed, see Appendix A, II. However, we should not take the position that a union is impossible. The Church of Christ must always be willing to consider a union. The differences between the evangelically Conservatives in both camps lie in the direction of the conception of God and of the *means of grace*. If these differences are taken seriously, with real willingness to face them, God may still show the way for a union which the past centuries did not see. Zealotism and indifferentism both have been equally impotent to effect a union. But let us not speak and act *as if there must be a union!* The two churches are each doing a good and great work. The situation during the first centuries after the Reformation (the ages of "damnatory symbolics") was not endurable. The situation has changed to real friendship. Surely we would like to see an organic union of these two great churches of the Reformation! But it will never be accomplished by ignoring, as basis for such a union, the need of an

actual understanding in at least some of the historical differences which have kept them apart during the centuries. If a union is to be bought at the price of indifferentism towards essentials, which easily results in rationalism, then let us continue to hear the testimony of these churches in separate existence. For a fuller discussion of the problem see the Appendix A, I, II and III.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ANGLICAN AND EPISCOPAL CHURCHES

The bodies to be considered in this chapter are:

- A. The Anglican Church in England
- B. The Protestant Episcopal Church in America
- C. Secessions from the Leading Communions

Literature: The Church Histories; The Works on Christian Symbolics, especially **Phil. Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom* I, and Religious Bodies, II, 1916 and 1926. **Richard Hooker**, *Works*, 1705. **W. R. Huntington**, *The Church Idea*, New York, 1870. **Westcott**, *Catholic Principles*, Milwaukee 1902. **S. R. Maitland**, *The Reformation in England*, 1906. **Proctor and Frere**, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1911. **H. L. Clark**, *Studies in the English Reformation*, 1912. **H. O. Wakeman**, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, 1914. **F. J. Foakes-Jackson**, *Anglican Church Principles*, N. Y. 1924. **G. T. Rowe**, *History of Religion in the United States*, 1924. **H. Smith**, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, Ld., 1930. **W. W. Manross**, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, Milwaukee, 1935. For contemporary Anglican Thought compare the works cited in the body of this chapter, Sec. VI on "Modern Anglicanism."

A valuable post-graduate dissertation by **P. M. Brosy**, was used with much profit. Our chapter has had the benefit of critical reading by the Professors Garvey and Manross in General Theol. Seminary in New York.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. *The Question* may be debated whether this group should have been given their place for discussion after the Roman Catholic Church, or, as we have decided to do here, after the treatment of the two oldest churches of the Reformation, the Lutheran and the Reformed. The Anglicans and Episcopalians do stress church polity and insist upon Apostolic succession, and the legitimacy of church orders. This indicates a relationship to Rome, to the Eastern Orthodox Churches and to the Old Catholics. But the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in the United States, so far as their official formularies go, stand doctrinally upon the princi-

ples of the Reformation, which fact impresses itself upon every reader of the "Thirty-nine Articles" and the "Prayer-Book." Concerning sin and grace, in their whole analogy of faith, they oppose the very system of Roman Catholicism. They are a certain form of Protestantism, eclectic, and follow the leading principles of the Reformation.

2. *Names.* *The Church of England* is the established Church of England. It is also known by various other designations, namely, the Anglican Church, the Church in England and the Anglo-Catholic Church. None of these names seem to be satisfactory to everybody; but the name Anglo-Catholic is much in favor today.¹

3. *The Protestant Episcopal Church.* This is the official title of the American daughter of the Anglican Church. The High-Churchmen in this body are not fond of this title, because it smacks too much of the Reformation toward which they maintain a critical attitude. Other names applied to this group are: "The American Church," "The American Catholic Church," "The Catholic Church in America." Unsuccessful efforts have been made to fix either of the last two names as the official title of this ecclesiastical body.²

The American Church is in full communion with the mother church.

II. ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

1. The Anglican Church.

Introductory. No one knows just when or by whom the Christian religion was introduced into the British Isles. It is practically certain, however, that there were Christians in England as early as 200 A. D. In the course of time English Christianity came under the sovereignty of Rome, and remained so until the period of the reformation in the sixteenth century. With this period, therefore, we shall begin our historical survey.

a. *Historical Survey.* The sixteenth century witnessed a general revolt against Rome. It was impossible

1 Sheila Kay-Smith, p. vi.

2 Barry and Delany, p. 40; Westcott, p. 354.

that England should remain untouched by this movement (Wickliffe, Tyndale, and others). However, the movement was motivated more by resentment against papal exploitations of the state and by certain Roman abuses than by a desire for a fundamental reformation. There were two reasons for this situation: First, the Renaissance reached England in a milder form than in other countries; second, the Lutheran movement had not as yet made a deep impression on the English people and their leaders.

However, the Reformation was precipitated by the conflict between the pope and Henry VIII on the question of divorce. The king appealed to the pope for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn; but, as the pope delayed the matter for several years, the king took the reins in his own hands and began to curb the exercise of the papal power in England. Two acts of Parliament were passed, which put church matters more and more into the hands of the king. They were: (a) The Act for the Submission of the Clergy (1532), which ordered that all the old church canons must be approved by the king, and that no new ones could be made without his permission. (b) The Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533, declared that all ecclesiastical questions must be settled in the English church courts.

By such legislation Henry was able to obtain in his own land a favorable decision on his divorce and marriage. In 1534, the pope declared his former marriage valid, and his later one invalid, and the affair ended with the papal excommunication of the king. Henry declared that he, as king, is to be "accepted and reputed as the only supreme Head on earth of the church of England."

Thus it was that Henry broke with the pope, throwing off all papal jurisdiction and establishing the English church as the national or state church. However, deciding to be orthodox and to die in the true Church, he was determined that the English church should remain Catholic in doctrine. His literary conflict with Luther and the rough manner with which the Wittenberg reformer had handled him, no doubt, had contributed to this decision. He decided to end the

Protestant tendencies in the English Church by the statute of Six Articles (1539), which restored the old Catholic doctrines and required their observance under severe penalty for any infraction. Although the Lutheran confession was thus rejected, nevertheless it left, especially through Cranmer, an unmistakable and lasting impression upon English church life and doctrine.

During the reign of Henry's son, Edward VI, two Prayer Books were issued and the well-known Thirty-nine Articles (at first forty-two) of the Anglican Church were adopted as its doctrinal basis. The first Prayer Book (1549), was largely Catholic in character (retention even of the sacrifice of the mass), although there was in it also a noticeable Lutheran element, especially in the structure of the liturgy.

The second Book of Prayer appeared in 1553. In this book the following particulars are to be noted: The altar is the Lord's Table; the Mass is a communion; the communion is merely a memorial; all mention of Mary and of the saints and prayers for the dead, as well as the other medieval vestiges, are omitted. Examination shows that the Lutheran liturgies left a marked impress upon the Prayer Books, while the Augsburg Confession certainly had an influence on the Thirty-nine Articles. What is worth noticing about the English Church at this time is its curious mixture of Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism.³

At Edward's death, "Bloody Mary" succeeded to the throne. She was a devout and fanatical Roman Catholic. Her supreme purpose was twofold: to avenge the insult to her mother and to restore Romanism in all its details in England. Papal jurisdiction was again established, and persecution was employed to root out heresy and nonconformity. But Mary failed. The outcome of her effort was merely to render Romanism odious and to make the persecuted religion all the more popular.

Then came the reign of Elizabeth. She sought to bring about a general religious settlement by effecting a

³ Cf. H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England*. This, however, is denied by Proctor and Frere, p. 90. See these authors on the above named points in the first and second edition of *Books of Prayer*, pp. 46-90

compromise between the Henrician and Edwardian reformations. The religious laws enacted under Mary were annulled, and Romanism was put under the ban. The Act of Supremacy in 1559 once more made the sovereign the head of the Church of England, and the clergy were required to support this act. The Forty-two Articles, adopted in 1552, which had been developed by Cranmer, were revised in 1559 and became the well-known Thirty-nine Articles. The historic episcopate was secured to the English Church by the canonical consecration of Matthew Parker.

Elizabeth wanted the English Church to be a *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism—that is, she wanted to make it comprehensive enough to satisfy the majority of the English people. It was to be Catholic, but not Roman, in practice; episcopal in government, but subject to the crown; Protestant in doctrine, but neither wholly Lutheran nor wholly Calvinistic.⁴ Such a description helps us to see the eclectic character of subsequent Anglican theology.

Under the Stuarts two well defined parties developed within the Church of England. The High Church party, to which most of the leaders of the hierarchy belonged, emphasized the idea of historic continuity, and refused to recognize as a true church anybody not believed to possess a valid episcopate. The Puritan, or Low Church party was more sympathetic toward other forms of Protestantism than the High Church party was, and was inclined to wish that the English Reformation might be carried farther than it had been. It attached only secondary importance to questions of polity. In theology, the Low Church party was Calvinistic, the High Church, Arminian. In the eighteenth century the Low Church party became greatly liberalized, and Arminians, Latitudinarians and even Deists appeared among its members. At the close of the eighteenth century it was revolutionized by the Wesleyan or Evangelical movement, with the result that, in the nineteenth century, Low Churchmanship and Evangelicalism were regarded as synonymous.

4 Jacobs, *The Story of the Church*, p. 280.

The Oxford or Tractarian Movement, beginning in 1833, had an equally revolutionary effect upon the High Church party. Though it started simply as a bold reaffirmation of the seventeenth century High Church position, it soon developed an admiration for things medieval and an anti-Protestant tendency which distinguished it from the older movement. Some of its followers eventually entered the Roman Catholic Church, and many of those that remained gradually disavowed all Protestantism and returned to the theology and ritual of the Middle Ages. Later in the nineteenth century the Broad Church Movement arose within the Low Church party. It represented partly a return to the liberal Low Churchmanship of the eighteenth century, and partly an effort at the assimilation of nineteenth century science. Two new groups have arisen within the present century: the Liberal Catholic and the Liberal Evangelical. Liberal Catholicism while retaining the Catholic emphasis upon historic continuity and tradition, is less doctrinaire in its views of church polity, and more sympathetic in thought with historical criticism than was the older Anglo-Catholicism. Liberal Evangelicalism seeks to combine the liberalism of the Broad Churchman with the spiritual earnestness of the Evangelical.

The Anglican Church is still the established Church of England, and is dependent upon parliamentary acts. It is true, there is a strong feeling against such a union of Church and State. Two serious problems loom large on the horizon of English churchmen: (a) the disestablishment of the Church; (b) the union of the churches of Christendom. There is that third question which calls loudly for solution: Shall the English Church be Protestant or Catholic?

2. The Protestant Episcopal Church.

See the bibliography at the beginning of this chapter; also subsequent citations in this division.

Like most of the churches of America, this church is not a native product, but a foreign importation. It began as a colonial branch of the Church of England, dating from 1607, when the British planted the colony of Virginia. There it became the established

religion, as it did in the colonies of New York, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. It retained this status until the Revolutionary War in 1776. During the eighteenth century it gained a substantial foothold in New England and the Middle Colonies, especially in the larger towns. The colonial church suffered from these causes: (a) it did not have enough ministers to care for its parishes; (b) a number of the ministers who did come to America were worldly-minded men; (c) there were no American bishops to oversee the work.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War plunged the Anglican Church in America into serious difficulties. Many of the clergy and laity were naturally loyal supporters of the British crown. Most of the clergy fled to Canada or England. However, many of the people loyally supported the Revolutionary cause. Two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Anglicans; so were George Washington and other revolutionary leaders.⁵

When peace was finally declared in 1783, the Anglican Church in America was practically in a state of ruin. It was disestablished and out of favor on all sides. However, difficult as the road was, Samuel Seabury was consecrated a bishop in Scotland and William White and Samuel Provost were elevated to the episcopal office by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This gave the American Church the historical episcopal succession which it desired. The general convention in 1789 saw the union of all bodies, the revision and ratification of the Prayer Book, and the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.⁶ For a time the Church's growth was slow, but in 1811, it took a new lease on life and has since developed into one of the strong churches of America.

The rise of the Oxford movement in England divided the American Episcopalians into two camps: the Ritualistic or High Church party and the Evangelical or Low Church party. As a result of this controversy, a

5 For details see Brown, pp. 288-296.

6 At this point it would be interesting to read the Preface to the American Book of Prayer.

schism arose in 1873, when Bishop Cummins, a leader of the Evangelical party, withdrew with a group of sympathizers and established the Reformed Episcopal Church.⁷

The Episcopal Church, like many other churches, was torn asunder by the Civil War. Fortunately, however, soon after the war it regained its unity. Like the Established Church of England, this group is deeply interested in a Christian Union. A World Conference of Faith and Order aiming at a union of all Christendom, which originated with this body, was held in 1927 in Lausanne, Switzerland. For various reasons, however, which need not be recited here, no tangible results were achieved by this convention.⁸

III. CHURCH POLITY.

1. *Underlying Principles.* "The Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church hold that three orders of the ministry—bishops, priests and deacons—have existed in the Church from the earliest times and that the continuance of these orders is desirable. They, therefore, admit no one to their ministry who has not been ordained in the manner prescribed in their Ordinal, or otherwise received episcopal ordination or consecration." (Preface to Ordinal.)

2. *Episcopal Consecration.* Regular consecration calls for the imposition of hands by at least three duly consecrated bishops in undisputed apostolic succession. The bishop must first have been a deacon and a priest; when duly ordained he is the highest officer in the Church.

3. *The Bishop's Canonical Duties.* They are as follows: To rule over his own diocese; to preside at the diocesan conventions; to visit the parishes of his diocese every three years; to confirm the catechumens; to receive postulants for orders; to ordain deacons and priests; to install priests in the parishes; to assist in the consecration of other bishops; to perform, in addition to these duties, any church functions belonging to priests.

⁷ See our discussion of this group together with a similar very small secession in England at the close of this chapter.

⁸ See this book on Eastern Orthodox Churches, Chapter I., p. 82.

4. *The Duties of the Priests are:* to preach the Word; to administer the sacraments; to absolve from sin; to prepare the catechumens for confirmation; to marry; to bury; to administer the various spiritual concerns of the parish; to consecrate the churches.

5. *The Deacon* is commissioned to assist the priest in divine service; to assist in the ministry of the communion, to read Scripture and homilies in the Church, to teach the catechism; in absence of the priest to baptize infants; to preach when admitted thereto by the bishop; to search for the sick, poor and impotent people of the parish; to follow them and to be a medium of support in need.

6. *Lay Readers* are employed in these churches; but they do not belong to the ministry, and must be licensed for their work by the bishops.

7. *Organization.* a. *The Anglican Church.* Two convocations exercise legislative control of this church. The Archbishop or Metropolitan, of whom there are two (Canterbury and York), preside over these convocations, which consist of two Houses each. The Upper House is composed of the bishops, deans, archdeacons and abbots of the various dioceses; while the Lower House consists of the clerical representatives.

The convocations cannot assemble without royal permission, and their legislation must be approved by Parliament before it can become authoritative.

b. *The Protestant Episcopal Church.* The parish is presided over by the priest or rector and the vestry. The vestry, which is composed of two wardens and several vestrymen performs the functions of a board of trustees.

The *Diocese* is made up of at least six parishes and six priests, at the head of which is the diocesan bishop. In each of these districts there is a Diocesan Convention which administers the government of the diocese. It is composed of the bishop, all the clergy and at least one layman from each congregation. When the convention is not sitting, it is represented by a standing committee composed of clergy and laymen.

A *Missionary District* is a territory which has not yet been formed into a diocese. The *Provinces*, of which there are eight, are made up of the various dioceses and

missionary districts for the purpose of unity and coöperation in the work of the whole church.

The Synod, which is composed of four priests, four laymen and all the bishops of a given province, has charge of the governmental affairs of the province.

The *General convention* which holds its sessions triennially, is the highest authority in the church. It consists of two Houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies. The House of Bishops is made up of all the diocesan bishops, all the bishop coadjutors, and all the bishops who have retired on account of age or disability. The presiding Bishop is elected for a six years' term. The House of Deputies is composed of representatives from all the dioceses and missionary districts. The former are each entitled to not more than four priests and four communicant laymen and the latter to one priest and one layman as delegates.

These two Houses convene separately, but either house may propose legislation. The two Houses must agree before any legislation can be passed.

IV. OFFICIAL DOCTRINE.

Main sources: The Ecumenical Creeds, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, including the "Homilies" (cf. art. 35 of the Thirty-nine Articles).

1. The Ecumenical Creeds.

The Anglican Church receives all three of these ancient creeds of the Church, although it has had a considerable controversy stimulated by its "Protestant" faction on the Athanasian Creed. In conferences with the Eastern Orthodox churches, the Anglican Church was advised to omit the "*filioque*" from the Nicene Creed as a basis of Union. The Protestant Church of America excludes the Athanasian Creed from formal subscription. Concerning the Apostles' Creed the American edition of the Prayer Book shows a critical attitude to the *descensus* phrase in the Apostles' Creed by saying: "Any churches may, instead of the words 'He descended into hell' use the words, 'He went into the place of the departed spirits,' which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed." The Methodists, developing out of Anglicism, omit the *descensus* altogether.⁹

⁹ Cf. their Twenty-five Articles.

2. The Thirty-nine Articles.¹⁰

a. If interpreted in the literal and historic sense, these articles express the *ecumenical position* on the persons of the Trinity, essentially as the Church has received it through the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds.

b. They concur largely with the Lutheran Church on *anthropology and Soteriology* as did also the Calvinistic Confessions. On the extent of man's natural depravity, however, the statement is weak (art. 9): "Man is very far gone from original righteousness." The extent of man's natural depravity as the Lutherans and Reformed Confessions have it, is not indicated.

c. On the sacraments they favor Luther on baptism and Calvin on the eucharist. On the sacraments in general (art. 15) they speak like the Augsburg Confession in art. 13 on the "Use of the Sacraments." The sacraments are "not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will toward us, by which he does work invisibly in us, and does not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him." Baptism (cf. art. 26) is said to be a "sign of regeneration or new birth." Thus baptismal regeneration, while not expressly taught, seems to be implied. But if one reads the Prayer Book on baptism then the Lutheran conception is very evident (see below). On the eucharist, art. 18, we read: "The bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ." It is "given, taken and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith." Here we have in Calvin's manner the blending of Lutheran and Reformed terms, depending upon the interpretation for their meaning.¹¹

Against Rome this article has 18 decisive expressions: "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of

¹⁰ Prints are to be found: At the conclusion of the Prayer Book; also in Schaff, *Creeds* 4. III, 467-516. In this work, together with the Latin edition of 1563, the English edition of 1571 and the American revision of 1801, are printed in parallel columns for comparative study.

¹¹ See in our *History of Christian Thought*, Book III, chap. 6 on Calvin. Cf. Calvin's *Institutes*, Bk. IV, chap. 17; also *Formula of Concord*, Part II, chap. 7.

bread and wine) cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, over-throweth the nature of the sacrament and hath given rise to many superstitions." Reservation is expressly rejected.

d. On *Predestination* and election their pronouncement is carefully made: Article 17 speaks only of the election of saints unto eternal life.

e. On the *Church* (art. 19) we read: "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinances."

f. The Articles (art. 37) admit the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical. Of course, this pertains only to the Anglican Church; it is not so in the American Church.

g. There are no *Romanistic tendencies* in these articles, but, on the contrary, strong condemnation of the chief error of Rome, namely: the supremacy of the pope; placing on a par with the Scriptures, or making superior to them, the apocryphal books; good works as a matter of merit; works of supererogation; purgatory; pardon by the priest; worship of images and relics; invocation of the saints; the use of Latin worship; seven sacraments; *opus operatum* in the use of sacraments; transubstantiation; reservation and admiration of the host; *Corpus Christi* procession; sacrifice of the mass; masses for the living and the dead; communion in only one kind for the laity. In opposition to these Roman abuses, the Articles uphold supremacy of the Holy Scriptures, justification by faith, good works as the fruitage of faith, the two sacraments, the doctrine of the church.¹² Schaff maintains that Articles 1, 2, 11, 19 and 25 have their origin in the Augsburg Confession, the verbiage often being identical. Articles 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12 and 20 show dependence upon another Lutheran Confession, namely the Wuerttemberg Confession of Brenz. Articles 17, 28 and 29 point to a Reformed or Calvinistic source.¹³

h. *That Eclectic Interpretation of the "Articles."* In the acceptance of the Articles here there is room for

¹² Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. I, pp. 622-649.

¹³ For parallel comparison see Schaff, *ut supra*.

much mental reservation. The subscribers can attach their own meaning to them. The three parties, Low Church, Broad Church and High Church, have been able to demonstrate to their own satisfaction that their individual interpretations are based absolutely on the Articles. On this matter we quote Schaff: "Moderate High Churchmen and Arminians, who dislike Calvinism, represent them (the Articles) as purely Lutheran; Anglo-Catholics and Tractarians, who abhor Lutheranism and Calvinism, endeavor to conform them as much as possible to the contemporary decrees of the Council of Trent; Calvinistic and Low Churchmen find in them substantially their own creed."¹⁴

To specify: the famous Tract 90, of the Oxford Movement under the title, "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," aimed to show that these "Articles, which had hitherto been looked upon as a bulwark of Protestantism, did not necessarily condemn the teaching of the Church of Rome, and can indeed be interpreted in such a way that even professing Catholics could accept them."¹⁵

Another Catholic writer makes this statement: "It is quite evident, therefore, that the Articles would be understood by the clergy who first subscribed to them as Articles of Peace for the Preservation of Unity. They were not religious tests or Articles of Faith; they were made as comprehensive as possible, and they were to be interpreted and understood in accordance with the general rule of Catholic tradition, i. e., in the Catholic sense."¹⁶

When the Articles cannot be strained far enough to establish a given point, recourse is had to the Bible, or to the Prayer Book, or tradition, or whatever is most convenient. Thorough-going Catholics would gladly erase the Articles from the memory of men. Their hope had been within the Church that the new Prayer Book would appear without them. But this hope has not been realized.

i. *A Closing Criticism of the Articles.* The difficulty with the Articles is their fundamental eclecti-

¹⁴ Ibid, vol. I p. 622.

¹⁵ Kaye-Smith, p. 48.

¹⁶ Staley, *The Catholic Religion*, p. 386.

cism and indefiniteness. They combine tenets from different theological systems with the hope that they will prove acceptable to the largest majority of men who are at liberty to interpret them in various ways. Their crucial fault is their comprehensiveness.

In England theological issues were secondary to political and ecclesiastical considerations. The English Reformation was caused by an ecclesiastical revolt rather than by a theological rebirth. In this revolt the episcopate was saved. Hence the lack of real theological stamina; and hence, too, the doctrinal laxity which has become typical of Anglicanism. It must be admitted, too, that the British mind, whose genius is practicality and compromise, had a great deal to do with the indefinite character of the doctrinal statements of the Articles.

3. The Book of Common Prayer.

a. *Significance of the Prayer-Book.* The Prayer-Book which has gone through many revisions, is the authoritative expression of the Anglican Churches also on matters of doctrine. We quote the following: "The Book of Common Prayer, which is put into our hands by the Church, is at once the law of our worship and our belief. When the question is raised, what does the American Church teach, the obvious source to which we turn for an answer is the Prayer-Book."¹⁷

b. *Doctrines on the Prayer-Book.* (1) *On the Ministry.* We quote from the Prayer-Book itself: "It is evident to all men, diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons . . . and therefore to the intent that these Orders may be continued . . . no man shall be accounted or taken to be a bishop, priest or deacon in this church . . . except he . . . has received the episcopal consecration or ordination." In the Office of Institution we read this: "O Holy Jesus, who hast purchased to thyself an universal Church, and hast promised to be with ministers of the apostolic succession to the end of time . . ." The special interest of the general church public, particularly of the evangelical camps, is that the validity of non-episcopal ordination is disputed.

17 Barry and Delany, p. 104.

(2) *On the Sacraments.* The catechism of the Prayer-Book defines a sacrament thus: "An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us; ordained by Christ Himself as a means whereby we receive the same and as a pledge to assure us thereof." "There are two sacraments as generally necessary to salvation: that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." A Sacrament has two parts: "The outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace."

According to the catechism in the Prayer-Book, *baptism* is a sacrament "whereby I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." In the order for baptism the priest prays that the candidates, "coming to thy holy baptism, may receive the remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration." After baptism the subjects are said to be "regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." When we discussed the expression on baptism in the "Articles," we took note of their Lutheran leaning; here the teaching is very clear. It should not be overlooked that this Lutheran and Anglican teaching on baptism is originally the Roman Catholic conception, following Augustine. Baptism is the field where Catholicism and Lutheranism kept in agreement.¹⁸

The Eucharist, according to Anglicanism, is the sacrament which was instituted "for the continued remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ." The inward part of the sacrament is the "Body and Blood of Christ which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Thus it is only the "faithful" who receive the body and blood of Christ, i. e., they who can receive them, the heavenly gift, to the "strengthening and refreshing" of their souls. The apparent doctrine of the "real presence" is similarly weakened by the words which immediately follow: "Take, eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving."

Note: To feed on Christ in our heart by faith is Calvin's conception of the Lord's presence in the eucharist. It is a spiritual, or as Hodge put it in his *Dogmatics*, a "dynamic presence;" not a "real presence" such as that of Art. 10 in the Augsburg Confession, which

¹⁸ See in this book chapter 2 on Roman Catholicism p. 127; also our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. I chapter 12.

did not include the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Luther, and following him the Formula of Concord, taught: The body of Christ is received "not only by the godly but also by the unworthy and unbelieving although to their hurt," referring to II Corinthians 11:27. The participation is spiritual, but at the same time it is "sacramental."¹⁹ Compare the conversation between Luther and Bucer at the formulation of the Wittenberg Concord, 1536.²⁰

(3) *On Church Rites*, the Prayer-Book furnishes formulas for matrimony, burial and ordination. Ordination, confirmation and matrimony are sacred rites, but they are not designated as sacraments. No place is given to extreme unction, although High Churchmen often practice it. In the burial service fitting commemoration of the dead is given, and prayers are offered for them.

(4) *On Order of Worship*. The services of the Prayer-Book are legally required to be used upon the occasions for which they are provided, but serious deviations are sometimes tolerated for the sake of avoiding controversy. For the ceremonial accompanying the services, the Prayer-Book makes only a minimum provision, and it is generally regarded as proper to supplement this at discretion, provided no specific requirement or prohibition of the official liturgy is violated. The same is true regarding the use of the vestments. A moderate difference on practice in matters of an adiaphoron, as long as it is left to be an adiaphoron, is not discredited. Only when the stress upon these things becomes such that the adiaphoron is converted into an essential of fundamental significance does serious criticism arise.²³

(5) *Estimate of the Prayer-Book and its Revisions*. Credit for the Prayer-Book goes back to Archbishop Cranmer who was largely responsible for the first edition of 1549, and the more Protestant version of 1552. In 1559, under Elizabeth, a revision tending to revert to the original edition was made. Not many changes have since taken place. The American Book of Common Prayer dates from 1789. Since 1789 the American

19 FC, Part II, chap. 7, 60-71.

20 See our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. III, chapter 6.

23 On the Adiaphoron see J. L. Neve, on Art. 15 of the Augsburg Confession on "Rites and Usages" in his book *"Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church,"* 2nd. ed., 1926, pp. 256-261

Prayer-Book has been twice revised, once in 1892 and again in 1928. Both revisions were governed by a desire to increase the richness and flexibility of the services. In the latest revision a number of special prayers were added, the order of several of the services was altered, the number of canticles in the Morning Prayer was increased, prayers for the departed were inserted in the Communion Service and the Burial Office, the Baptismal Service was revised, the promise of obedience was omitted from the Marriage Service, and a number of minor changes were made. About the same time an effort was made to obtain a revision of the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, which had not been altered since 1660. A revised Prayer-Book favored by the Anglo-Catholics was approved by Convocation in 1927, but was defeated in the House of Commons. A new attempt with slight verbal change presented to the House of Commons, was again rejected (1928), after a two day debate (by 266 to 220). The Manchester Guardian declared: "Its rejection was due to one thing only—to its handling of the burning question of the eucharist! Against that the whole feeling of the nation rebelled.²¹ Are the elements to be reserved or not? Dean W. R. Inge wrote in connection with a historical review of the Relation of Church and State in England: "The Protestants who have too long been treated as a negligible quantity have watched with indignation the Romanizing of the services. . . . They see clearly that if reservation is allowed, adoration of the elements cannot be stopped."²²

As to the tokens of piety, the Prayer-Book stresses prayer, fasting and alms. Festivals and holy days are observed; the communion is celebrated monthly or every Sunday, as the congregation elects; confession is advised. The Catholic party frequently uses the sign of the cross, practices reservation of the eucharist, uses the rosary, etc.

From a literary viewpoint the Book of Common Prayer is a gem and a monument. As to its content it is also a gem for devotional purposes. To both of these

21 Reprinted in *The Living Age*, Aug. 1928.

22 *Yale Review*, vol. 17, 1927-28, pp. 655.

characteristics it owes its wide circulation and use. Much of its popularity has been due to the fact that for a long time it was the only Protestant Prayer-Book available in the English language. It bears marks of influence from at least three sources: (a) Catholic in its doctrine of orders; (b) Lutheran on baptism, in the general character of the liturgy, as well as similarities in some of the offices; (c) Calvinistic in its doctrine of the eucharist. The fact is, the Prayer-Book was so composed, and subsequently changed, that it might prove acceptable to men of different tastes and theological views. Hence it could not consistently uphold any one theological system. Churchmen must be content to read into it their own foregone conclusions.

V. PARTY DOCTRINES.

It is here that we see the elements of comprehensiveness at work. As we have seen, these churches (Anglican and Episcopal) give conflicting accounts of themselves. They are divided into three differing theological parties—Low, Broad and High.

1. The Low Church Party.

The Low Churchman represents the "Protestant" section of the Episcopal Church. He regards himself as an evangelical believer. He insists upon a "vivid personal experience." His difference from other Protestants consists largely in his use of the Prayer-Book and his belief in episcopal ordination. Sacerdotalism is not a feature of his ecclesiastical equipment. In his judgment the episcopate and the sacraments are good and helpful, but they must not be used to overshadow the greater thing which is immediate faith in Jesus Christ. The sacraments are held to be symbols rather than real means of grace. The Bible has a high place in his esteem. He is Lutheran on the doctrine of justification, and either Calvinistic or Arminian on the doctrine of fore-ordination and election, and conciliatory to the other churches of Protestantism.

2. The Broad Church Party.

The adherent to this party represents the modernistic or rationalistic camp in the Anglican and Episcopal

Churches. Reason is regarded as his guide and source of authority. He likes the ideas of S. T. Coleridge.²⁴ Character is esteemed more highly than faith. The sacraments are helpful rites, but they possess no sacramental content. The Broad Churchman does not deny the valid ordination of non-episcopal ministers. On the contrary he often invites them into his chancel and pulpit. He is very tolerant. Among Broad Churchmen may be found Trinitarians, Arians, Pelagians, Modernists, and sometimes out-and-out skeptics. It is not strange to hear them deny the virgin birth of Christ, His essential deity, the miracles, the vicarious atonement, the resurrection, the inspiration of the Bible, original sin, eternal retribution, etc.

3. The High Church Party.

This group emphasizes the historic continuity, the value of tradition as a norm of authority, and the ultimate authority of the Church. They represent the Catholicizing, Romanizing or medieval tendency of the Church. In its extreme form, Anglo-Catholicism is Roman without the pope. It is much interested in union with churches of Eastern Orthodoxy.

Concerning the Church, they teach that only communions having a valid episcopal succession belong to the true church. Other denominations are completely out of the fold.

Toward the Bible their attitude is this: (1) the Church wrote the inspired books which form the Bible; (2) the Church separated the inspired books from other writings; (3) the Church alone can rightly interpret the Bible. They lay great stress upon all the traditional seven sacraments, and especially upon the Holy Communion, or the "Mass" as they commonly call it. In their teaching concerning this sacrament they uphold a strong doctrine of the Real Presence, often bordering on transubstantiation.

VI. MODERN ANGLICANISM.

Many of the Anglicans and Episcopalians look upon their historical trait of "comprehensiveness" as a distinct

²⁴ See our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. V, Sect. II, Chap. 1.

advantage. They call attention to the fact that the necessity of mediating between conflicting positions within Anglicanism has been productive of much stimulating thought and created a large and fascinating literature. Much of this literature has clustered about the debated topics of the Thirty Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and the Liturgy, because the use of these standards was law for Anglicanism as the established state church. We mention: Trinity, Incarnation, Sin, Atonement through Christ, Baptism as the fundamental means of grace through a justification to be followed by holiness of life, and the Eucharist (with closed communion in the High Church party) on the basis of an "apostolic succession" by a ministry responsible to an Episcopal Church. These great subjects have been dealt with critically in very thorough historical and philosophically grounded treatments. (Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. II, Bk. V, Pt. 2.) The Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in America require no unreserved subscription to the confessional standards, and consequently they give to their theologians much liberty in their interpretation. And then there had been (in England as well as in Germany) the influence from the philosophers, which widened the sphere for the functioning of that comprehensive principle: John Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity," Thomas Hobbes' emancipation of official ethics from the Church, David Hume's philosophy of doubt, followed by the influences from German Idealism (through Coleridge with his messages from Lessing and Kant). With Schleiermacher and with the German critics of the Bible in the 19th century (Baur and Strauss and Wellhausen) the revolutionary influences from the Continent were started. In England, on the whole, the theological liberalism was different from that which had grown under the influence of Rationalism in Germany. But there, also, developments have taken place, which militated against the historical meaning of the most sacred things, especially in the Prayer-Book. We can use reasonable philological criticism of the Scriptures and the historical approach, but there are lines of thought in which the conservative and liberalistic theologies simply will not blend.

For our positions in regard to these matters see the Appendix B.

The historical method of Bible study in England found its first supporters among some of the liberal Low Church contributors to that much criticized collection of *Essays and Reviews*, first published in 1855, and in J. W. Colenso, the liberal Bishop of Natal in his publications on the Pentateuch, 1868-79. Leading in the rejection of the infallibility of Scripture was Bishop Charles Gore in his essay on "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," in the famous volume entitled *Lux Mundi*, 1881. Cf. Gore's later work of three volumes on *Reconstruction of Belief*, 1921-4. As to an estimate of *Lux Mundi*, cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, referred to *ante*.

There is a volume by seven Anglican scholars under the title "Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation", edited by A. E. J. Rawlinson, New York. (Year 1928). A critic offers the following observation: "While diverging in certain details these writers all agree in these fundamental convictions: (1) That Christ is divine, and we cannot understand Him on the basis of Humanism; (2) That Christianity teaches a doctrine of God that is not compatible with materialistic behaviorism; (3) That the Church rightly interpreted Christ along Trinitarian lines, which must be distinguished from Tritheism which is rationally and psychologically untenable." We would say, however, that to the Ancient Church, Christ was more than "divine" in present day meaning of this adjective; He is "very God of very God." (Nicene Creed). And while "Tritheism" must be avoided we must guard against a definition of this term which after all would do away with the Deity of Christ and the trinitarian concept of God. The charge against Paul of Samosata was that he had betrayed the "mystery" of godliness (I Tim. 3:16). Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. I, Chap. X. See also our *Intro. to the Symb. Books*, 2nd. ed., p. 74, and Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 38. For further literature by Anglicans we refer to "Theism" in *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1921; and "The Vindication of Religion" in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, 1926. It must not be overlooked that among the Anglicans the

Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are generally admitted not to be philosophically demonstrable; depending rather upon revelation for their support. But there are also the writers who seek to show that these dogmas at least suggest answers to some of the problems raised by purely philosophical theism.

Much has been written by modern Anglicans on the subject of *grace*. Along this line there is the cleavage between the High Church and the Low Church theologians. The view of the former is connected with their conception of the Church as an institution, productive of grace in the meaning of magical sacramentalism; the latter speaks of grace as a gracious attitude of God to man, if the view in this camp has not degenerated into Pelagianism or Humanism. This cleavage could be observed at Oxford and Edinburgh (1937).

To this we add the following communication from a friend: "In regard to the sacraments and the ministry the two chief parties of the Anglican Communion continue to differ more than on other subjects. While many of the liberal Anglo-Catholics are prepared to admit historical weakness of the claim to an uninterrupted apostolic succession in the episcopate, they continue to affirm the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry and to attach greater importance to the preservation of its traditional form than most Low Churchmen do. The Low Churchmen, true to their tradition, recognize only the two sacraments of baptism and eucharist. They generally object to the association of 'regeneration' with the former, and their teaching concerning the latter is substantially Zwinglian. The Anglo-Catholics accept seven sacraments, and insist upon a strong teaching of the Real Presence of Christ in the eucharist, but many of them are coming to look upon the phrase 'baptismal regeneration' with almost as much disfavor as the Evangelicals do."

VII. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHRISTENDOM.

Notwithstanding the peculiar disunion in faith and practice, these churches have produced many devoted men and also able defenders of the faith. Due to their aristocratic traditions and their cultivation of the esthe-

tic, they have largely attracted the upper and wealthy classes. They have also been given to worldliness in society and clubs; in which respect they are the direct opposite of the Puritans.²⁷

The greatest contributions of Anglicanism to universal Christendom do not lie along creedal, doctrinal and confessional lines. The English mind, which is fundamentally practical, turned its talents into different channels. We shall note some of them.

There was the outburst of literary genius in the Elisabethan period. Dr. George P. Fisher²⁸ attributes the impulse of this literary phenomenon to the rise of Protestantism.

The choicest contribution of the English Reformation was the English Bible. Canon Deane says, "The English Bible is the chief glory of British prose."²⁹ Dr. Philip Schaff characterizes it as "the best ever made" and as "the chief nursery of piety among the Protestant denominations of the English-speaking race."³⁰

Along with the English Bible goes the English Book of Common Prayer. No other Protestant service-book is so universally known, so frequently referred to, or so generally made use of. It is a truly national institution. Its diction is classical, and "sounds in the ear like solemn music from a higher and better world."³¹

Among other noteworthy contributions of the Anglican Church we may mention church music of the highest order, stately architecture, inspiring liturgical forms.

VIII. CLAIMS AND AIMS.

It is sometimes claimed that the Anglican Church is the "Church of the Middle Way," because it contains within it the best in Romanism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism. It also claims to be the best fitted of all the churches to bring about the unity of Christendom. In this connection reference may be made to the well-

27 See an article on "Comprehensiveness or Clarity," in the *American Church Monthly*, May, 1926; also Barry and Delaney, *The Parish Priest*, Chap. III, 41 and 43.

28 *The Reformation*, p. 533.

29 *How to enjoy the Bible*, p. 31.

30 *Creeks*, Vol. 1, p. 595.

31 Schaff, *Ibid.* p. 595.

known Lambeth Conference; also to the World Conference on Faith and Order, held at Lausanne in 1927. The Lambeth Articles insist on the historic episcopate. For this reason and others, these efforts toward union have achieved meager results.³²

IX. STATISTICS.

Statistics for the Anglican Church are not available. The following are the statistics for the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

1. *Organization*: 8 provinces, 72 dioceses, 31 missionary districts, 3603 parishes, 8272 congregations.

2. *Clergy*: 71 diocesan bishops, 23 bishop coadjutors, 15 suffragan bishops, 29 missionary bishops, 12 bishops who have resigned, 5725 priests, 246 deacons, 90 monks, 500 nuns, 222 deaconesses, 4236 lay readers. Average salary for bishops, \$6,000; for priests, \$3,000; for deacons, \$2,000.

3. *Educational institutions*: 50 parochial schools, 1206 teachers, 18599 pupils; 8,200 Sunday schools, with 79,429 teachers and 482,253 scholars; one university, 14 colleges, 138 academies, 20 theological seminaries.

4. *Membership*: 1,723,937 baptized members; 1,167,081 confirmed and communing members. This is for America. It is estimated that Anglicans and Episcopalians throughout the world number about 27 millions.

X. HIGHER SCHOOLS.

1. *Colleges.*

University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; Bard College, Annandale, N. Y.; Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.; Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

2. *Theological Seminaries.*

General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.; Berkley Divinity School, Middleton, Conn.; Nashota House, Nashota, Wisc.; Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.; Seabury-Western Theological Seminary,

³² See J. L. Neve's brochure, *The Confessional Basis for a Reunited Church*, Lutheran Church Review, 1921.

Evanston, Ill.; Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; Church Divinity School of the Pacific, San Francisco, Calif.; College of St. John the Evangelist, Greeley, Colo.; Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Va.; The Du Bose Memorial Church Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.; Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio; The Theological School of Sewanee, Sewanee, Tenn.; The DeLancy Divinity School, Buffalo, N. Y.

XI. CHURCH PUBLICATIONS.

The Spirit of Missions (Monthly), New York City.

The Churchman, New York, N. Y.; The Living Church, Milwaukee, Wisc.; The Southern Churchman, Richmond, Va.; The Witness, Chicago, Ill.; The American Church Monthly, New York, N. Y.; Anglican Theological Review, Evanston, Ill.; The Chronicle, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

C. THE TWO SECESSIONS

I. The Free Church of England.

This small body of two bishops, about 30 ministers and about 1300 members was founded in England as an opposition to the Oxford movement. It is opposed to ecclesiasticism and sacramentalism, has a revised Prayer-Book and open communion.

II. The Reformed Episcopal Church.

In 1873 the Rev. G. D. Cummins led in the secession of a dissatisfied group of Episcopalians, which today numbers 8,428 members in 68 churches. It has a confession of 35 articles, which omits Christ's descent into Hades. It has a stronger expression on original sin than have the Anglicans. In the conception of Baptism and the Lord's Supper it follows the Reformed Churches. It rejects the "apostolic succession," making the bishop a presiding and directing officer. The use of a Liturgy and of the Prayer-Book is not obligatory. This church has an independent existence also in England with a considerable following.

Chapter Eight

The Methodist Church Family

Part One

THE METHODIST BODIES

Literature: At this place we can offer only a small part of the large **LITERATURE ON METHODISM**. For a full review of literature on Methodism up to the present, see the **Corpus Confessionum**, edited by C. Fabricius, XX, Vol. I on the Methodist Episcopal Church (W. D. Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1931).

ENCYCLOPEDIAS: The International Encyclopedia, 1927. The British Encyclopedia of all editions; the Protestantische Realencyclopedia 3, edited by A. Hauck, XIII, article by **J. L. Nuelsen**, on "Methodismus in Amerika," quoted by the letters PRE. See the English article in the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia. Up-to-date is the brief article in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (RGG 2, III, on Methodism, Tuebingen, J. C. Mohr, 1929).

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copal Church all these materials are referred to in the above mentioned Corpus Confessionum.

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British Methodism goes by the name of Wesleyan Methodism which has also an organization in the United States of America. The largest body of Methodists in America is the Methodist Episcopal Church. **J. F. Hurst**, The History of Methodism, 7 vols. I-III, British Methodism, by **T. E. Bridgen**; IV-VI, World-wide Methodism; VII, American Methodism, N. Y. 1902-4.

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I. EARLY HISTORY AND FIRST CONSTITUENCY OF METHODISM IN ENGLAND

1. *The Beginnings.* Methodism originated in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was a time of decay in the established church. Heart religion was at a low ebb. The churches were empty and their pastors were often inefficient men, even frivolous and worldly. In such a time in a Church of England rectory the Wesleys (John and Charles) were born of parents who were zealous for the Kingdom of Christ,

and were deeply concerned over the existing religious ills. John Wesley with his gift for organization is correctly spoken of as the special founder of Methodism. His brother Charles was an influential factor in spreading and establishing Methodism in America. While the brothers were attending Oxford University they affiliated with a group of earnest students who met for the cultivation of holiness through Bible study and prayer. Among them was also George Whitefield who died in 1770. The group was dubbed "Methodist", because of the regular methods which they observed not only in study but also in their devotions.

John Wesley later came in contact with the Moravians, first on board the ship, and then after landing in America (1736-8), and again after returning to England where he attended their services in London. The influences from these contacts were considerable in a number of ways. In May 29, 1738, upon hearing in a Moravian Church Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, the meaning of justification by faith was brought home to him as a personal matter. He said: "I felt my heart strangely warmed, I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."¹ He spoke much of the comfort found in the doctrine of justification by faith. From this time may be dated the effort of the Wesleys to call upon people for genuine repentance and the leading of a Christian life. This first evangelistic effort was the real beginning of Methodism.

Charles Wesley who died in 1788, became especially known as the nightingale or the "Paul Gerhardt" of Methodism, composing very many religious hymns.²

Whitefield was mentioned as one of that "Methodist" group in Oxford. When later, on his visit to America (1739-1741), he came to New England, Jonathan Edwards at Northampton invited him to preach four sermons which became the cause of the reawakening of his own historical revival. The reader will keep in mind that, different from the Wesleys, White-

1 J. A. Faulkner, *The Methodists*, p. 12.

2 Cf. P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom I*, 884.

field held predestinarian views. He died in America in 1770 and his body lies buried under the pulpit of Old South Presbyterian Church in Newburyport, Mass. It was the tremendous earnestness in the work of Edwards that impressed him with elements of truth in Calvin's doctrine of predestination.³

2. *Development towards Separate Organization.* At this time Wesley did not contemplate organizing a new denomination. Philip Schaff remarks: "Had the Church of England been as wise and politic as the Church of Rome, she would have encouraged and utilized the great revival of the eighteenth century for the spread of vital Christianity at home and abroad, and might have made the Wesleyan society an advocate of her own interests as powerful as the order of the Jesuits is of the papacy."⁴ The aim of Wesley was to reach the unchurched masses and convert them to Christ. To attain this he, together with Whitefield, introduced field preaching, since the people could not be induced to come into the church, and they were successful in attracting people by the thousands. Laymen were enlisted for this preaching in the open. This was the beginning of the widely practiced lay-preaching in the Methodist Church. In 1744, there were forty of them. Converts and inquirers were organized into "classes" and these multiplied so rapidly that here also it became necessary to use laymen as "class leaders."

In the ultimate break of the Methodists from the Church of England there were no doctrinal differences. Wesley emphasized the practical side of religion, and he announced it as his mission not to promulgate new theories of polity or theology but the "spreading of Scriptural holiness over these lands."⁵ The aim was to fill the theological forms with the spirit out of which the form was born. The Wesleys and their friends in England stood in parallel relation with Spener and Francke in Germany. For England they led a movement of remarkable significance. "It led the social discontent-

3 Cf. W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, pp. 14 f.

4 *Credentials* 1, 887.

5 Faulkner, *The Methodists*, p. 22.

ment of England at that time into religious channels, and thus perhaps saved England from the Revolution.”⁶

But at an early time the converts of the Wesleys were refused the Lord's Supper by the Anglican Churches. This moved Charles Wesley to give them the Communion. It was an important step in the direction of an independent denomination. In 1745, John Wesley wrote that he was willing to make any concession which conscience would permit, in order to live in harmony with the established church, but he could not give up the doctrines he was preaching, dissolve his “societies”, suppress lay preaching, or cease to preach in the open air. For many years he refused to sanction the administration of the sacraments by any except those who had been ordained by a bishop in the apostolic succession, and he himself hesitated to assume authority to ordain. In 1744, the “Annual Conference” was organized. Six years before John Wesley's departure, a governing conference of 100 men, carefully chosen by Wesley, was organized. This was done by the famous “Deed of Declaration” in 1784. These “One Hundred” were to perpetuate themselves by coöptation. At the death of John Wesley (1791), there were 119 conferences, 313 preachers and 76,968 members. In consequence of strong insistence on democracy in the organization of Methodism, in which preachers would have the same rights with the “One Hundred,” this ideal was finally realized, but not until 1877. From the beginning, through Wesley, the government was intended to be one from “the top down.” Methodism came out of Anglicanism, a church with an episcopal government which does not stress the consistency of theology, a trait which is even more pronounced in the Wesleyan movement. A church in which unity is not sought in the unison of one Faith needs for its unity monarchical or episcopal organization.

3. *Methodist Organizations in England.* Cf. p. 434 f. The continued unclarified relation of Wesley's followers to the official church brought causes for conflict. The societies insisted upon the right to have their preachers administer the Lord's Supper. This was gradually con-

ceded.⁷ Alexander Kilham (died 1798) was a strong advocate of democratic ideas. All distinction between ministers and laymen, he felt, should be done away with; the laity was to be the basis of all power. It was Kilham who was the chief factor in the organization of the first secession from Wesley's Methodism which issued in the *Methodist New Connection* with 5000 members (1797). The parent body at that time had a membership of 101,682. In 1827, another disruption occurred, again by pressing the principle that an official distinction between the ministry and the laity is not to be allowed. There was also opposition to the use of organs in the churches. This movement brought the *Protestant Methodists* into existence. In 1836, there was a protest against a school for the education of a ministry which had been established. This resulted in the organization of the *Wesleyan Methodist Association*. These last two gradually coalesced into a larger body of seceders, the *United Methodist Free Churches* (1857), representing about 40,000 members. In addition to these separations came another, the only one of doctrinal significance, namely the *Arminian Methodist Connection* (1837). Protest against "disorderly revivalism" had brought a reaction by groups of Methodists in agreement with Quaker principles: the *Quaker Methodists*, later the *Independent Methodist Churches*, (1806), the *Primitive Methodist* (1807-10), and the *Bible Christians* (1815). Of late a quite comprehensive union plan between practically all of the secessions and the parent body has been effected.⁸

II. BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

1. *Methodism in America* begins with the work of Barbara Heck and Philip Embury among some German and Irish Methodist immigrants in New York in 1766, and of Robert Strawbridge in Maryland about the same time. Captain Webb of the English army aided in the establishing of the church in New York, and

7 Cf. *Brit. Enc.*, 1891, XIII, pp. 4188.

8 As to a brief review of the details, see the *Britannica* and the *EGG* III, 2157. For a view of the present status see this book, pp. 434 f.

founded the church in Philadelphia in 1767 or 1768. But it was not strictly a church at that time, for at the first conference in Philadelphia in 1773, the following rule was adopted: "Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren in America is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."⁹

The strength of early Methodism was in the South. The first great Methodist revival took place in Virginia, (1776), the year when the American Revolution began. At that time American Methodism had 8,540 members, 89% of whom lived south of the Mason and Dixon line. What was the explanation? The North was occupied by Congregationalism, the middle colonies by the Presbyterians, and it was the South that was under the influence of the Established Church of England.¹⁰

When at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the clergy of the Church of England withdrew, it became necessary for the Methodists to care for a clergy of their own. In 1784, Wesley, holding the rank of presbyter in the Anglican Church, ordained Thomas Coke and sent him to America to superintend the church jointly with Francis Asbury (who had been sent by Wesley several years before). The Methodist Church of America was organized in Lovely Lane Chapel, Baltimore, December 24, 1784. Asbury was elected and ordained Superintendent by Coke. "In 1787, Asbury and Coke on their own motion took the title of bishop."¹¹ This was a deviation from practice among the Wesleyans in England. However, "the Methodist episcopate is not a separate and higher order of ministry, but an administrative office."¹² The conference system was adopted in 1796, when six conferences were established.

The marvelous growth of Methodism in America since 1784 to the present time is due in large part to the heroism of its preachers, lay and clerical. The work of its circuit riders is an important part of its history in

⁹ Faulkner, as cited, p. 55.

¹⁰ W. W. Sweet. op. cit., pp. 74-77.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 97.

¹² W. E. Garrison, *The March of Faith*, 1933, p. 180.

America, and to it is attributed the existence of a Methodist Church in almost every community in America.

As the Methodist Church grew in America, this body became divided over slavery, the secret order problem, episcopal form of government and other differences. There will be references to these matters later in connection with the individual organizations. And there we shall hear of the consummation of the Union of the Methodists North and South and of the Protestant Methodist Church. (See Sec. V on the Episcopal Organizations of World Methodism.)

2. *In Canada*, Lawrence Coughlin began work in Newfoundland in 1765. In 1781, William Black introduced Methodism in Nova Scotia, and in 1789, he was ordained by Coke as Superintendent of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. This part of the Church became the *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, aided from England. About the same time the Hecks, Emburys and others began work in Ontario, and from their efforts a *Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States* arose as a rival to the Wesleyans from England. In 1828, the former organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada independent of the American Church. These two bodies continued until 1884, when all the Methodists of Canada united, forming the *Methodist Church of Canada*. Plans, finally, were worked out for the merging of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists of Canada into one body. This union has been effected (June 10, 1925). As to the history and present character of this union, see our pertinent discussion in chapter 8 of this book on "The Union Bodies" (pp. 423 ff.).

In Canada the Methodist Church is not episcopal; instead, it has a polity much like that of the non-episcopal Methodists in the United States. Here is an interesting situation: In republican America the Methodist Church is largely episcopal (a "limited monarchy"); in imperial Canada it is representative (republican).

III. CONFESSIONAL GUIDES FOR DOCTRINE AND LIFE

Methodism had originally no doctrinal test, except by implication. There was only one condition for

membership in the early Methodist "Societies", namely, the sincere intention "to flee from the wrath to come"—a phrase of John Wesley—"the desire to be saved from sin and this to be proved by avoiding evil, by doing good, and by attending upon the ordinances of God."

1. Still we can speak of confessional guides. By this we mean John Wesley's revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England into the "*Twenty-five Articles of Methodism*," published and adopted in 1784.

The Methodist 25 Articles are printed in Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, III, 807 ff; also by C. Fabricius in the *Corpus Confessionum*, pp. 9 ff. Compare the Anglican 39 Articles (Schaff, III, 486 ff). As to the actual attitude of later and present-day Methodism to its 25 Articles, see our discussion below, section 2.

In order to convey to the reader in a few brief statements the relation of Methodism to the other churches of Christendom *confessionally*, we offer the following as given in a Membership Manual of the Methodist Episcopal Church:¹³

There is but one God, but he has revealed himself as a Trinity—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. (Art. 1).

Jesus is the God-man. He was truly man and truly God. (Art. 2).

Jesus arose with His body and lives forever. (Art. 3). The descent of Christ to hell is omitted.

The Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son and coequal with both is a divine Person. (Art. 4).

The Bible in its canonical books, contains all we need to know to be saved and is our only sacred rule of faith and life. (Art. 5).

The Old Testament is sacred as well as the New Testament. The Old Testament ceremonies and customs were for the Jewish people, but its general precepts are for all. (Art. 6).

All men inherit from their ancestors evil as well as good traits and desires. These inherited evil impulses incline us to do wrong, "continually" and are therefore called "birth-sins," or "original sin." (Art. 7). This Art. is much abbreviated. (Cf. Wheeler's "Exposition," p. 174 ff.)

Each of us has a free will and can choose right or wrong, but we are unable without the help of God to live a good and holy life. (Art. 8).

13 Here is the place for calling special attention to a work which is an honor to historic Methodism. It is by Henry Wheeler, *History and Exposition of the Twenty-five Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1908. Among the "Historical Introductions" of confessional writings it occupies a prominent place and deserves to be known far more than it is.

We are saved by faith and faith alone. No one can be saved by his good works. (Art. 9).

Good works that are done in the right spirit are pleasing to God. They are the necessary fruits of a Christian life. (Art. 10).

No one can do more good than he ought to do, so there can be no works of "supererogation" to be credited to other people. (Art. 11).

A Christian who falls into sin can receive God's forgiveness if he truly repents. (Art. 12).

The visible Church of Christ is comprised of believing people banded together to provide for the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. (Art. 13).

Baptism is a symbol of the new birth, of the beginning of the Christian life. (Art. 17).

The Lord's Supper is a symbol of Christ's suffering and death for us. The bread and wine are not changed into Christ's body. (Art. 18).

Every church or denomination, has a right to adopt and use a ritual of its own. (Art. 22).

The government of the United States is and ought to be free and independent. (Art. 23).

Christians have a right to own private property, if they use it in a Christian way. (Art. 24).

It is right for the sake of justice and truth to take an oath before a proper official. (Art. 25).

Among the doctrinal standards of Methodism are the Catechisms.¹⁴ And in addition many of the leading principles in the Faith of Methodism and its life are expressed in a ritual,¹⁵ and in Rules for life of laymen and ministers.¹⁶

But while the Twenty-five articles are recognized by all Methodists as a kind of a historical guide, as to where Wesley and the founders of Methodism stood and as related to the differences from Rome, from Lutheranism, Calvinism, the Anglicans, the Baptists, the Quakers and from the Unitarians, yet neither these articles nor the published rules are absolute doctrinal laws to be followed. The fact is that Methodism is not based upon doctrinal differences. As we learned: Methodism was an evangelistic movement; a reaction against the deadness of religion and morals existing in the early 18th century. It had the same mission as the pietistic move-

14 *The Corpus Confessionum* (Fabricius), pp. 610 ff. prints five different catechisms. Among these is the Standard Catechism, English-German text of 1905, with Wesley's writing on the Character of a Methodist appended, pp. 689-710, also Nast's *Larger Catechism* of 1868, pp. 610-643.

15 *Ibid.*, pp 367-436.

16 *Pages* 18 ff.

ment in Germany.¹⁷ Bishop McConnell concludes: "What is distinctive in Methodism, then, is the emphasis upon religious experience. There are not Methodist doctrines so much as Methodist spirit in the observance of ritual. There is not Methodist conduct so much as an inner life out of which conduct is supposedly spontaneously to arise."¹⁸

2. In agreement with what has here been said on the confessional character of Methodism it must now be added that the *Sermons of John Wesley* (44, later 9 added), together with his "Notes on the New Testament" were declared by him to be for all future the "standards" of Methodism. This surely was a remarkable situation. To put it into the words of E. H. Sugden who in 1921 published these sermons in two volumes: "Methodism is the only branch of the Christian Church which bases its theology on preached sermons. This shows the emphasis which it lays upon practical doctrines of religion, and the comparatively small importance which it attaches to the more speculative and theoretical aspects of divine truth." Of these sermons the author himself writes that he wanted to get away from "formality, from mere outside religion, which has almost driven heart religion out of the world." "I have endeavored to describe the true, the scriptural experimental religion."¹⁹

3. *Unsuccessful Endeavor to Secure the Permanency of these Confessional Guides.* To Wesley, towards the end of his life, the obligatory character of these "standards" was a matter of much concern. He prepared a formula in the so-called "Model-Deed," incorporated by him in the "Large Minutes." "It is one of the duties of the trustees to permit no person to preach or conduct worship on the trust property who maintains, promulgates or teaches any doctrine contrary to what is contained in John Wesley's 'Notes on the New Testament' and in the first four volumes of his 'Sermons' as at present published."²⁰ Under question 59 of the Large Minutes Wesley asks: "What can be done to secure the

17 Cf. A. W. Nagler, *Pietism and Methodism*. Faulkner, pp. 22, 7-36. A. F. Jennings, pp. 1-7. Cf. Luccock and Hutchinson, p. 83 ff.

18 McConnell, *Essentials of Methodism*, pp. 8-9.

19 Sugden, op. cit., Introduction to I, pp. 32 f.

20 Sugden, *Ibid.* p. 17.

future union of the Methodists?" He suggests that all ministers should sign an agreement "to preach the old Methodist doctrines. . . contained in the Minutes: Justification by faith, entire sanctification, the atonement of our Lord, assurance of pardon by the witness of the Spirit."²¹

But in this endeavor Wesley had aimed at something that was contradictory to the church which he had founded. Methodism was not a confessional church. It was a pietistic movement within Anglicanism with an emphasis upon evangelism. Wesley had trained his followers to an aversion of confessional definitions and theological distinctions. In fact, the 25 articles are simply an abbreviation of the 39 articles of Anglicanism. They did not grow out of the life and genius of Methodism as the Augsburg Confession grew out of the life of Lutheranism and the Westminster Standards out of the life of Presbyterianism. The denominational differences between Rome on the one side, and the Socinians on the other were of no interest to Wesley. "As to all opinions which do not strike at the root of Christianity we think and let think." So he wrote in his "Character of a Methodist." And this is a much quoted paragraph on the subject: "I will not quarrel with you about any mere opinion. Only see that your heart be right toward God; that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ; that you love your neighbor and walk as your Master walked; and I desire no more. I am sick of opinions; I am weary to hear them. My soul loathes this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion; give me an humble and gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy; a man laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labor of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, whosoever they are, and whatsoever opinion they are of."²²

So the followers of Wesley had been trained against doctrinal tests of church fellowship. He had a special interest in his "Sermons" and "Notes on the New Testament." He was hoping that a study of these would keep

²¹ Ibid. p. 19.

²² See G. T. Rowe, *The Meaning of Methodism*, p. 24.

his followers from yielding to the principles of Socinianism, Arianism and Unitarianism.

At the Conference in 1812, it had been directed that at the annual District Meeting certain questions should be asked in regard to each minister; among them was the following question: "Does he believe and preach our doctrines?" In 1814 and again in 1827, the Conference, feeling the need of a more exact definition, made a list of the doctrines to which the "unequivocal assent" of every candidate for ordination is required. This list of doctrines in which belief was required included Trinity of Persons in the unity of the Godhead, the eternal Sonship of Christ, the total depravity of all men by nature in consequence of Adam's fall, the atonement made by Christ for the sins of all the human race, justification by faith, the absolute necessity of holiness both in heart and life, the direct witness of the Spirit, and the proper eternity of future rewards and punishments. The editor of Wesley's sermons, Sugden, whom we introduced and have been following, declares that the above resolutions "disgraced Methodism" and would never have had the consent of Wesley. "However, the resolution was passed, and has never been repealed. It was an unfortunate step." The actual law, then, is as follows: "That any minister who changes his views on doctrine, presumably in such a way that his new views are contrary to the standards, is bound by his promise given before his ordination, quietly to retire." It is interesting to note that in 1934, about a century later, we could read in the "Christian Century" a communication under the superscription: "Methodist Group Denies Any Attempt to Muzzle Liberal Pastors."²³ But for a characterization of Methodism of the 19th century we shall here give space to the following voice of truly religious Methodist conservatism: "It (Methodism) asserts the liberty of the moral agent (in conflict with Calvin). It is very clear as to the atoning work of Christ and the office and work of the Spirit. It insists upon the necessity of personal holiness, and holds out the possibility of a victory over the apostate nature affirming a sanctification which is entire, and a perfection in love which is not ultimate

²³ *Christ. Cent.* 1934, No. 52; cf. 1935, No. 27.

and final, but progressive in its development forever. It looks on man as lost on account of sin. But. . . it looks every man in the face and says, 'Christ died for you.' It has its message on the work of the Spirit in the hearts of believers. It preaches the dreadful truth of eternal punishment, and warns men 'to flee from the wrath to come'; and it makes known the everlasting blessedness of those who fight the good fight of faith."²⁴

IV. OUTSTANDING DENOMINATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF METHODISM

1. *Arminianism the Prevailing Trait.* The student will ask: What is Arminianism? To answer this question with special regard to Methodism, we must distinguish between original Arminianism which more directly influenced Wesley and later Arminianism whose liberal and rationalistic traits had less influence on Methodism.

The Methodists are sensitively opposed to Calvinism on predestination. G. T. Rowe, in "The Meaning of Methodism," says: "Methodism is Arminian to the core, and Calvinism is foreign to its thought and hostile to its purpose" (140). He quotes Bishop Mouzon: "Methodism cannot tolerate the teaching and preaching of doctrines which are definitely Calvinistic, no matter what forms those doctrines may take." (Rowe, p. 141; Cf. 142.) Rowe adds: "No preacher is likely to be forced out because of Calvinism *per se*. Only, election must not be preached in such a way as to obscure the necessity for definite choice and decision."

a. **Original Arminianism.** The Reformed in Holland, at the beginning of the 17th century, found themselves in a severe conflict over the question whether already before man's creation and the fall, God had decreed some to be saved and others to be lost. A milder party could not believe that some should be ordained to be lost. They demanded revision of the strictly Calvinian Belgic Confession. Jacob Arminius, Professor at the Leyden University, became the leader of this party. But he died in 1609 at the age of about fifty, and Simon Episcopius became his successor in the university and also spokesman for his followers. But at the Synod of Dort this party was defeated by the strict Calvinists (1619).²⁵ The Arminians as they were called, stood for the universality of grace, for the real-

²⁴ C. H. Kelly, *Wesley, the Man, his Teaching and his Work*. Cf. also J. A. Faulkner, *Modernism and the Christian Faith*, pp. 224 f.

²⁵ Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, chap. 2.

ity of the sinner's call and justification in conversion and regeneration, declaring that the loss of salvation is to be explained by his evil will. It was these tenets of Arminianism, which Wesley accepted. He was very careful to purge his "Twenty-Five Articles" of all vestiges of predestination. Art. 17 of the Thirty-Nine Articles on "Predestination and Election" is simply passed by. His evangelistic movement needed as an atmosphere the Arminian emphasis upon universality of grace, similar to that expressed in the confession prepared by Episcopus in 1621 and 1622 for the "Remonstrants" after their condemnation at the Synod of Dort, 1618.²⁶

The Methodists, in the days of their founding, were not radicals in their opposition to Calvinism. Wheeler (*ut supra*) in Article 8 on Free Will in Wesley's 25 Articles goes into detail on this subject: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works to faith and calling upon God. . ."²⁷ He interprets: "Man is incapable of disposing himself to the spiritual life of faith and prayer." "His power of choice, originally perfect, was weakened and perverted." "This weakness and perversion was transmitted to Adam's posterity, the will was enslaved and man became unable without divine grace to initiate the effort for his own salvation." "His whole reason has become darkened and incapable of correct action." (Quoting 1 Cor. 2:14; Rom. 8:7; Titus 1:15).

Still there was in Methodist theology, on this point, also a friendliness to the Arminian teaching of a "light of nature" and, by virtue of the new covenant introduced by atonement, a tendency to assign to it a "capacity of spiritual life", through which "God makes himself felt in the involuntary impulses of our being." Wesley said: "There is a measure of free will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world'."²⁸ This was one of the conflicts of Arminianism with the Synod of Dort which admitted: "There is in man, since the fall, the glimmerings of a natural light whereby he retains some knowledge of God, of natural things, and of the differences between good and evil, and discovers some regard for virtue, good order in society, and for maintaining an orderly external deportment. But so far is the light of nature from being sufficient to bring him to the saving knowledge of God, and to true conversion that he is incapable of using it aright even in things natural and civil."²⁹ So much of primitive Arminianism was accepted by early Methodism.

The specifically **liberalistic** traits of further developed Arminianism, of which we shall now speak, were not in the minds of Wesley and the founders of Methodism. It seems that the religious fervor among the Methodists of that time kept them from sharing with the

²⁶ We miss this most interesting document in P. Schaff, *Creeeds*, III, where its length must have prevented its inclusion. In England it was published in Latin among the works of Episcopus. In German it is given by E. G. A. Boeckel, *Bekennnisschriften der Ev. Ref. Kirchen*.

²⁷ PP. 193 ff.

²⁸ Quotation from Wheeler, referring to Wesley, *Works*, old ed. VI, 42.

²⁹ Decrees of Dort, Art. 4. See our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, chap. 2.

Anglicans and with the Presbyterians in the liberalistic genius of Arminianism.

b. **The Further Development of Arminianism.** In Holland as well as in England, Arminianism is marked by a liberal attitude of mind, as J. Tulloch puts it: "It revived the suppressed rational side of the original Protestant movement." Or as P. Schaff expressed it: "It liberalized theological opinions." Our reference in Holland is to Limborch, the only one of the old Arminian theologians to leave us a complete system of Dogmatics and Ethics. In England it issued into Latitudinarianism as a general condition of England's theology in the outgoing decades of the eighteenth century.

We may mention just a few of these liberalizing tenets of Arminianism. P. Schaff speaks of Arminianism as "an elastic, progressive, changing liberalism."³⁰ It stood for subordination of the Son to the Father in the Trinity. Original sin was taken as an in-born weakness. In the receiving of divine grace, in conversion, a coöperation of man by virtue of an inborn moral freedom was taught. Substituting atonement and justification in the forensic sense was denied by the leading Arminian theologians. This involved the rejection of fundamental articles of the conservative Reformation. The sacraments were taken to have only a ceremonial significance. Infant baptism especially was discredited because children are not in need of it, and they cannot believe. Thus baptism lost its character as a real means of grace. Limborch, with Vorstius (in Holland) insisted that nothing must be found in Scripture that is not agreeable with reason. The aim was at a moralistic Christianity. Christ was preëminently a new lawgiver, not the Redeemer. The drift was to Socinianism. The authority of the Scriptures was still taught in the Confessions of Episcopius but was more and more spoken of as being merely "directive." The Confessions were declared to have no binding authority, overlooking the fact that the historic churches after all needed to have standards by which to know who is a brother in the Faith and who is not. The distinction between "fundamentals and non-fundamentals" in Holland, Germany and England was made use of in such a way that many things which seemed to lie in the periphery were now deprived of their significance in the life of the historic churches. In England we trace the rationalizing trait of Arminianism through men such as Jeremy Taylor (d. 1667), through the "rational theology" of Falkland, Hales and Chillingworth (aided by John Locke especially in his "Reasonableness of Christianity," 1695), and finally in the "Latitudinarians". They represented a remarkable blending of conservatism with rationalism. To John Tulloch in his "Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the 19th Century," vol. 1 (1872), these men appear as "the true authors of our modern religious liberty." The truth in this judgment is that this did help to deliver the churches from a certain unbearable intolerance in the leading parties of that day (Anglicans and Presbyterians). But to the historians of deeper religious interest there will always be weight in the fact that the later Arminians with all their scholarship aided materially in an unrestricted rationalization of theology and that Latitudinarianism in particular soon lost itself in indifferentism and became unproductive in theology.

As was said, earlier Methodism had no part in these liberalistic features of Arminianism. It was not an intellectual movement. With regard to present-day attitudes of Methodism where radical Liberalism has become a formidable factor, there is frequent expression of confidence that the stress of Methodism upon personal religion will always be the safeguard against the inroads of theological liberalism. But it should not be overlooked that in Germany the pietistic university of Halle was the first to open its doors to "vulgar rationalism"; and also that in England the confessionally indifferent followers of Richard Baxter (d. 1691), a Presbyterian, soon after the departure of their ardently pious leader, all lost themselves in Unitarian tracks of thought and after 1800, even began to call themselves Unitarian.³¹

Methodism of today, of course, the same as many other churches has within its fold a constantly growing number of theologians who have stepped into this liberalistic heritage with far more radicalism than was the case among the later Arminians. The influence of the application of naturalistic evolution is felt not only in the theological schools but also in the pulpits. The change in Methodism is reflected by much of its official church literature, particularly for the Sunday Schools; also by the new hymnal of 1936, as can be seen when the headings are compared with those of the old book. In Ritschlian fashion there is an almost entire elimination of the phrase that had been a literal motto in Methodism, Wesley's watchword, "Flee from the wrath to come!" The one-sided emphasis on this part of preaching in original Methodism must have contributed to a different selection of psalms for liturgical reading in the new book.

Note 1: It is important for all churches which want to be in harmony with Scripture to remember that the "wrath of God" against the unrepentant sinner is a teaching not only of the Old but also of the New Testament, not just occasionally and in passing but in very many passages. It is a topic to which we shall give a careful review in the "Appendix" (B, Sec. III).

Note 2: Here will be the logical place for a brief mention of the late conflict within American Methodism between the "Essentialists" (another name for "Fundamentalists") and official Methodism.³²

³¹ See R. C. Reed, on "doctrinal declension among the Presbyterians" in his *History of the Presbyterian Church*, and compare A. H. Newman in his long and comprehensive article on *English Theology* in A. Hauck's *PRE*, vol. 23, 401. On the whole development of "Arminianism" in Holland and England, see our *History of Christian Thought*, Book IV, chapters 2 and 3.

³² Cf. S. G. Cole, *History of Fundamentalism*.

In 1920, more than 30 annual conferences had petitioned the General Conference to omit liberalistic books from the obligatory reading courses for the training of young ministers. In 1925, the Conservatives organized themselves into "the Methodist League for Faith and Life." Outstanding leader of this large group was Dr. H. P. Sloan. The late Dr. J. A. Faulkner, Professor of Church History in Drew Theological Seminary, lent his influence to this movement. New periodicals came into existence, among them was **The Essentialist**, as an organ of the League. The **Christian Advocate** was naturally the paper to speak for the official church as led by the episcopal office. Sloan carried to the legislature of the 1929 General Conference at Kansas City a petition of 10,000 signatures from 41 states, asking for a committee of 15 "to investigate seminaries, pulpits and Sunday School literature for flagrant evidences of disloyalty to Methodist doctrinal standards." Such a commission was appointed. But 14 members of the judiciary committee claimed that since the question was doctrinal it was unconstitutional; only 5 members insisted upon its regularity! (Cole, p. 175). The report of the latter was adopted against very strong opposition. But the whole system of connectionalism in Methodism between bishops and superintendents kept the whole movement under its control. From the Christian Century it drew the following praise: "This church's superintendency is the most powerfully geared ecclesiastical machine which the Protestant world possesses." (Quoted by Cole, p. 191). The significance of the doctrinal standards was subordinated to the "religious test of holy living." There was much reference to Wesley's aversion to theological controversy. This is a matter to which we must return for special discussion in this Section IV (No. 6).

We cannot here report all the issues and attitudes that were taken in this conflict. We must refer to Dr. Cole's *History of Fundamentalism*, 1931, pp. 163 to 192. As books on the conservative side we mention: W. H. Burns, *Crisis in Methodism*, 1909; J. A. Faulkner, *Modernism and the Christian Faith*, 1921; H. P. Sloan, *Historic Christianity and the New Theology*, 1920.

For an analysis of the relation between *theological Liberalism* and *Conservatism* see in our Appendix, B.

2. *Methodism and its Methods of Evangelization.* In the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield there was no studied aim at introducing a new practice pertaining to admission to church membership. But when finally it came to the organization of a church, independent of Anglicanism in England and America, the fact was that a church, and with it a church group, had come into existence, in which *membership was to be secured in a different manner* from the practice heretofore. In the Eastern Orthodox Churches, in the Roman Catholic Church, in the Old Catholic Churches, in the Lutheran

Church and in the Reformed Churches, (Anglican, Presbyterian, Reformed, Congregational) one *was born into the Church*. With Methodism membership was secured in consequence of a "conversion" of the individual, by a conscious experience of liberation from a state of uncertainty as to the assurance of the grace of God, the Holy Spirit giving witness to man's spirit of his adoption. Wesley tells of himself that he went to America to convert the Indians (1736), but on his return to England, two years later, he wrote: "Who will convert me?"

These singular experiences of conversion among the early Methodists were accompanied by a strange emotionalism on which we shall quote Wesley further below. Let it be said here, however, that Wesley, a man in whom the reasoning faculty was an outstanding trait, frowned upon all unseemly emotional exhibitions and sternly rebuked those giving way to such outbreaks. This emotionalism was produced by a number of circumstances. There was the new way of preaching out in the open field where the restraint of worship within the church walls was removed. The services were attended by many thousands who had become estranged from the organized churches. John Wesley in an address at Oxford on the death of George Whitefield, tells that at Kingswood he preached to nearly two thousand people and a few days later to four or five thousand, and the following Sunday the audience was supposed to have been ten thousand.³³ The religious ignorance of these multitudes was also a feature in the situation. The mere reading of a parable, such as the prodigal son, which in many cases had never before been heard, was bound to make a deep impression when read at such occasions and to such audiences. With many their lives had been spent in "boisterous transgression," and now there was the quest for peace for the troubled heart. The contagion communicated itself to the preachers many of whom were unlearned but able to dwell with realistic speech on the fundamentals of salvation. The appeal was to the emotions. Hell was pictured with its physical tortures. Wesley's own appeal "to flee from

33 Sugden, *op. cit.* II, 513.

the wrath to come" was repeated over and over and became the practical slogan of Methodism.³⁴ When through the preaching of the law and the wages of sin the way for repentance seemed to be prepared, then there followed the invitation to repent and be forgiven, an invitation which included vivid descriptions of heaven with its glories. The tunes of the hymns also played their part in arousing the sinner to repentance. The result was sudden conversion with strange emotional experiences, all taking place after this "method." John Wesley, in his before mentioned sermon at Oxford on the death of Whitefield, tells of Whitefield's missionary work in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys and New York where he had preached to large multitudes. Strange phenomena were observed: In some places, "thousands cried out aloud; many as in agonies of death; most were drowned in tears; some turned pale as death; others were wringing their hands; others lying on the ground; others sinking into the arms of their friends; almost all lifting up their eyes and calling for mercy." Describing a meeting of Whitefield's in New York, Wesley tells in that same address: "Almost as soon as we began, crying, weeping and wailing were to be heard on every side. Many sank down to the ground, cut to the heart; and many were filled with divine consolation."³⁵ In America the Methodist revivals spread into other churches, even among the Presbyterians. Jonathan Edwards, on the basis of a strict Calvinistic theology, was an outstanding leader. The English speaking Lutherans about the middle of the 19th century were also drawn into that movement.³⁶ The emphasis upon the evidence of personal religion as a condition for church membership became the outstanding trait not only of Methodism but also of other churches

34 See Par. 26 of the "General Rules," *Corpus Confessionum*, I, p. 18.

35 Sugden, p. 515. Compare Bishop McConnell, *The Essentials of Methodism*, p. 12. 13. Wesley described the seeking sinner in a sermon (No. 39) on "The New Birth" (John 3:7). He pictured the way to the blessed goal in sermon No. 40, "The Wilderness State," John 16:22; and in Sermon 41 he preached on "Heaviness through Manifold Temptations," I Peter 1:6; summarizing the essentials of this blessed experience, which are justification and sanctification; in No. 50 on "Salvation through Faith," Eph. 2:8. In Sermon 45, he preached on "The Witness of the Spirit," Rom. 8:16.

36 See our *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 3rd. ed. pp.

of subjective inclination in the Reformed group of English Protestantism. It blends with a trait in English piety where the individual Christian wants to speak for himself. The Baptists, for instance, mark the first public occasion for independent religious expression by their stress upon adult baptism. The Methodists of old had the same thing in the "mourners' bench," or, following the language of recent and present-day revival campaigns, by "walking the saw-dust trail."

The Methodists of today, especially in their educated membership, have come to find themselves unable to extensively employ these old evangelistic methods of their founders. The modern man refuses to be appealed to by the "high pressure" methods. Our reference is to exciting prayer meetings through which sentiment is aroused before and during revival campaigns; mannerism in preachers, mostly evangelists, through which they try to bring their hearers under the spell of their personality; the employment of drastic language in revival meeting, etc. At the basis of it all one observes an attitude of mind which questions the sufficiency of the simple, common God-appointed means of grace.

Among the actually detrimental effects of the revival practice, we must refer to the so-called "burned districts." Many who had been converted in a violent way and re-converted after losing that original state of exaltation were gradually no longer impressed with the plain preaching of the Word. They required the same high-pressure methods over and over again. The American evangelist Charles Finney visited localities where revival fires had left the field "so blistered by constant revival flame that no sprout, no blade of spiritual life, could be caused to grow; only the apples of Sodom flourished in the form of religious ignorance, intolerance, a boasted sinlessness and a tendency to free love and spiritual affinities."³⁷ W. W. Sweet writes: "The New England awakening passed almost as quickly as it came. Even the Northampton church (of Jonathan Edwards) was utterly dead after 1744."³⁸ It is a fact on the other hand that in the times of those up-

³⁷ D. H. Bauslin, *The Genesis of the New Measure Movement*.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 15.

heavals many young people received lasting spiritual impressions, who later developed into great Christian personalities, though soon outgrowing those extravagances.

As to conversions recognized for admission into the Church it would not be correct to say that "the Methodists believe in the genuineness of conversion only when the change of heart has been accompanied by great emotional upheaval."³⁹ But in the view of the common Methodist people a genuine conversion had to be a very marked experience. Not only was conversion to manifest itself in a change of life, but there had to be the "witness of the Spirit" to the spirit of the justified of his adoption (Rom. 8:16) which was to be the special test of the genuineness of his experience. Wesley, who preached a sermon on "The Witness of the Spirit,"⁴⁰ had finally come to that "great experience of realized justification" (1738). In his "Journal" he wrote: "An assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine and saved me from the law of sin and death." But soon followed periods of doubt and darkness, which later disappeared. Wesley, however, always refrained from making this experience and a similar experience of his mother and of so many individuals a test of justification, "because, if justifying faith necessarily implies such an explicit assurance of pardon, then every one who has it not, and so long as he has it not, is under the wrath and curse of God. But this is a supposition contrary to Scripture and experience. (Isaiah 1:10 and Acts 10:34)." He declared "that there is such an explicit assurance and that it is the common privilege of real Christians," but he believed that it is "frequently weakened or interrupted" and therefore it must not be made "essential to justifying faith."⁴¹

3. *Entire Sanctification (Perfectionism)*. Compare the Holiness Movement in this Chapter, Sec. III; also S. T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America*, pp. 74 ff. Wesley became much interested in the ques-

39 Bishop F. J. McConnell, *The Essentials*, p. 12. 14.

40 No. 10 cf. Sugden, I, 199 ff.

41 For fuller discussion see the introduction to the sermon by Sugden, as referred to.

tion of whether the believer can in this life arrive at perfection. He preached sermons on this subject. Sugden offers a historical review of these in II, pp. 147 f. They cover the years from 1725 to 1777: "On Christian Perfection" No. 35, "On Sin in Believers" No. 46, "On Circumcision of the Heart" No. 13, (which was preached before the Oxford University in 1733). He spoke on it also in his dissertation "The Character of a Methodist" (1742), "Thoughts of Christian Perfection" (1760), "Further Thoughts on Christian Perfection" (1763). These are the places to which students will want to go for a complete picture of Wesley's views on this subject. This will be of interest: "Careful students of John Wesley's life have insisted that he never claimed the blessing of entire sanctification for himself."⁴²

Wesley never lost sight of the deception into which many of the newly converted were inclined to fall. He wrote in his sermon No. 50:⁴³ "How naturally do those who experience such a change of the heart's cleansing imagine that all sin is gone, that it is utterly rooted out of their heart and has no more place therein! How easily they draw that inference, 'I feel no sin; therefore I have none. It does not *stir*; therefore does not exist. It has no *motion*; therefore it has no being'." His Scripture was Romans 6:1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 14, 18. I John 3:6, 9. But he says: "The very least which can be implied in these words is. . . that all real Christians are made free from outward sin."

Wesley distinguished between "outward" sin, on the one hand, such as "fornication, idolatry, drunkenness," which, as all agree, must be absent in the life of the believer, and on the other hand "inward" sin, such as "sinful temper, passion or affection; pride, selfwill, love of the world in any kind or degree, such as lust, anger, peevishness or any disposition contrary to the mind which was in Christ Jesus."⁴⁴ But his position was that the committing of inward as well as outward sin should more and more become impossible in the believer. He quoted

⁴² F. J. McConnell on *The Essentials of Methodism*, p. 21.

⁴³ Sugden II, 446, 5.

⁴⁴ See Wesley, *On Sin in Believers*, p. 360 ff.

passages such as these: "He that committeth sin is of the devil," and "Whosoever is born of God does not commit sin." Wesley had a very high conception of the state of grace (cf. p. 366). But he was convinced from Scripture that there are two contrary principles in believers with a conflict between the spirit and the flesh, and he believed that the justified can relapse into sin (p. 367). We have a "heart bent to backsliding," a "natural tendency to evil"; such thoughts he upheld against the radical holiness people. He then asks: "Can Christ be in the same heart where sin is?" His answer is: "He is and dwells in the heart of every believer who is fighting against sin, although he is not yet purified." In other words: "Sin remains, although it does not reign" (p. 373). He warns the radical holiness people: "You certainly have not considered the height, and the depth and the length, and the breadth of the law of God (even the law of love laid down by St. Paul in the 13th chapt. of I Corinthians); *every* disconformity to, or deviation from the law is *sin*."

He does not want to deny the "being of sin" in the believer. But, so he asks, is that *real sin*? This took him upon dangerous ground. He struggled with a real difficulty (pp. 374-76). He said correctly: "In a degree, according to the measure of faith, they (the believers) are spiritual; yet in a degree, they are carnal." But with Roman Semi-Pelagianism and with Arminianism, Wesley and many of his followers taught that this carnal-mindedness would become responsible sin only when it issues into actual transgression. We remember that it was on this ground that the Arminians denied the need of infant baptism.⁴⁵ Here Wesley differed from the conservative Reformation. He closed a long argument of his sermon by saying: "We fix this conclusion: A Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin" (p. 159). Of these he even says they will be "*free from evil thoughts*." Wesley reminds his readers: "Thoughts concerning evil are not always evil thoughts." Sugden consents: "No thought is sinful until it is voluntarily welcomed and dwelt upon." Is this teaching acceptable

45 Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, chap. 2, 11, 3.

to evangelical Christianity? Is it possible for us, like our blessed Lord, to live in this world without even being "affected" by our thoughts of evil? In seeking for illustrations let us stay within the more common among the "besetting sins"; the impulse underlying greed in all its forms, lust in its manifold degrees, anger or revenge. We ask: Is the thought of evil, even the casual and fleeting evil thought, always separable from an inner sinful participation, from the "lingering lust," that *delectatio morosa*, as the medieval theologians called it?

The emphasis of the Reformation Churches upon concupiscence was Scriptural, although its defenders may sometimes have generalized too much on *sin* and neglected the individual *sins* and transgressions in their varying degrees. But the revival groups, in their aim at Biblical realism and practicality, did go too far to the other side. In a Pelagian atomizing manner they conceived of sin as a heap of stones where one part is in no organic connection with the other. This way of thought was natural with the historic revival movements, which were a reaction against carelessness regarding the Christian life. But it was beset with the danger of missing the sinfulness of sin and of running into shallow moralism with its attendant dwelling upon the fruits and forgetting the roots.

A special danger lay in the way Wesley spoke of "*a sanctified state*."⁴⁶ That led to the view, as it is held among certain holiness groups, of sanctification as a "second blessing," which is to follow the experience of conversion (Darbyism, Plymouth Brethren). "No," says the commentator of the sermon, p. 172, "it (sanctification) is a blessing repeated not once or twice, but scores of times in the course of the Christian life." This is in harmony with the Reformation. On the subject here under discussion the Reformation Churches would say that the "blessing" of further sanctification of the justified will follow by the *daily forgiveness of all our sins* in true self-examination, repentance and faithful use of the means of grace.

⁴⁶ For a systematization of Wesley's teaching on this subject, see E. T. Clark, p. 75 f.

The movements for entire sanctification have thrived best on the background of shallow conceptions of sin where the stress is upon individual sin instead of sinfulness as a constantly functioning condition of the heart.

4. *What is the Methodist Attitude to Sin as a Natural Depravity of the Human Race?*

a. The interest is in the battling against the actual transgressions of the divine commandments, especially such as disturb the social order. Methodism is a church of activism with only a secondary interest in natural depravity as the functioning source of sin. Prominent in the constitution of the Methodist bodies are, therefore, certain "general rules" pertaining to the conduct of members.⁴⁷ Most of these "Rules" express Scriptural teaching. Some of them are of a derived nature with no divine commandment back of them. These "Rules" and "Special Advices" warn against "taking the name of God in vain," of "profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work therein, or by buying or selling," of "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." They discourage "the using of many words in buying or selling." Instruction is given against "usury, that is unlawful interest," against "the putting on of gold and costly apparel," the "laying up of treasures upon earth," "borrowing without a probability of paying." "All who continue to evidence their desire for salvation. . . by being merciful, by doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith. . .; employing them preferably to others; buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more because the world will love its own and them *only*." Why should these matters be singled out so atomistically? The succeeding publications of the "Discipline" offer many illustrations. Such special selections of things to be avoided have always drawn the charge of "legalism." Some of the quoted points remind us of the "evangelical counsels" in the Roman Catholic Church, which the Reformation criticized as "self-chosen sanctity." In the case of Methodism, of course, it must be remembered that these rules and advices grew out of Wesley's observation of

47 See C. Fabricius, *Corpus Confessionum*, I, pp. 18-21.

especially troubling sins in his time. But the continuing Church of Christ must not so lose out of mind the *unity* of Christian ethics and that it is love which is the fulfilling of the law (Rom. 13:10, 8).

The Reformation, starting with man's natural depravity, had here its own orientation. It began with sinfulness as a unity, in the fundamental language of Luther: "This sin is not done like all other sin, but it is, it lives and does all other sin; it is the essential sin which does not sin for an hour or for a certain time, but wherever and as long as the person is, that long is this sin also."⁴⁸

b. *What was the position of Wesley?* Let us remember that Wesley always aimed to avoid the theological conflicts recorded by the History of Doctrine. And the matter here under discussion lay altogether in the current of doctrinal history: Augustine vs. the Pelagians, Luther vs. Roman Semi-Pelagianism, Calvinism vs. Arminianism; Justification by faith alone vs. any of the modern endeavors to arrive at peace of the soul by following in the tracks of the ethical movements of the times. What was Wesley's position?

In the confessional expression in article 7 of his "Articles of Religion" he accepted in general the "Original or Birth Sin," a superscription which he took over from article 9 of the Anglican Confession. He declared this "birth sin" to be "the corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, *whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness,*"⁴⁹ and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually." These are literally the words of the Anglican Confession. But he omitted the closing part of the sentence in this article: "*this concupiscence hath of itself the nature of sin.*" This was the one point of omission from the Anglican Confession. The other omission was the statement that this "infection in man's nature," this "inbred thirst" involves a *guilt* that "*deserveth God's wrath and condemnation.*" Speculation about the meaning of these two omissions, coupled with the before-mentioned observation in our

⁴⁸ Church Postill on Luke 2:21.

⁴⁹ Italics ours.

study of Wesley's estimate of sinful thought before the will has made its consent, has kept alive the question as to the attitude of Methodism to the conception of sin as it was expressed by all the Confessions of the Reformation. It must be said that in his sermon on "Original Sin"⁵⁰ Wesley went to the limit in his emphasis on man's depravity which he derived from the universality of sin. Here he pictures the natural man's utter absence of spiritual knowledge, his lack of all true fear and love of God (p. 217), and then he describes his seeking of self and the objects of his idolatrous worship very much as this is done in the Confessions of the Reformation. There is a strong argument for the guilt and punishment of sin as a condition, irrespective of its individual outbreaks. It lies in the consideration of the solidarity of the human race. Unconsciously we as individuals feel ourselves responsible for what others of our own blood and race have done and can do. It explains the necessity for baptism of children, which found little favor in the quarters of Arminianism.

c. So then, Wesley was thoroughly anti-Pelagian in his estimate of sin, to the extent even of drawing from many Methodists of today the charge of Manichaeism.⁵¹ He developed his sermon entitled "Original Sin" as an answer to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, a Presbyterian of the Arminian type with decided Socinian leanings. But his fundamental disinclination to theologize and to reduce his homiletical Biblicism to a systematic expression and to coördinate it in the *History of Doctrine* has encouraged many of Wesley's followers to a latitudinarian indifference regarding the doctrinal formulations of sin and grace. Bishop McConnell says: "The doctrine of total depravity, as we have before indicated, has never been taken by Methodists with any special seriousness. The Methodist teachers and preachers have simply been content with the very manifest fact that apart from God men are in a state of sin, but the extent of sin they have not considered."⁵² The extent to which Methodist theologians feel free to go in applying the principles of

50 No. 38, Sugden II, 207-225.

51 Sugden II, 208 f. See the reference to A. Pope, *Theology II*, 63.

52 *The Essentials of Methodism*, pp. 27, 12.

naturalistic evolution to theories regarding the origin of sin is illustrated by E. H. Sugden's introductory notes to Wesley's sermon No. 5 on "Justification by Faith," I, p. 112 ff. In an endeavor to bring Wesley's sermon "into harmony with modern thought" he writes as follows: "What they (biology and anthropology) indicate is that the primitive pair, or primitive race, from which humanity took its origin, had gradually developed in physical structure and physical characteristics from the lower animals of the vertebrate type. It had reached a point when the instincts of hunger and thirst and sex and so forth were fully developed; when also admiration of color and sound and proportion had begun to be felt; and when curiosity and the desire for knowledge stirred man to activities of various kinds. Last of all came the growth of a moral sense, and the idea of duty; and then only could the race be properly described as human. Before the coming of the moral sense man was not sinful, neither was he holy; he was simply non-moral, innocent as a dog or a horse is innocent. But the moral sense involved a conflict with the older instincts and motives; and these, through their long tenure and their consequent crystallization into habit, were necessarily stronger than the nascent newcomer; yet, though defeated, the moral sense revenged itself by inspiring in the sinner shame and remorse, and a dread of the God who was conceived as the ultimate source of the moral instincts. All this is symbolically indicated in the story of the Fall." What would Wesley have said to such a comment on his sermon? Evolution in the form here described cannot claim to be more than a hypothesis—no matter how many of the scientists may agree in defending it.

5. *Justification by Faith* was much stressed by Wesley. It is still emphasized among the conservatives in the Methodist Church family. We referred to Wesley's sermon on this subject.⁵³ To him this doctrine "contains the foundation of all our hope." In agreement with Paul in Romans, he defines it as "that act of God the Father, whereby, for the sake of the propitiation made by the blood of His Son He 'showeth His righteousness' (or mercy) by the remission of the sins that are

53 Sugden, I, 112-130.

past." To him that is justified or forgiven, God "will not 'impute sin' to his condemnation" (p. 120 f.). It is "not the godly, but the ungodly" whom God justifies; "not those who are holy already, but the unholy." "He pardons those who need his pardoning mercy," and he saves them from sin's "guilt and power." A man may do "good works (profitable to men) even before he is justified. But it does not follow that these are, strictly speaking, good in themselves, or good in the sight of God. All truly *good works follow after justification*; and they are therefore good and acceptable to God in Christ, because they spring out of a true and living faith." "This faith produces love to God and mankind; it comes with the 'spirit of adoption' crying in our hearts Abba, Father." Wesley admits that works done before justification may often spring "from some kind of faith in God," but he says: "No works are good which are not done as God has willed and commanded them to be done" (p. 124). Guarding against mixing justification and sanctification, he says: "Justification is not the being made actually just and righteous. This is sanctification; which is, indeed, in some degree the immediate fruit of justification, but nevertheless, is a distinct gift of God, and of a totally different nature. The one implies what God does for us through His Son; the other, what He works in us by His Spirit" (p. 119).

6. We have referred again and again to Wesley's *aversion to theologizing dogmatically on the differences between the churches*. In his "Character of a Methodist" he says: "Whosoever, therefore, imagines that a Methodist is a man of such or such an opinion is grossly ignorant of the whole affair. . . We believe, indeed, that 'all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God'; and herein we are distinguished from Jews, Turks and infidels. We believe the written Word of God to be the only and sufficient rule both of Christian faith and practice; and herein we are fundamentally distinguished from those of the Romish Church. We believe Christ to be eternal, supreme God; and herein we are distinguished from the Socinians and Arians. But as to all opinions which do not strike at the root of Christianity, *we think and let think*. So that, *whatsoever they are, whether right or*

wrong,⁵⁴ they are no distinguishing marks of a Methodist.”⁵⁵ Again in his sermon on “The Catholic Spirit” Wesley remarks: “Although, therefore, every follower of Christ is obliged by the very nature of the Christian institution to be a member of some particular congregation or other, some church, as it is usually termed; (which implies a particular manner of worshipping God; for “two cannot walk together unless they be agreed”), yet none can be obliged by any power on earth, but that of his own conscience, to prefer this or that congregation to another.”

On this position of Wesley and the Methodist Churches, which is the popular view today, we offer the following considerations:

(1) The differences between the churches during and after the Reformation are not just differing “opinions,” but in many cases they have much to do with “the root of Christianity.” Many of these things represent principles which make for another comprehension of the Gospel, another type of Christianity. They touch the root of our Faith in one way or another. Even the matters that seem to lie in the periphery, frequently do affect the center. The result is a division which we all deplore.

(2) Refusing to deal with religious differences theologically does not heal schisms, but it makes the sectarian condition of Christianity normal. “We agree to differ” when, in a spirit of love, we should use “sacred theology” to find ways for a gradual and final unity in the truth.

(3) For many religious bodies this may be in order. We should guard against becoming distrustful of creeds, because Confessions of Faith, after all, are part of a rich historical experience which the Church of Christ has had. True, the creeds of a past age cannot have exhausted all truth. But succeeding ages, by faithful study of the Scriptures and by interpreting the experiences of the saints, in their relation to the world, can grow upon this foundation and add to it. John Wesley was a great Biblicist. Of this one receives a deep impression by read-

⁵⁴ Italics ours.

⁵⁵ Corp. Conf., p. 709 f.

ing his notes on the New Testament and his sermons. But Biblicism should lead to sound creedal and theological formulations, in order to give backbone to the churches so that they with their leaders know what to teach and what to contend for, and that the Church may know who is brother in the Faith and who is not.

For the present day confirmation of the Wesleyan Principle, we refer to the book by Dr. Gilbert T. Rowe, *The Meaning of Methodism*, 1926, which offers a series of brilliantly written lectures delivered at a Methodist Summer School in Nashville, Tenn., (published by the Cokesbury Press at Nashville). We add from this source the following, because of its confirmation of what we have quoted from Wesley.

Methodism wanted to be simply "Christian." It "stands for an inclusive Christianity. It believes that the things which unite Christians are far more important than the things that divide. It has no exclusive doctrines, rites or ceremonies" (Rowe, p. 126). Again the author says: "To put it epigrammatically, the distinguishing doctrine of Methodism is that it has no distinguishing doctrine" (Ibid. p. 123).⁵⁶

Rowe claims as especially characteristic of Methodism that it "is a doctrine of religion" (121). "Among the religions it is emphatically Christian" (125). "It has avoided useless speculation and been spared endless controversy by keeping its eye upon the object to be attained" (130). Dr. Rowe thinks he is correct in saying that outside of Methodism "no church in the world lays less practical emphasis upon specific standards of doctrine" (122).

7. *Personal Religion as contrasted with its Objective Side.* Dr. Rowe, in his above mentioned book, says many correct things about the need of spirituality and of experienced religion, which the churches of the more objective type must not overlook altogether. He is thinking especially of the evangelistic appeals for decision and conversion (see below), of the education to personal utterance in free prayer, public testimony and the work of saving souls. But on the other hand, is it not

⁵⁶ From *The Meaning of Methodism* by Gilbert T. Rowe. Copyright 1926. Used by permission of Cokesbury Press, Publishers.

true that in such ardent advocacy of the subjective element in religion we are apt to overlook the genuineness and depth of religion in the liturgical groups. Methodism has thus missed the liturgical treasures of the past. The present return to the use of some of these features is a step in the right direction. It is possible, however, to do it in such modernized form that the historic gems are too much overlooked and that some of the substitutes have about them a "modernistic" ring.

We shall ask a few questions here: Is religion first of all a divine gift, or is it above all a human achievement? True, there must be the response of man to the work of God's Spirit. In calling attention to this the Methodists had their mission. But which is first and which has the emphasis? "Do you love the Lord Jesus?" This is the question which is asked out of the heart of Methodism and all the evangelistic organizations of this large family. This is to them the one question that matters. "But," said a great New York preacher to whom we listened in a Chicago Presbyterian Church, "the matter even more wonderful and fundamental is that *Jesus loves us!*" The two belong together. The objective side of religion, that which God, through His Son and by the Holy Spirit, has done and is doing for our salvation is fundamental and must have much emphasis in the church of God. The true followers of Wesley do not want to overlook the fact that the Word of God is fundamental as the means of grace.

8. *Methodism is carefully on its Guard against Sacramentalism.* Dr. Rowe defines sacramentalism as "salvation by miracle," and continues: "It is total departure from the religion of the New Testament and from the rational world, in which effects are always related in kinds to their causes. It is essentially non-moral and magic. There is no necessary connection between water and salvation . ." (p. 30). So the revival churches, with their stress upon conversion as the outstanding turning point of man's life, look upon *baptismal regeneration* as a species of sacramentalism. In this connection Dr. Rowe writes: "When baptism is properly administered, the very texture of the soul is supposed to be changed. There is infused into it a divine quality which makes it radically different in nature from the unbap-

tized and insures it a place among the redeemed" (p. 29).⁵⁷ Here Dr. Rowe seems to be thinking of Eastern and Roman Catholicism. But he practically includes Lutheranism which also teaches "baptismal regeneration." To be sure, the use of the sacraments "as magic," with no place for faith as the "receiving hand," does not belong to the evangelical forms of faith, but if we draw a comparison with the Lutheran Church, the above description does not apply, namely that by baptism the soul of the infant is changed "in its texture." Much of the writing of former Lutheran theologians and occasionally of Luther himself on this matter was a groping after fitting forms of expression. The Lutheran Church in its matured thoughts approaches the matter from the standpoint of its leading doctrine, justification by faith: Baptism is not only for the moment of its administration, but for the whole life. Through baptism the soul is fundamentally put under the regenerating influence of grace. In the case of infants, faith is not more than passive receptivity, but developing into *conscious* faith during the years of growth under the nurture of the Holy Spirit through parents and teachers. But the foundation of assurance of grace, fundamentally, should always be the grace of God, received in Baptism for comfort and earnest admonition all through life. Through grace we are declared to be forgiven and "holy," notwithstanding our sinfulness. In the counting of God we are holy, now let us be what we are!

To this is added, then, for further development of Christian living, the Holy Communion. Methodism rejects Catholic transubstantiation and with it also a "consubstantiation" which Dr. Rowe charges to Luther (cf. p. 39). But the Lutheran Church, also, rejects not only transubstantiation but also the consubstantiation of some of the Greek Fathers (Cyril of Jerusalem and others).⁵⁸ "Consubstantiation," the creation of a third substance out of the earthly and heavenly element, is nowhere taught in the Lutheran Confessions. Luther in his defense of the "real presence" of Christ's body in the Supper spoke

57 From *The Meaning of Methodism* by Gilbert T. Rowe. Copyright 1926. Used by permission of Cokesbury Press, Publishers.

58 See the "York Resolution" of the former General Synod, Neve-Allbeck, *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 3rd. ed., 1934, p. 107.

of a "substance" (as did also Calvin), but he did not mean what the Greek Fathers understood by their conception. Neither is it advocated in the Formula of Concord of the Lutheran Church.⁵⁹

The Methodist declaration against "sacramentalism" includes the rejection of "a priesthood which is miraculously qualified to baptize and to celebrate Holy Communion." (Rowe, p. 29). This has reference to Roman Catholicism. With this most of the Protestant denominations, including the Lutherans, are in agreement. That there may be good order in the church, the pastors only administer the sacraments, as the rule.

9. *Institutionalism of the Hierarchical Type is not Favored by Methodism.* The Wesleyans in England, together with a related branch in America, have insisted upon government through the appointed organs of a conference rather than through a bishop. True, the whole history of Methodist organizations in England and America has been marked by conflicts between the democratic and the monarchical tendencies. But "Methodism does not demand that all Christians accept one form of organization," (Rowe, 57). We repeat a previously quoted statement of W. E. Garrison: "The Methodist episcopate is not a separate and higher order of the ministry, but an administrative office." In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the question as to whether a certain office was instituted in Scripture was never under consideration; the only question was "Will it help to spread religion?" (Ibid. 56). Again: "Though American Methodism has retained the word (bishop) it has stripped it of all hierarchical and sacerdotal meaning and made it to signify an office in the Church of God, created for sake of efficiency." "In Methodism the episcopacy is a creature of the Church and not a self-perpetuating institution."

10. *Methodism as an exponent of the Social Gospel.* The picture of Methodism, in its present day characteristics, would be incomplete without a description of its burning interest in the "Social Gospel." True, this is and should be an interest of the Christian Churches the world over. The reader is asked to look upon this

59 Cf. Chapt. Four, p. 206.

section as picturing more or less all the churches which are identified with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

a. *The Change in Methodism.* The remarkable development of Methodism from an almost exclusively evangelistic movement to what it is today has made the Church of Wesley the outstanding leader in the social work of American Protestantism. The old revival practice in Methodism as a method, has spent itself. Rowe speaks of preachers who "began to assert that it was not necessary to go to the mourner's bench in the church and cry in order to be saved, but that a person could be saved anywhere and that crying was not an essential part of the experience," although "many shook their heads in disapproval and declared that they had no confidence in dry-eyed religion" (p. 228). This turning against the old revivals is in keeping with a trend among most of the old revivalistic forces in America. But with it, in the fashionable churches of the city, there has gone a turning from the old intensive interest in the salvation of the individual to the salvation of society. In this the Methodists join hands with other religious forces in America, including the groups with more or less concession to the rationalistic influences, i. e. with the humanistic type of religion. They are a very prominent part of the "Federal Council" which has been functioning as a clearing house concerning problems and tasks of the "Social Gospel."

b. *An Historic Heritage.* It should not be overlooked that the example of Wesley in England had already begun to turn the interest of his followers in the direction of Social Service. But at that time it was part of Wesley's evangelistic program. It was that which later in Germany was taken up by Pastor Henry Wichern and gradually developed as "Inner Missions" (see Chap. IV p. 218 ff.). The aim of Wesley and later of Wichern was to employ the messages of the Gospel for healing sin-sick souls, to urge removal of temptation and to practice the works of Christian charity for the underprivileged. It must be pointed out that in England this Inner Mission or Christian Social Service was in line with stimulations received from Calvin. The social problems at Wesley's time suggested themselves by the conditions which the

early Methodist preachers had before themselves in the degraded conditions of the people to whom they were preaching.⁶⁰ The Elizabethan age, through its commercial successes, had brought Great Britain into touch with the world at large. The development of the Industrial Revolution had begun, and with it came the social problems. Methodism, through Wesley and his assistants, had an open eye for these social problems; religious, moral, intellectual and economic. It inspired a confidence of the people in his evangelistic "societies." Thus England is said to have been spared the horrors of the revolution which was experienced in France.⁶¹ In judging the situation in the England of that time, of course, two other things are also to be considered: (1) England did not have the provocation which France had from its Roman Catholic government and clergy. And (2) the theological liberalism through the English Deists, who never separated themselves from the Church, was not the radical type as was the case among the French Naturalists and later the German Rationalists.⁶²

c. *Pioneer Publications and Measures on the Social Gospel.* Having spoken historically of a heritage pertaining to the social problems, which Wesley had left to his "societies" in England and America, we must now mention a literature which started the ball of "Social Service" rolling in modern America. One of the first to discuss Christian Sociology in America was J. H. W. Stuckenberg, former professor in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio (1873-1880), who during his long stay in Berlin (1880-1894) had received deep impressions from Court-preacher Adolph Stoecker's work along Christian-Social lines. He published: *Christian Sociology*, 1880; *The Social Problem*, 1897; *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, 1898; *Sociology, the Science of Hu-*

60 Among the sermons of Wesley is one which he preached in 1763 before a Society for Reform. See Sugden, op. cit. II, 481 f. Sermon No. 52.

61 So says among others J. L. Nuelsen in his *Reformation and Methodism* (Bremen, Germany), pp. 24 f.

62 Cf. our *History of Christian Thought*, Bk. IV, B, chapters 2 and 3. England had its classical age (Bacon, Locke, Shakespeare, Milton) earlier than France and Germany, namely at a time when the intellectuals the world over were not yet so emancipated from religion as was the case a century later, when the new philosophy (Descartes, Spinoza) had begun to do its work.

man Society, 1903.⁶³ We also mention the two publications by Shailer Mathews, the *Social Teaching of Jesus*, 1897, and his *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*. A special impression was made by the three books of Walter Rauschenbusch, Professor at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Rochester, New York: (1) *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, 1907 ff.; (2) *Christianizing the Social Order*, 1914; (3) *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, 1918. The title of this last mentioned book is very suggestive, because it shows that the author felt the need of a special theology as basis and stimulus for the reformation and salvation of society. From the table of contents we can here mention only a few of the chapters: I. Challenge of the Social Gospel to Theology. II. The Difficulties of Readjustment. III. The Fall of Man. VI. The Nature of Sin. VII. The Transmission of Sin. VIII. The Super-Personal Forces of Evil. IX. The Kingdom of Evil. XI. The Salvation of the Super-Personal Forces. XII. The Church as the Social Factor of Salvation. XIV. Christ as the Initiator of the Kingdom of God. XV. The Social Gospel and the Conception of God. XIX. The Social Gospel and the Atonement. XVIII. Eschatology.⁶⁴ In 1908 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was organized. Methodism was leading in this organization of the Reformed wing of American Protestantism. Harry Ward, Methodist, later Professor in Union Theological Seminary, drafted the "Social Creed of Churches" with paragraphs which in the literature of the Federal Council have been modified from time to time to meet changing situations.⁶⁵

d. *Deliverances on the Social Problems*. The form in which the Methodist Episcopal Church announces this program refers to the "Discipline" of 1936. It has special regard to *social and economic* questions. Attention is called to "certain and undisputed facts which confront us and constitute a challenge to the Church.

63 Cf. J. O. Evjen, *The Life of Stuckenberg*, 1938, p. 432 ff.

64 The Conservative Churches will differ from Rauschenbusch in much that he suggests as an effective leverage for the Social Gospel.

65 As to the wording of this program at the time of the organization of the Federal Council (1909) see Rauschenbusch in the above mentioned book No. 2, p. 14 f. On changes made at the important convention in Chicago, 1912, see MacFarland, *Progress of Church Federation*, p. 84.

Among the facts are the following: Privation in the midst of plenty; Gross inequality in income and property; Insecurity; Unemployment, with its resultant effect upon national morale; Long-continued public relief, slowly destroying the self-respect of the recipient and contributing to the pauperization of a nation; Preventable sickness accompanied by a menacing rise in tuberculosis and diseases of undernourishment; Reduction in the support of public and private education, a fact that strikes at the very foundation of constitutional government; Extensive denial of equal opportunity as a result of economic circumstances or racial condition; The wasteful and unintelligent use of natural resources; The excessive debt carried by American productive enterprise, due to overcapitalization, unplanned expansion, and financial racketeering, resulting in a carrying charge that precludes adequate wages for workers or reasonable dividends for owners; The increasing burden of armament; The closed doors confronting American youth, with the consequent loss of their service to the nation and the destruction of their faith in our institutions; Outbreak of mob violence; The growth of tenant farming and the creation of a peasant class with no property at stake in the nation."

The Discipline closes this enumeration with the statement: "The Christian conscience declares that the continuance of these conditions is sinful in the sight of God, and the Christian Church summons its membership to the task of saving us from our sins. The Kingdom of God cannot be built upon foundations of economic injustice. . . We are visibly concerned and have full authority from the teachings of Jesus to demand elimination of these anti-social facts. We will not be silenced by critics who offer no solution to these problems."

As to solution of the above questions the Discipline admits that there are different schools of thought within the membership of Methodism (cf. pp. 656 ff.):

(1) There is the *voice of Socialism*, which demands "judgment" upon the "acquisitive principle," the "struggle for profit," the "profit-seeking economy," . . . "the method of the struggle for profit and to replace it by a method that does not violate the divine law of

service," by "establishing a planned social economy which continually adjusts economic effort to measured needs, cultural as well as material, thereby introducing intelligence and knowledge and eliminating speculative guessing." This "planned social economy must rest upon social ownership of the resources and plant necessary to its operation. It is declared that brotherhood becomes real, because such a system enables a large increase in and the widest possible distribution of property for personal use and development. It is believed that such a process leads to a society in which there is no class distinction or privilege, in which all are free to develop their capacities and to contribute creatively to the maintenance and progress of humanity; in which the struggle for profit and power is gradually replaced by mutual aid and in which the Christian principle of service is made concrete. This group, like all other Methodists, repudiates the use of force and recourse to violence in social change, and pledges itself to the democratic method of change, and to the resistance and defeat of all attacks upon the democratic process."

(2) Opposed to this group stand the *capitalists and the men of big business* in the Methodist Church. They sent memorials of warning to the General Conference of Methodism in Columbus, Ohio, (1936). They asked whether the economic system which has evolved along with our technological development might not be remedied by readjustment to new factors which have entered the economic situation; or whether we might not succeed at arriving at a clearer understanding of the fundamental economic forces and on this basis devise ways of correcting them. "This road to progress," they said, "seems much surer than the uncertain and always costly pathway of revolutionary change."

(3) Others, again, have already turned to the *idea of coöperation between consumer and producer* as the way of expressing brotherhood and at the same time conserving the values that lie in private ownership and coöperation.

Thus there is a difference of opinion as to method among the Methodists. At Columbus the conference refused to "pass judgment on techniques," and it was de-

clared: "We will test concrete proposals and systems by the Christian doctrine of personality." (p. 658).

This one word "personality" rings all through the introduction to the above quoted program: "Man is of infinite worth because he is a son of God. Christianity holds that personality is the supreme value. It tests all institutions and practices by their effect upon personality. It condemns all practices that are destructive of personality and commends those practices that enrich personality."

Continuing the thought of the Methodist "Discipline of 1936," we refer to a program which was published for India by E. Stanley Jones, outstanding Methodist missionary, in a pamphlet of 15 pages, "The Christian Program of Reconstruction," (published by C. O. Forsgren at Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, India, which was an extract of his book "Christ's Alternative to Communism," 1932). First on this program he puts organization of coöperatives: "Coöperatives for buying and selling, for producing." (See his tract p. 10).

Among other measures he has this: "We would organize anti-bribery and anti-extortion leagues, through which the over-burdened debtors among the depressed classes could get relief."

All churches of American Protestantism have become very serious on the problems of the Social Gospel. But Methodism is outstanding in leadership. In the *General Conference Journal* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908, cf. pp. 545-549, we read: "And now we summon our great Church to continue and increase its work of social service. . . Let all people called Methodists seek the Kingdom in which God's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven."

d. *The Economic Situation as the Object of Reformation.* Our reference is to the activity of the just-mentioned Dr. E. Stanley Jones. Through a long observation and intensive study of the communistic aims and methods, first in Russia and then in China, Dr. Jones arrived at the conclusion that Marxian Communism must be replaced with Christian communism (pp. 37. 272. 274). Like Rauschenbusch, he insists that the opening address of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4)

was first of all the announcement of a social program for a fresh world beginning with the view of establishing a "Kingdom of God on earth" and for this present life, in which the suffering caused by the capitalistic system will all be overcome. Besides Dr. Jones' book of 300 pages we have before us his brief pamphlet which was mentioned. Here he writes: "Poverty can be banished. If there is poverty it is not the will of God but the will of man. The earth is quite prepared to produce bountifully enough for everybody. The fact of the matter is that in some parts of the world we are now destroying foodstuffs in order to keep prices up and are actually paying men not to produce. If, therefore, there is poverty in the world it is not God's will, it is man's will. We have now enough knowledge and enough of the instruments of science to banish poverty tomorrow if we had the collective good will to do it. It is the business of real religion to produce that collective good will, and we are in the process of doing it." (Pamphlet, p. 3.) The difficulty, he says, lies in the competitive order of present-day business. For this reason Dr. Jones, pointing to the example of Kagawa in Japan, demands the forcing of "coöperatives" where employer and employee are sharing the profits. (Cf. his book, p. 280, and his tract on p. 10.)

The program of Dr. Jones is of a very universalistic type. Quoting him from the pamphlet (p. 2 f.) he interprets the words of Christ in the synagogue (Luke 4) as follows: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good news to the poor (the economically disinherited, cf. book, p. 48). He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captive (the socially and politically disinherited). And recovering of sight to the blind (the physically disinherited). To set at liberty them that are bruised (the morally and spiritually disinherited). To proclaim God's year of jubilee (a fresh world beginning)." All "captivity" will come to an end. "Man may be in economic and social bondage to a wrongly organized society; in political bondage through the exploiting spirit of others. When the Kingdom of God is operating all these bondages will cease." (Pamphlet, p. 4).

It must be kept in mind, of course, that the larger book of Dr. Jones is not the immediate program of American Methodism; it could become such only in harmony with the other churches of the Federal Council. Men of great influence within Methodism are ready to go very far in counseling with political forces. Their motives must not be questioned. They are convinced that the Church must step in and offer the helping hand. But there are also the men and the congregations in all churches who, by memorializing the conventions and otherwise, caution the church to proceed with care.

Critical Remarks. What shall we say? The times are very, very evil. The national rivalries of Europe are being superseded more and more by threatening revolution within the countries. Labor is armed against capital in a most alarming way, and capital against labor. Our heart goes out to the poor in all countries, to the underprivileged who find themselves toiling under low wages and in constant starvation under housing conditions that defy description. When now the appeal is made by a large group of churches which has banded itself together in the "Federal Council" and is prompted by Christian sympathy and by the desire to create a better world and to save humanity from chaos and ruin, then, naturally, there comes to Christians the urge to coöperate. The above mentioned Methodist "Discipline" warned against bloodshed and violence. Rauschenbusch also calls attention to this that Christ would have nothing to do with physical violence. The World Convention of Lutherans, assembled in Paris 1935, also gave most serious thought to this burning problem. It was done on the basis of a paper read by Prof. M. Reu of the Theological Seminary, at Dubuque, Iowa.⁶⁷ We shall here offer just a few considerations:

1. Let us not forget that a reformation of the economic order, such as Dr. Jones has on his program, which involves the abrogation of the competitive and the introduction of the coöperative system, not only as a

⁶⁷ See Dr. Reu's paper as published in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Nov. 1935 and Jan. 1936, which since has appeared as a pamphlet in English, published by the Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio, 1936.

matter of opinion but as the only permissible form for work and commerce—must be in the hands of experts in the service of the government for final decision and for its execution. But in a democracy, the organized churches, through the press and through the platform and through negotiation with the democratically elected authorities, must bear witness against the evils of the capitalistic system (as long as this is in existence) and against all the social injustices, and all the forms of suffering. It may be that the ideals of Dr. Jones, Sherwood Eddy, Kagawa and others can be realized. But it takes the best economists of the age to make the recommendation and in the end a good government to sponsor it.

2. We must not speak as if by economic measures all poverty, and suffering, in short, all cross-bearing can be banished. Even if the coöperative system *should* come to be the new way of economic adjustment there will still be present the imperfections of management which beset all human endeavor. And how about the perpetuity of a reconstruction of the economic system of a country? Why is it that practically all communistic societies—recently also the Amana Society in Iowa—have failed?

3. Finally there must also be a word of criticism with regard to Dr. Jones' above quoted interpretation of Christ's address at Nazareth (Luke 4:18, 19 with reference to Isaiah 61:2). He does not deny that Christ, when speaking of the Kingdom of God, which has now come, included the reference to salvation in a world to come. But he insists that this message announced "the Kingdom of God *on earth*" (a phrase which occurs again and again) and, therefore it proclaimed economic salvation for the poor, *social and political release* for the disinherited, etc. Rauschenbusch⁶⁸ and Kagawa⁶⁹ similarly stress the Kingdom of God *on Earth*. Kagawa suggests that we do not trouble ourselves about eternity of which we know nothing, although he himself inclines to the belief of immortality; we should simply help the poor and then trust in God as to our future.

68 Christianity and Social Crisis, chapter 2.

69 See the estimate of Kagawa by Pastor Ofstedal, Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn.

In the July issue (1935) of a reprint from an India Monthly (*The Indian Christian*, published at Balgaum, India) a group of India Christians asked whether the program of Dr. Jones is really the program of Christ. They referred to Christ's instruction to the twelve (Matt. 10), to the seventy (Luke 10:1-12), to the disciples after His resurrection (Matt. 28:18-20; Mk. 16:5) and to Saul when converted on the road to Damascus (Acts 26:15-18). We read in that reprint from *The Indian Christian*: "Surely in such Scripture, if anywhere, one might expect to find instructions concerning Christ's so-called program." The above mentioned passage (Acts. 26:15-18), is put in bold type to show that in this free reproduction of Christ's message there is nothing that reminds one of the Social Gospel. It reads: "To open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me." Continuing from that reprint: "The Gospel which the disciples were charged to preach is most succinctly outlined in 1 Cor. 15." We point especially to verses 10, 17 and to the end of the chapter. "Christ's program was shot through with *preaching*. This word is used three times in Luke 4:18, 19." "Indeed the whole aspect of Dr. Jones' teaching seems unlike that of our Lord. It concerns this world, not the next." The question is asked: "Why is it, if his (Dr. Jones) interpretation is correct, that when the Holy Spirit was poured out at Pentecost, there is no trace of this program in Peter's sermon, or in that of Stephen, a man full of the Holy Ghost, or in Philip's service in Samaria, or in the teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles?"

Dr. Rauschenbusch, also an advocate of the political interpretation of Christ's message in Luke 4, admits: "There are a hundred critical difficulties in the way of a sure and consistent interpretation that would be acceptable to all investigators."⁷⁰

This whole discussion is not offered with the intent to disregard social service. The churches must go

⁷⁰ Christ and the Social Crisis, p. 55; cf. *Christianizing the Social Order*, p. 49.

into this work. Our hope is that the methods of procedure can more and more become such that all churches, the Lutherans and the Catholics included, can move unitedly in the many works of civic righteousness, which are of common interest to us all. There will be cases where the methods of Calvinism, Lutheranism and Romanism will conflict. But even here partial coöperation may be possible. Let it be tried from case to case. How much in the way of united action is possible when it comes to attitudes in the economic crisis?

V. THE PRESENT ORGANIZATIONS OF WORLD METHODISM.

In this section of our chapter on the Methodist Church Family we shall try to present *first* an historical brief view of the Methodist organizations in the United States, *second* a very brief view of the Methodist Church in Great Britain and Australia, and *third* an equally brief view of Methodist work on the European continent.

First: Organizations in the United States.

A. Episcopal Methodist Bodies.

Methodism in the United States was from the beginning strongly episcopal. As a reaction there soon followed the opposition to the episcopal organization and the establishment of groups holding not only to the conference system but insisting upon the participation of laymen in church government. Below, sub C, we shall enumerate the bodies of this type. Here we shall speak of the episcopal bodies and begin with the recent merger of three large bodies into—

a. The Methodist Church.

The merger which was consummated on May 10th, 1939, represented a union of about eight million Methodists. Of its type and character we shall have a few statements below. In order to aid the reader in judging the three component parts of this union we shall give of each one a brief characterization. By far the largest of the three was:

1. *The Methodist Episcopal Church* (see *Religious Bodies*, 1926, Vol. II, pp. 918-939). While principally to be found in the Northern states, this body had also many congregations in the South. Some of its points of difference from other bodies were the following: (1) It was not so emotional as are some of the Methodist groups. Personal evangelism and catechetical instruction were being emphasized, and the old-time "revival" are disappearing. The idea concerning perfect sanctification had little hold, Perfectionists usually withdrawing to join some Holiness body. (2) The Episcopal leaders were known as bishops. These were elected by the General Conference and served indefinitely. They presided at all General and Annual Conferences and had the oversight of the Church at large, subject to appeal to the General Conference; they appointed all ministers to their positions in conference with the superintendent. In each Annual Conference were one or more superintendents (formerly known as presiding elders), appointed by the bishop, who supervised the congregations under their care, presiding at all Quarterly and District Conferences. (3) The General Conference which was legislative and judicial was composed of ministers elected by the Annual Conferences, and an equal number of laymen elected by the "lay electoral conventions."

The Annual Conference was composed of ministers of each charge and one lay delegate from the same charge. It was administrative. The Quarterly Conference included "Traveling Ministers, Local Preachers, Exhorters, Stewards, Class or Unit Leaders, Trustees, Directors of Social and Recreational Life, Directors of Religious Education, First Superintendents of Sunday Schools, Presidents of Epworth League Chapters, Superintendents of Junior Leagues, Presidents of Ladies Aid Societies, Presidents of Auxiliaries of Women's Foreign Missionary Society, and Deaconesses employed within the charge." (*Discipline*, 1932.) While the itinerancy system was still in vogue and all pastors were appointed annually, there was no longer any time limit.

In order to enable the reader to visualize the growth and status at the time of this writing we state that in 1906, according to *Rel. Bodies*, the membership was 2,986,154; in 1926 (*Rel. Bodies*) 4,080,777; in 1936 (accord-

ing to the Year Book of American Churches) 3,962,738.

There were two prominent weekly papers: *Christian Advocate*, 150 Fifth Ave., New York; *Epworth Herald*, 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

2. *The Methodist Episcopal Church, South.* (Cf. *Rel. Bodies*, 1926, pp. 961-970.) This body which in 1938 reunited by a vote of 434 against 26, with the Northern Church and with the Methodist Protestant Church, had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844, and was organized in Louisville, Ky., in 1845. The cause of separation was slavery, many of the Southern Methodists being slave owners, a practice which was fiercely opposed by the Northern Methodists. This difference has, of course, disappeared. But the Episcopal Methodists, South, are different from their Northern brethren in two respects: (1) There is a greater doctrinal conservatism regarding the heritage of Methodism from its founder, as we have pictured it in sections III and IV. (2) The presence of colored members in the conferences of the Northern Church was distasteful to the Southern Methodists. As to doctrinal conservatism it may here be mentioned that in 1846 a pastoral address was sent out to the conferences in which it was stated: "No recognized principle of the Methodism of our fathers has been in any way affected by the changes. All the doctrines, duties and usages, the entire creed and ritual of the church before the separation remain without change of any kind." (*Rel. Bodies*, p. 347.) The second of these differences might have been solved by uniting the colored units, at present existing within the large white organizations of the North, in a body of their own organization where they operated independently and still kept up a fraternal relationship with their white brethren. This was advocated by some of the far-seeing leaders of Methodism both North and South. A lawsuit by the Southern body to divide the assets of the Book Concern was successful, and in 1851-52 the printing establishments in Richmond, Nashville and Charleston were secured.

The Southern Church received a hard blow in the loss of Vanderbilt University of Nashville, Tenn., now independent. But the sturdy Southern Methodists rallied their resources for the education of their young

people, and Emory University at Atlanta, Georgia, was the result.

The Methodist Church South, suffered great losses in membership and endowment during the Civil War. Its membership in 1936 was 2,466,775; in 1926, 2,487,694; and in 1906 it had been 1,638,480. The Leading church paper was the *Christian Advocate* with Publ. House in Nashville, Tenn.

Finally, in 1938, a movement succeeded in uniting these two large organizations and to add to this union also the *Methodist Protestant Church*, a body which so far had stood in the non-episcopal column. The introduction of this factor in the union necessitates a brief report on

3. *The Methodist Protestant Church* (Cf. *Religious Bodies*, 1926, pp. 940-946).

It was organized in 1828 by a number of Methodist congregations and pastors who had been expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church because of their protest against the autocracy practiced by the bishops of that body. The excommunicated insisted that the laity be given equal rights with the clergy. Doctrinally there was no difference, though it is probably correct to say that the Methodist Protestant Church holds more conservatively to the teachings of Wesley, while the Methodist Episcopal Church shows the tendency to rationalize them:

The difference between the Methodist Protestant Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church in matters of Church polity has never been very pronounced. The conference system was introduced with an officer known as President, and the laymen received equal rights with the clergy. But a feeling had been growing in the M. P. Church that in its own camp there had been too much individualism and not enough concerted action to secure the best results. The M. E. Church had changed its polity considerably, especially in giving laymen equal representation at the Annual and General Conference, with the view of later making all officials elective. So the desire for a reunion with the Methodist Episcopal Church was fulfilled when the merger with that body was consummated in 1939. The Year Book of Ameri-

can Churches, 1936, showed the membership of the Methodist Protestant Church for that year as being 185,334.

Concerning the Character of the Methodist Church.

In Section III of this chapter, on "Confessional Guides for Doctrine and Life" and in Section IV on "Outstanding Denominational Characteristics of Methodism" we have discussed the confessional situation in the Methodist Church. It is different from the church of Luther and from the churches of Calvin on the one side and from the Congregationalists and Unitarians on the other; different also from Anglicanism, out of which it developed. It wants to be and it is the *Broad Church of American Protestantism*, with room for conservative "Essentialism" and for out-spoken naturalistic evolutionism side by side. At the convention in Kansas City, 1939, the inner conflicts with regard to matters of the Faith were taken over with the thought of letting them be worked out in future developments. (Cf. our Section IV, 6.) At this Merger Convention the confessional paragraph in the declaration of Union was expressed sub. III, as follows: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church had their common origin in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1784, A. D., and have ever held, adhered to and preserved a common belief, spirit and purpose, as expressed in their common Articles of Religion."⁷¹

We have discussed in much detail the Methodist leadership in pressing the Social Gospel (see ante IV, 10). At Kansas City, the Social Gospel kept its emphasis in the form given it in the days when the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America shaped its program.⁷²

There was at Kansas City also a reaffirmation of the demand for disciplinary procedure against members given to the use of intoxicants, indicating that American Methodism will not step back on this traditional issue of its discipline.

71 Cf. The Daily Christian Advocate, May 10, 1939. Details will be published in the Discipline of 1939.

72 Cf. IV, 10. However, a change was made by deleting Sec. 7 of the Social Creed because it favored "Social Planning."

As to the old differences in the matter of church government between the Methodist Protestant Church and the two episcopal churches the latter conceded to the former, the right for laymen to participate in the judicial courts of the Methodist Church.

b. Colored Methodists of the Episcopal Type.

There are seven of these colored groups. Most of them are small. But a number of them are strong churches with a very solid type of membership. The larger of these bodies were once parts of the Methodist Churches in the North. Their story is now to be told:

1. *African Methodist Episcopal Church.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 995-1005). In 1816 this body withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, white, and organized a church for the colored, the white coöperating. There were and there are today no doctrinal differences, the spirit being an endeavor to solve the question of race prejudice. Between the censuses of 1916 and 1926 this church has lost slightly in membership, the total of the former year being 548,355 and in the latter year 545,814. The College and Theological Seminary are at Wilberforce, Ohio. Publication: *Christian Recorder*, Philadelphia, Pa.

2. *African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1005-1016). This body separated itself from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1796 when the colored people of a certain locality in the city of New York, resenting racial prejudices, withdrew and organized their own church, "Zion." Progress in the early days prior to the Civil War was slow, but from 1864 on the membership increased rapidly. In 1909 it was 84,542, in 1916 it had increased to 257,169, and in 1936 to 520,671.

3. *Union American Methodist Episcopal Church.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, p. 1017). This church was organized at Wilmington, Delaware in 1813, in response to the dissatisfaction of the Negroes with certain discriminations under which they suffered. In 1850 a division occurred through a dispute over the interpretation of certain clauses of the Discipline, which resulted in a "Union American Methodist Church" and an "African Union

Church." The doctrine of the former church was essentially that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its membership had grown from 4,347 in 1906 and 3,624 in 1916, to the number of 15,001 in 1936. It works almost exclusively in the Middle Atlantic States, but a few congregations are in the South. Publication: *Union Recorder and Messenger*, Camden, New Jersey.

4. *Colored Methodist Episcopal Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1027-1034). This organization, in entire harmony with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formed in Jackson, Tenn., in 1870, with the hearty support and coöperation of the white General Conference. It has been a growing body. For leadership it looked to the African Methodist Episcopal Church (see ante, 1). Membership in 1926 was 202,713, and in 1936, 335,873. Publication: *Christian Index*, Jackson, Tenn. Heygood Seminary, Pine Bluffs, Ark.

5. *Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1039-1042). Organized 1885 by a group which withdrew from the African Methodist Episcopal Church because of differences over the election of delegates to the General Conference. In 1896 it adopted the episcopal system and its present name. Its field is almost entirely in South Carolina with headquarters in Sumter, S. C. Between 1906 and 1916 a loss in members was due to Negro migration to the North. Statistics of 1926 (2,265) show an increase.

6. *Independent African Methodist Episcopal Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, p. 1043). Organized 1897 at Jacksonville, Florida, from a split within the African Methodist Episcopal Church, although in harmony with the articles of faith and the general rules of this body. In 1900 another schism in the parent body occurred. These two factions united in 1919 and formed the organization given above. Membership (1926) 1003.

7. *Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1035). Organized in 1869 in south eastern Virginia as "Zion Union Apostolic Church," this body was reorganized under its present name in 1881. Its formation was due to conditions following the Civil War. Its special field: Virginia and North Carolina. Its doctrine like the Methodist Episcopal Church. As to govern-

ment it has only one order of ministers naming them Elders. Membership (1926) 4,538; (1936) 4,730.

B. Non-Episcopal Methodists.

The bodies here to be enumerated, mostly of English immigration, agree in doctrine with the Episcopal Methodists, but they have a dislike of anything savoring of authority in the Church. Their laymen usually have equal rights with the clergy in church conventions. The insistence on equality of the laymen with the ministry was a burning question in the early history of Methodism in England, after the departure of John Wesley.

Most of these non-episcopal bodies, however, have been losing members, and it is quite probable that soon we will note the disappearance of at least several of them, some going to the Methodist Church, others to the Congregational Church with which they have much in common.

In the following we shall offer a very brief description of six white and two colored bodies of these non-episcopal Methodists.

Non-Episcopal—White

1. *The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 947-954). This body withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1843. The apparent reason was the slavery question, the Wesleyans being bitterly opposed to the ownership of slaves by Methodists. Other things also played an important part, chief of them being the dislike for the possible evils from an episcopacy and the desire for a republican form of government. Harsh treatment by the Methodist Episcopal Church of its members who upheld abolition caused the final break, though the storm had been brewing for years. Many objectors to slavery were tried and expelled from the Methodist ministry.⁷³ Doctrinally they were in harmony with other Methodists, although they stressed more emphatically the topic of Entire Sanctification.⁷⁴ They also opposed membership

⁷³ See Faulkner, pp. 165-167, and Jennings, *American Wesleyan Methodism*, pp. 8-58.

⁷⁴ Cf. Jennings, pp. 38-44.

in secret societies, and they were zealous in anti-saloon work and in other reforms.

In matters of church polity they retained the conference system. But the Annual Conferences were composed equally of clergy and laymen, and together they elected their president. Itinerancy was also retained, but appointments were made by a Stationing Committee of six ministers and laymen, subject to appeal to the Annual Conference by pastor or congregation. (Jennings, pp. 56-58). The local congregation was the unit of power, and the rights of laymen as well as ministers was strongly upheld.

Union with the Methodist Protestant Church was considered for some years. Conferences were held with that body between 1864 and 1866. A form of union was drawn up and adopted by a majority vote. In consequence of this many Wesleyans affiliated with the Methodist Protestant Church. Others joined the Methodist Episcopal Church and others the Congregational Church. But the main body kept its independence. There was disagreement with the Methodist Protestant Church pertaining to the attitude to public moral questions. The Wesleyans feel the need of merging but there is indecision as to the direction into which such a movement should be taken. Fraternal delegates are being exchanged with the Church of the Nazarene and also with the Free Methodists.

In 1926 the membership was 21,910; in 1936 it was 24,718. Headquarters in Syracuse, New York.

2. *Primitive Methodist Church in the United States of America.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 955-960). A British body, though its origin in 1810 was brought about by camp-meetings held in Kentucky. Separation from the "Wesleyans" due to emphasis upon camp-meetings not approved by the Wesleyan Methodists. About 1829, missionaries from England began work in the United States and Canada.

In doctrine this body is generally evangelical, and of the Arminian type. Sanctification is stressed. Its polity is very democratic. It has the conference system, but has no bishops or superintendents, the work between sessions being in the care of committees. Pastors, both men and women, are placed by the Annual Conferences,

usually at the invitation of the congregations, being re-appointed annually but with no time limit. Considerably more than half of the membership is in Pennsylvania.

Publications: *Primitive Methodist Journal*, Bilmerica Center, Mass.

3. *Congregational Methodist Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 971-975). In 1852 a group of members withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on account of objection to the episcopacy and itinerancy, and organized under a congregational system. Large numbers were lost to the Congregational Church about 1888.

In doctrine Methodist. In practice Congregational. Congregations have large liberty which includes the calling of their own pastors. The usual conference system is in vogue, but there are no bishops.

It is almost exclusively a Southern group. Its periodical, *The Messenger*, is published at Anniston, Ala. Decline in membership in 1916 of 15%, 1926 of 22.5%.

4. *The Free Methodist Church of North America*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 976-984). This body grew out of a controversy within the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1860 a new organization was effected. The seceders became known as "Free Methodists." They were aggressive revivalists with special emphasis upon Entire Sanctification and standing in opposition to worldliness which they felt was creeping into the Church. Methodists in doctrine and practice, they were much like other Methodist bodies. But there were a number of features that marked their difference from the parent group: (1) Insistence that laymen be given equal rights with the clergy in conferences (which is now granted by the Methodist Episcopal Church); (2) the demand that the bishops, to be elected for four years at a time, be amenable to the General Conference; (3) that the district elders (corresponding to the superintendents in the former M. E. Church) be elected by the Annual Conferences; (4) that the assignment of ministers be made by a committee composed of district elders in each Annual Conference and an equal number of laymen to be elected by the Conference; (5) that the instrumental music and choir singing be not allowed in the church services; (6) the 25 articles of Methodism were readopted with

the addition of two more: entire sanctification, future rewards and punishments; (7) membership in secret societies was forbidden; (8) requirement of a probation of six months before full membership.⁷⁵

The Free Methodists and the Wesleyans coöperate in many ways, and a merger of these two and the Church of the Nazarene is a possibility in a not far distant future.

Membership (1926), 36,374; (1936), 44,511. Headquarters 1132 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

5. *New Congregational Methodist Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 985-988). This is a small localized organization which arose in Southern Georgia in 1881. A number of small congregations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being consolidated without their approval or consent, withdrew and formed this body. In doctrine Methodist, in practice Congregational, upholding the superiority of ministers, but also the rights of congregations to elect their own officers. The Church was supported by free-will offerings. Freedom was given as to observance of foot-washing in connection with the Lord's Supper. The conference system was followed. The superintendent was given no episcopal authority.

All of the congregations are in Georgia and Florida. They are losing in number, many transferring to the Congregational Church and other bodies. Membership (1926), 1,229.

6. *The Reformed Methodist Church*. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, p. 991). In 1814 a group protested against the episcopal form of government claiming that it was destructive to Christian humility. Not being recognized it organized with 14 members into a separate church. In 30 years it grew into a membership of 3000. Then some began to unite with the Methodist Protestants (after 1843). Others joined the Wesleyan Methodists. In 1926 there were still 14 active churches and 390 members in New York and Pennsylvania.

In doctrine Methodist, in polity Congregational with Quarterly and Annual Conferences, and a General Conference.

⁷⁵ For further information, see **Free Methodist Discipline**, also **Retrospect and Prospect** by Bishop Wilson T. Hogue.

Non-Episcopal—Colored.

1. *Colored Methodist Protestant Church.* (Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1015-16). The correct name was "The African Union First Colored Methodist Church of America or Elsewhere." It organized in 1866 by uniting the African Union Church (from the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, 1850) and the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church (from the Methodist Protestant Church).

In doctrine it is Methodist. In polity it agrees with the Methodist Protestant Church, giving equal rights to the laity (including delegates to the conferences) and having no bishops.

More than half of its membership is in Delaware and Maryland. It showed a loss in 1916 and a gain in 1926, at which time its membership was 4,086.

2. *African Union Methodist Protestant Church.* This body was organized in 1866 when the African Union Church and the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church united. The doctrine is that of the Methodist Episcopal Church but its polity is more in agreement with the former Methodist Protestant Church. Membership in 1926: 43 churches, 4,086 members.

Second: Methodism in Europe.**A. In Great Britain.**

The reader will understand that what here is reported constitutes the continuation and the close of the brief review we gave at the beginning of this chapter p. 382 f. under the superscription "Early History and First Constituency of Methodism in England." We traced the division of Methodism at the beginning of the 18th century into quite a number of bodies. We now desire to know what has since been accomplished in the way of union.

Two union movements have brought together in one great body the whole host of Methodism in Great Britain, Ireland. There were no doctrinal differences that stood in the way; the divisions of the past had pertained to matters of church government. The democratic principles of A. Kilham, at the time of the secession of the

Methodist New Connection with the conference organization (1798) had gradually won the field.

The *first* of the above mentioned union movements was the one of 1907 when the "Methodist New Connection," the "Bible Christians" and the "United Methodist Free Church" became one body under the name of the United Methodist Church. In the *second* union movement, 1932, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Primitive Methodist Church were united with the United Methodist Church, and all together now took the name "The Methodist Church."

Six theological colleges serve as institutions for training candidates for the ministry. These are being more and more brought into line with the standards of the universities.

Much stress is laid on Home Missionary Work in the villages and the city centers. Laymen are employed as evangelists in open air meetings or in theaters and halls.

The British Foreign Missionary Societies are engaged in a great extensive work: 12 colleges with more than 5,000 students; 36 high schools with 6,068 students; besides 16 theological and normal training institutions for native workers. This gives us an idea of the work done by a united Methodism in Great Britain.

The latest statistics (1936) for Great Britain and Ireland (according to Whitacker's Almanack) are as follows: 5,697 ministers, 46,406 lay preachers, 1,244,374 members and probationers, 21,124 churches.

In Australia (1932) the Methodists had a membership of 127,978.

Throughout the world, Methodism had (1936): 55,166 ministers, 93,992 lay preachers, 11,654,932 members and probationers.

B. Methodism on the European Continent

Since Methodism on the European continent has developed under the fostering care of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America (North), it is natural that the details of this development should be found in the minutes of this body. On the basis of a communication from Bishop J. L. Nuelsen with residence in Geneva, we can here report that in Switzerland there is at present (1937) a membership of 15,870; in Italy of 2,404. In Ger-

many with 53,773, the work has been put under Bishop F. H. O. Belle in Berlin. There is work also in former Austria, in Hungary, Jugoslavia and Bulgaria where the membership is small. The former Methodist Episcopal Church, South, now part of "The Methodist Church" in America, has conducted (according to statistics of 1934) work: in Belgium with 13 pastors and a membership of 1004; in Poland, 13 preachers with 980 members; in Czechoslovakia 20 pastoral charges with a membership of 2,523 and 5,402 probationers. The occasion for beginning this work was a very effectively executed relief program after the World War.

In the Scandinavian countries, formerly under the oversight of Bishop Nuelsen, there existed (1937) under the care of Bishop R. J. Wade with residence in Stockholm a work as follows: Sweden, begun in 1845, with a membership of 50,000; Norway, since 1856 has 25,000; Denmark 15,000; Finland 15,000, with two conferences, one of them using the Swedish language. Bishop Wade writes: "Please observe that the work was not begun by sending missionaries. The Methodist work in each of these lands began as the result of sailors converted in our Bethelship mission in Brooklyn or elsewhere in the United States."

It should be added that Methodism on the continent has a theological seminary in Frankfurt-on-the-Main in Germany, and a publication house in Bremen, which issues the *Evangelist*.

Part Two

BODIES RELATED TO METHODISM

I. THE UNITED BRETHREN.

1. *The Church of the United Brethren in Christ.* (See *The Religious Bodies*, 1926, pp. 1359 ff.)

This body, though Methodist in genius by use of the revival practice (which indicated its tendency to Arminianism), originated among the Germans of Pennsylvania and Maryland in a region where Reformed and Mennonites constituted the community. Its early history begins with the revivals of Wm. Phillip Otterbein, Martin Boehm, A. Guething, and others. At a meeting in Baltimore, 1789, these revivalistic preachers, 14 in

number, adopted for coöperation among themselves a confession of faith and rules for work. In 1800 finally, at a conference in Frederick county, Md., a distinct ecclesiastical body under the name "United Brethren in Christ" was formed.

Nine of the participating ministers were German Reformed and five were Mennonites. The Reformed Churches practiced infant baptism, but not foot-washing; the Mennonites practiced foot-washing and adult baptism by immersion. This situation necessitated concessions in doctrine and practice. Each conceded to the other freedom to follow personal convictions as to the form of baptism, the age of persons to be baptized and the observance of foot-washing.

Literature: A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren*. E. O. Watson, *Year Book of the Churches*. Convenient for information is the little pamphlet by Bishop A. R. Clippinger and Dr. J. G. Howard (U. B. Publishing House, Dayton, Ohio.)

During the first years of the nineteenth century the body grew especially in the Miami Valley in Ohio. In 1936 it numbered 410,894 members. The leading educational institution is Otterbein College, with Bonebrake Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio.

a. The Church of the United Brethren does not cater to the world. See in its *Manual* the paragraph on "non-conformity to the world" and the instruction for the Christian life. As in the Methodist Church there is the inclination to go into details regarding the "duties of members." See the *Discipline* which reveals the danger of legalism. Note also the expression on "Sabbath observance," on "intoxicating drinks" ("strictly prohibited"), on "tobacco" (abstinence "kindly advised"), on "war" ("inconsistent. . . for followers of Christ to participate in or sanction war as a means of settling international disputes and controversies"), on "race relations." The interest in the Social Gospel is expressed by membership in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and in the adoption of its social program.

b. The "Confession of Faith" in its thirteen articles is Trinitarian. This church wants to be "evangelical" in its teaching on the way of salvation. It favors no ideas of Humanism.

c. On the *mode of Baptism and the Lord's Supper* it leaves freedom of practice. This is explained by its constituency. It is non-committal on the far more important doctrinal conception of the sacraments. To the Mennonites the believer's baptism is a seal upon the new birth; the supper is only a memorial. To the Reformed, if of Zwinglian persuasion, baptism is a symbol which marks the believer as a Christian, and the eucharist is a memorial; if of Calvinistic persuasion, both sacraments add an assurance or confirmation to the preached Gospel. See our discussion of Calvinism on this point (Compare p. 327). But the founders of the movement were practically Methodists in matters such as "Man's Depravity," "Justification," "Regeneration and Adoption," "Sanctification" (cf. articles 7-11). To Wesley baptism was merely a "symbol of the new birth" and the eucharist was "a symbol of Christ's suffering" (Zwinglian).⁷⁶ Wesley and all the Methodists put in place of Calvin's "assurance" and "confirmation" the immediate testimony of the Spirit. This whole situation must have suggested to the founders of the United Brethren Church a non-committal attitude concerning the sacraments as the best policy.

d. As to *organization* this body is like the Methodist Episcopal Church.

2. *The Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Old Constitution). (See Rel. Bodies, 1926, p. 1367. Cf. Watson, Year Book).

This body is a secession from the original church of this name. Trouble came to a head in 1889 with the adoption of a new constitution. Chief cause for objection by a minority was the provision for admitting members of secret societies. It continued under the same name as the church of the "Old Constitution," without being allowed by the courts to claim the old church property under this designation. The period of litigation has given way to a relation of Christian courtesy so that coöperation is increasing. The secret order question seems to be the main barrier to reunion. Another difference, however, may be mentioned: The new constitution of the parent body made the General Conference

⁷⁶ Cf. the 25 Articles of Methodism, and Schaff, *Creeds III*, pp. 807 ff.

to include clergy and laymen in equal numbers, while in the old constitution the General Conference was composed only of ministers.

Membership in 1926 (according to *Rel. Bodies*) was 17,872 in 372 churches. The *Year Book of American Churches* 1936, shows 16,440 members in 344 churches. Publication House and College in Huntington, Indiana.

3. *United Christian Church*. (*Rel. Bodies*, 1926, p. 1374). The organization here mentioned was originated by members breaking away from the United Brethren in Christ in 1864, being opposed to some doctrines and practices as then held and practiced by the Church. These related principally to infant baptism, voluntary bearing of arms, admission of members of oath-bound secret organizations into the Church. It seems to have been a Mennonite faction. It was organized in 1878. On the census of 1926 it had 15 active churches, all in Pennsylvania, with 577 members. The *Year Book of American Churches*, 1936, shows 531 members in 15 churches. In doctrine this group is conservative and evangelistic. The ordinances are baptism, Lord's Supper and foot-washing, immersion preferred. In polity it is episcopal.

II. THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

1. *Evangelical Church* (General Conference).

This church originated about 1809 among the Germans in Pennsylvania under the intensely spiritual leadership of Jacob Albright. The movement was an outgrowth of the revival situation in America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Albright had identified himself with the Methodists, but in 1816 he left with his followers because his ideals along spiritual lines were not realized. The name "Evangelical Association" was chosen.

Since 1850 missionaries were sent to Germany where this work is organized in a Northern and a Southern Conference and these composed of a number of districts, covering localities such as Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Reutlingen, Dresden, Duesseldorf, Hanover, Koenigsberg, Hamburg, Berlin. From the North of Germany, via Riga, the churches have spread into the Baltics; from

the South into Switzerland which is covered with a special conference and several districts. In 1928, the RGG (encyclopedia) in Germany counted 95 congregations and preaching places in Germany. Since 1925, the German work is organized in a European Central Conference which meets biennially. The weekly paper for Germany and the Germans is *Der Evangelische Botschafter*, published in Cleveland, Ohio.

The development of this body represented a German evangelistic movement with successes on the other side of the Atlantic, as was depicted. And while there has been preaching in English since 1848, it seems that this body (much like the United Brethren) did not naturally find the avenue for further development in America.

In 1891 in America, this body split over a conflict between two bishops (Escher and Dubs). Thence two churches stood opposed to each other: the old "Evangelical Association" and a "United Evangelical Church." In 1922, the two factions re-united under the name "General Conference of the Evangelical Church" without, however, succeeding to draw the whole of the one party into the union (see below No. 2).

Doctrinally this body has the Arminian emphasis. Its Confession of Faith is in agreement with the 25 articles of Wesley. In its evangelization it uses the revival method. In a controversy with the Holiness people in Germany the position was taken by a representative that all believers are sanctified, against the teaching of an entire sanctification and the thought of a special act of sanctification after the experience of justification. The home body in America has defined Christian perfection as "a state of grace in which we are so firmly rooted in God that we have instant victory over every temptation the moment it presents itself, without yielding in any degree; in which our rest, peace and joy in God are not interrupted by the vicissitudes of life; in which, in short, sin has lost its power over us, and we rule over the flesh, the world and Satan, yet in watchfulness."⁷⁷

As to the present-day stress upon the "Social Gospel" in America we need to remark that this body is af-

filiated with the Federal Council and has adopted its program.

In polity it has much in common with the Methodist non-episcopal bodies, having the conference system, elective officials, equal rights of the laity, etc. The episcopal office is of administrative significance. The itinerant system is very nearly the same as that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The appointments are made by the bishop and presiding elders. It is represented in the Methodist Ecumenical Conference. Schools: *Colleges* in Naperville, Ill.; Myerstown, Pa.; Reading, Pa. *Theological Seminaries*: Naperville, Ill., Reading, Pa., Reutlingen, Germany.

2. The Evangelical Congregational Church. (Rel. Bodies, 1926, p. 532.)

This organization represents a group which felt that it could not go into the reunion of 1922, spoken of above under No. 1. It stands for a principle of democracy in church government against episcopalianism. In the beginning it continued under the old name "United Evangelical Church." Then it changed to the name "Evangelical Congregational Church," in order to comply with the refusal of the courts to let it use that name in connection with claims on church property.

Doctrinally the body is Arminian, in harmony with Wesley's 25 Articles. In polity it is Methodist Episcopal, with limits of pastorate to eight years. It is organized in two conferences: the East Pennsylvania and the Western (Middle West) conferences. In 1926, this body had 153 churches with 20,449 members. In 1936, it had 159 churches with 24,109 members. Headquarters, Myerstown, Pa.

III. THE HOLINESS AND THE PENTECOSTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Literature: For convenient references see the Religious Bodies II of 1926. (The arrangement there is alphabetical and, therefore, spread over the whole volume). Cf. **E. O. Watson**, Year Book of the Churches, 1923. Cf. **Carroll**, The Religious Forces in the United States, 1912. **E. H. Klotzsche**, Christian Symbolics, 1929. **T. Engelder** and Others, Popular Symbolics, 1934. **A. Koeberle**, Quest for Holiness, English translation from 3rd. ed., 1936, pp. 84 ff. **E. T. Clark**, The Small Sects in America, pp. 74 ff.

In this section (below) we shall describe in very brief sketches a large number of organizations which all stress the Wesleyan teaching of "entire sanctification." But among them are also those called the Pentecostal group, or a group of people whose general characteristics urge an externally noticeable baptism with the Holy Ghost, which evidences itself in the gift of speaking with tongues with which usually goes a practice of divine healing and also a vivid expectation of Christ's second coming (pre-millennialism). "Not less than 25 Pentecostal and Holiness groups have been organized since 1880."⁷⁸

Our attention is to be turned first to the *Holiness People* followed by the Pentecostal movement. In our study, however, it will be found that the two frequently overlap or blend into one group. It may here be noted that the presence of only the stress on Holiness goes back to the Methodist emphasis on "entire sanctification," while the Pentecostal features point to influences received from the Baptist side, reminding us of the "theology of the inner light." Many practice foot-washing which shows regard to the Mennonites. Union among the groups or bodies here to be enumerated may be expected. The "Pilgrim Holiness Church" (see below No. 10), for instance, is a union of a number of small organizations. The Church of the Nazarene (No. 3) also, is a fusion of some ten distinct Holiness movements, as we shall see.

a. Holiness Bodies—Two Types.

There are two outstanding types. The *first* is the position which starts with the Confessions of the Reformation. This position, held also by Wesley, is careful to relate sanctification to justification, as the fruit to its root or as the stream to its spring. Into this class, in the main, belonged the teaching of W. E. Boardman of Smithfield, New York (died 1886), chairman of the Association for holding Union Holiness Conventions, widely known in that day through his many popular writings in which he refuted the idea of a sanctification which was not based upon an inner personal fellowship and union with Christ, in which the Christian receives his strength

78 E. W. Garrison, *The March of Faith*, p. 181.

for victory over known sins "moment after moment," "suppressionism."⁷⁹

The *second* consists of those who have come to be called "eradicationists." They believe in justification following upon repentance and conversion as an experience of sin's forgiveness; but they look to *sanctification* as the experience of a "second blessing," a "second cleansing." They see no causative relation between justification and sanctification, as the conservative Reformation did.⁸⁰ A leading writer in this direction, years ago, was A. B. Simpson, and an outstanding writer of this present day on the same subject is A. M. Hills.⁸¹ They stress sanctification as an instantaneous and complete deliverance from all inbred sin. It is not an "attainment" but an "obtainment" (Simpson). Even "the inclination to sin" is removed (Hills). This eradication of sin in the believer is effected through the experience of a baptism with the Holy Ghost. Hills describes it as follows: "The early Church remained in prayer ten days for God's sanctifying Spirit to come. Suddenly He came and from that moment they were sanctified men." It would seem that there can be no growth or progress in this kind of sanctification. On this compare a voice from the Nazarenes, below, No. 3. Hills does not claim for this experience "absolute perfection," because this can be ascribed to God only. This new life of the believer is spoken of as a kind of physical, mechanical or magical change. Simpson characterizes it as a "transfusion of Christ's life through our being." The "living physical Christ comes into our life, sharing His physical life with ours . . ." One can see that such a conception can become a basis for practicing "divine healing."

Note: We have discussed these teachings of Darbyism in connection with the views of John Wesley on the subject of "Entire Holiness" (Chap. VII on The Methodist Church, p. 399 ff). Cf. closing note on Darbyism,

79 Writings by Boardman: *The Higher Christian Life*; *Gladness in Jesus*; *The Lord that Healeth Thee*. Cf. Mrs. Boardman's *Life and Labors of the Rev. W. E. Boardman*, 1887.

80 For a masterly characterization of the relation between justification and sanctification see A. Koeberle, *Quest for Holiness*, pp. 90 ff.

81 Simpson, *The Fourfold Gospel*. Hills, *Holiness and Power*. For a moment we shall employ the principle of Popular Symbolics in a critical review of these writers.

Plymouth Brethren, in our Chap. IX. Read E. T. Clark, p. 74 on C. G. Finney and note the difference Finney makes between his own experience of justification in 1818 and his experience of 1843 (cf. his autobiography). A. Koeberle rejects the Darbyite teaching of sanctification as the experience of a moment, (II Cor. 4:16). The sudden outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost was so out of the ordinary that this event cannot be used as a proof in the present case. But Koeberle insists that sanctification also is an exclusive act of God: "Just as forgiveness is exclusively God's work and every coöperation or conditioning activity on man's part is completely excluded, so regeneration is an energy that comes simply out of Christ's victory and does not require our supplementary efforts. It is not fitting to teach justification evangelically and then in the doctrine of sanctification to turn synergistic." And as to complete eradication he says: "Justification is complete, sanctification is always something incomplete."⁸²

The American Holiness Movement in its Influence on European Countries.

There is quite a history connected with this specifically American movement which went to England and from there to Germany and to other countries of the continent. Two Americans, the already mentioned Rev. W. E. Boardman and R. Pearsall Smith, a Philadelphia merchant (died 1908), became leaders of the Oxford Holiness movement, starting from the "Keswick" conventions, 1874. Enthusiastic visitors from Germany were present: H. Rappart, Director of St. Chrischona, near Basel; O. Stockmeier, an Evangelist; Th. Jellinghaus, leading lecturer at religious conventions, and others. These men took Pearsall Smith from Oxford on a "triumphal journey" through Germany where he lectured in the largest cities before capacity audiences.

The movement in England had begun with the position of Boardman (cultivated at Keswick under men such as F. B. Meyer), but it had developed more and more into the teaching of perfectionism. Pearsall Smith especially had been driving in that direction. "He as-

⁸² *Quest for Holiness*, pp. 98 f.

serted that for 27 years he had committed no sin, and he said that his little son Frank had received the grace of justification when four years old and sanctification when he was seven."⁸³ A reflection of the American influence upon Germany may be seen in the large German literature which issued from that visit of Pearsall Smith.⁸⁴

b. The Pentecostal Movement in America and its Appearance in Europe.

Our sketches begin with the Holiness Bodies and then run into the *Pentecostal organizations*. It is interesting to observe that this latter movement, this baptism with the Holy Spirit, declared to be evidenced by a speaking with tongues, also has had a history outside of America. The movement which had its beginning among negroes in Los Angeles, California (April 9, 1906), was transplanted first to Norway by T. B. Barratt, a Methodist. It found followers also in Sweden. In England, before the World War, conferences on this matter were held at Sunderland; they were resumed after the World War. In Holland (Amsterdam) there was a convention on this subject in 1921. In Germany the propagation of this movement began with the arrival of two women from America. But it was the evangelist Pastor J. Paul who made himself an advocate and the center of this movement. He himself spoke with tongues and even sang in two tongues. As a sample he reported the following to be sung after the tune "Jesus, still lead on": "Sa tschu ra ta ratori da tschu ri kenka oli tanka bori tari ju ra fanka kullikatschi da uri ra ta." Sane Christian leaders who were not ready to discredit all speaking with tongues because of examples of Scripture,⁸⁵ warned the Christian public against such an utterance. The RGG, IV, 1153 f. in an article on "Pfingstbewegung" (Pente-

83 E. Kalb, *Kirchen und Sekten der Gegenwart*, p. 322. Referred to by Koeberle, p. 97, who also quotes Jellinghaus with this statement: The teaching that "a believing Christian must always remain in a state of continual repentance would have been unintelligible to the Christians of Apostolic times" Ibid.

84 See RGG encyclopedia, V, 539: R. P. Smith, *Holiness through Faith*. Cf. P. Fleisch, *Die Heiligungslehre der Oxfordter Bewegung in Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, No. 35, 1924.

85 Isaiah 28:10; but especially in the N. T. Mark 16:17; Acts 2; 10:46; I Cor 12 and 14, spoken of as gifts of the Spirit.

costal Movement) speaks of a periodical, published in the spirit of this movement, which had near to 10,000 subscribers.⁸⁶

c. The Holiness and Pentecost Organizations in Brief Sketches.

1. *The Assemblies of God (General Council)*. The year 1907 marked the beginning of many missionary undertakings of the revivalistic type in America and Canada. These separate movements gradually arrived at a mutual interest in each other, and in 1914, some 100 delegates met in Hot Springs, Arkansas, and there organized under the above given name.

The body established itself under the tenets of what is understood as "Fundamentalism." The majority of members had been Methodists, following the Arminian way of preaching on matters of salvation. There was insistence on the direct and immediate witness of the Spirit as an inward evidence of conversion. Entire sanctification was a leading interest. The church was to be a living organism with a divinely called and scripturally ordained ministry. In addition there was interest in the speaking with tongues, and in divine healing. The premillennial and imminent coming of the Lord became an article of faith. They felt constrained to declare themselves against participation in war. On polity the position was taken on a combination of the Congregational and Presbyterian systems.

Headquarters at Springfield, Mo. Tithing observed. Membership in 1926: 47,950; in 1936: 152,860. Missions in 30 foreign fields.

2. *The Church of God (General Assembly of Churches of God)*. Organized 1886, in Monroe County, Tenn., under the name "Christian Union," 1902, reorganized as "Holiness Church," and in 1907, adopted the name "Church of God."

Following in general the teachings of Fundamentalism the body emphasizes today: Entire sanctification as

⁸⁶ P. Fleisch has been a continuous student of this Pentecost movement: *Die innere Entwicklung der deutschen Gemeinschaftsbewegung in den Jahren 1906, 1907 und 1908*. By the same author: *Die Zungenbewegung in Deutschland*, 1914.

a second definite experience subsequent to regeneration, baptism with the Holy Ghost, evidenced by speaking in other tongues. With the observation of the Lord's Supper, foot-washing is combined. Baptism is by immersion. Forbidden is the use of liquor, membership in secret orders, the wearing of jewelry, also the participation in war. Church government in this body has something of a theocratic character, in the form of a combination of episcopalianism with congregationalism.

Membership 1926: 23,247; 1936: 18,519 members. Headquarters at Cleveland, Tenn.

3. *The Church of the Nazarene*. Its beginning goes back to 1895, when three "tabernacles" in New York formed the "Association of Pentecostal Churches of America." A similar general organization ("Central Evangelical Holiness Association") in New England had come into existence. These two united, 1896, in Brooklyn, N. Y. In 1895 a "First Church of the Nazarene" in Los Angeles had come into existence, which attracted members eastward to Chicago. Then there had been a number of independent holiness churches in the South and in the Southwest, chiefly in Tennessee and Texas (see *Rel. Bodies II*, p. 390). All these united with the before-mentioned Eastern and Western branches, including even some in Canada and in the British Isles, and in 1915, all together formed the "Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene."

This church does not favor the movements which stress the speaking in tongues, and it refuses to make divine healing a normal and essential thing. It also omits premillennialism from its Articles of Faith. All this indicates the taking of a more sober position than is the case with many of the holiness organizations which have committed themselves to speaking with tongues, to healing and premillennialism. But it stresses very much the Wesleyan doctrine of "entire sanctification" which is developed into an emphasis on sanctification being "wrought instantaneously by the baptism with the Holy Spirit."⁸⁷ This does not exclude a growth in grace, so we are told. We read: "There is a marked distinction between a perfect heart and a perfect character.

Church" and the "Pentecostal Holiness Church." Its teaching is practically that of Methodism. It stresses premillennialism, divine healing "without antagonizing the practice of medicine." Conscious regeneration and evidence of holiness are the conditions of membership. Characterization: "The fervor of Spirit manifest in worship."⁹¹ The characteristics of the Holiness and the Pentecostal groups mingle in this organization. Its work is in the Southern states. In 1926: Churches 252; members 8,096; 1936: Churches 536; members 16,049. Important foreign mission work is conducted in South Africa, South China and India. Educational institutions in Franklin Springs, Ga., and in Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

7. *Holiness Methodist Church*. Also known as the "Lumbree River Annual Conference of the Holiness Methodist Church." A small body established in North Carolina in 1900. The doctrine is in agreement with Methodism with special stress on the universality of the atonement, the witness of the Spirit, and Scriptural holiness in heart and life. In polity it is also in accord with Methodism but has no affiliation with Methodists. Membership: 1926 it had 459 members in 7 churches; 1936: 495 members in 7 churches. Headquarters: Pembroke, N. C.

8. *The Congregational Holiness Church* (reported 1926 with 25 churches and 939 members and in 1936 with 59 churches and 2,039 members) seceded from the Pentecostal Holiness Church in protest against quasi-episcopal form of church government. In teaching and practice identical with the parent body.

9. *The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* reported to the Census of 1926, that it traces its origin to "a pentecostal revival" appearing about 1901 in Kansas, moving southward to Texas, finally reaching Los Angeles in 1906. Thence it spread widely "with new promise of a second coming of Christ." The organizations which resulted designated themselves by names such as "the Apostolic Faith Assembly," "Full Gospel Assembly," "Assembly of God," etc. A number of these movements joined and incorporated under the name "The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World." Considering the wide scope indicated in the name, we may surmise that

91 *Rel. Bodies*, II, 1926, p. 1095.

it was this organization which was inspiring the Pentecostal sympathizers in England, Sweden, Norway and Germany.⁹²

Doctrinally, it stresses "belief in inspiration of the Scriptures as the only sufficient rule and practice," and it is not interested in "systematic theology" (assuming that theorizing on "holiness" and other things were not systematic theology). Membership is obtained only by genuine repentance, water baptism in the name of Jesus and by the baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in other tongues "as the Spirit gives utterance." It believes in divine healing for the body, the personal premillennial return of Christ and entire sanctification. It wants to have no connection with labor unions and secret societies, and it believes that war and the bearing of arms is against the divine law. The ordinances of the church are baptism, the Lord's Supper and the washing of the feet of the saints. Represented in all states of the Union. Mission activities also in other countries. Statistics in 1926: 7,850 members in 126 churches. In 1936 (Year Book of American Churches): 6,428 members in 126 churches. Headquarters: 402 West Fall Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.

10. *The Pilgrim Holiness Church*⁹³ was organized 1897 at Cincinnati, Ohio, as "International Apostolic Holiness Union." At one time it was a district of the Church of the Nazarene. Between 1906 and 1916, the term "church" was substituted for union. Since 1916, several smaller bodies were admitted. In 1919, the "Holiness Christian Church" united with the "International Apostolic Holiness Church," and the name was changed to "International Holiness Church." 1922, the "Pentecostal Rescue Mission," consisting of congregations chiefly in the State of New York, united with the "International Holiness Church," becoming its New York district. In 1922, the "Pilgrim Church" with organizations largely in California, merging with the "International Holiness Church" and the above named "Pilgrim Holi-

92 See the articles on "Pfingstbewegung" und "Zungenreden" of the RGG.

93 This report, with some abbreviations, is taken from *Rel. Bodies*, 1926. II, 1098.

ness Church," was chosen for the combined bodies. In 1924, a small number of congregations known as the "Pentecostal Brethren in Christ" joined and became a part of its Ohio district. In 1925, the "Peoples Mission Church," with churches and missions in Colorado and other surrounding states also joined, becoming known as the Rocky Mountain district.

In its doctrine this group emphasizes sanctification of believers as a definite second work of grace, instantaneously received by faith, the healing of the sick through faith in Christ, the premillennial return of Christ, the evangelization of the world as a step in hastening the coming of the Lord. In 1926, there were: Churches 441 with 15,040 members and in 1936 (Year Book of American Churches) 21,065 members in 573 churches. Headquarters: Indianapolis, Ind.

11. *Churches of God, Holiness.* Organized at Atlanta, Ga., in 1916, by the Rev. K. H. Burruss. It believes in the inspiration of the Scripture, acknowledges belief in the Trinity, in justification, sanctification and regeneration. It teaches both present and ultimate perfection. The ordinances are baptism and the Lord's Supper. In 1936 (Year Book of American Churches): there were 38 churches with 3,248 members. Headquarters: Atlanta, Ga.

Holiness Bodies Among the Colored.

Cf. Religious Bodies, II, 1926. (Year Book of American Churches, 1937) Watson, Klotsche. Popular Symbolics enumerates them in a separate column. All are Fundamentalists. In chronological enumeration as to the time of their origin they are: (1) *Church of the Living God, Christian Workers Fellowship.* Organized 1889. Immersionists. Foot-washing. In welfare work, care of the sick, etc. There is a certain imitation of the fraternal societies. Churches, in 1926: 149 with 11,558 members. In 1936: 3,940 members in 146 churches. (2) *Church of God in Christ.* Organized 1895, with headquarters in Memphis, Tenn. Baptism by immersion. Foot-washing. In 1926: Churches 733 with 30,263 members. In 1936: 1200 churches and 190,470 members. (3) *Church of God and Saints of Christ.* Organized 1896, at Lawrence,

Kansas on the basis of a vision. Immersion. Foot-washing and the "Holy Kiss." Belief in descendance of Negro race from the ten tribes. The ten commandments and conception of Scripture to be followed are qualified by a special document which came into existence by a vision to the founder. Observation of the Jewish Sabbath. Headquarters in Philadelphia. Churches 112. Members 6,741. (4) *Church of God (Apostolic)*. Organized at Danville, Ky., 1897. First name: "Christian Faith Band Church." Baptism by immersion. Stress holiness and foot-washing. In 1926 there were 18 churches and 492 members. In 1936: 48 churches with 1,829 members. (5) *Church of Christ, Holiness*. A movement originated by Dr. C. P. Jones, a Baptist minister, first at Selma, Ark., then in Jackson, Miss. Represented chiefly in Mississippi, Virginia and North Carolina. Organized as a church in 1898. In addition to the fundamentals there is the practice of immersion and foot-washing, stress on sanctification, and interest in the second coming of Christ, in baptism with the Holy Ghost and in divine healing. Membership in 1926: 4,919; in 1936: 6,187. (6) *Free Christian Zion Church of Christ*. Organized 1905, at Redemption, Ark. In doctrine like the non-episcopal Methodists, with sanctification. In 1926, there were 5 churches and 187 members. (7) *Free Church of God in Christ*. Originated at Enon, Okla., 1916, by a secession from a Baptist Church. Teaches entire sanctification, encourages the speaking with tongues and practices divine healing. Churches 19, members 874. (8) *The Apostolic Overcoming Church of God*, organized 1916. Up to 1927, the name was "Ethiopian Overcoming Holy Church of God." Headquarters in Mobile, Ala. In 1926 there were 1047 members in 16 churches. 1936: churches 50 with 5,000 members. (9) *Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth*: An outgrowth of No. 1. Organized 1925. In 1926 there were 81 churches with 5,844 members. In 1936: Churches 250 with 15,030 members.

IV. THE SALVATION ARMY GROUP.

1. *The Salvation Army*. (Census in Rel. Bodies, 1926, pp. 1279-1288). We identify these organizations with the "Methodist Family" for several reasons: (1) Its lead-

ing characteristic is evangelism. (2) In doctrine it is Arminian rather than Calvinistic. (3) It shows the same attitude toward doctrine as is taken by all Methodists, (holding a doctrinal position without insisting upon it as a test for membership). In polity it is an episcopacy although in another way and under another name.

Because of the general interest in this particular organization, also because of its splendid service during the World War, their "principal doctrines" are given in full as they appear in the "Doctrines of the Salvation Army" (pp. 3-5). The "Articles of War" are a membership pledge:

(1) "We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice." (2) "We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things." (3) "We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; undivided in essence, co-equal in power and glory, and the only proper object of religious worship." (4) "We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man." (5) "We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that, in consequence of their fall, all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God." (6) "We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world, so that whosoever will may be saved." (7) "We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation." (8) "We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself." (9) "We believe that the Scriptures teach that not only does continuance in the favor of God depend upon continued faith in, and obedience to, Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost." (10) "We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be

'wholly sanctified', and that 'the whole spirit and soul and body' may be 'preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ'. That is to say, we believe that after conversion there remain in the heart of the believer inclinations to evil, or roots of bitterness, which, unless overpowered by Divine grace, produce actual sin, but that these evil tendencies can be entirely taken away by the Spirit of God, and the whole heart, thus cleansed from everything contrary to the will of God, or entirely sanctified, will then produce the fruit of the Spirit only. And we believe that persons thus entirely sanctified may, by the power of God, be kept unblamable and unprovable before him." (11) "We believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked."

From these articles it is seen that the Salvation Army is Trinitarian and in most points in agreement with "evangelical" Christianity. Originally it was intended purely as a recruiting agency for the churches among the "lower classes," but it was found that converts of the Salvation Army were not always welcome and did not always feel at home in the congregations; consequently the Salvation Army has become in reality a Church with a ministry known by military titles.

The Army has the Methodist conception of sin, as can be seen by the definition in Part 2 of its articles: "Sin consists in doing that which we know to be wrong, inwardly and outwardly, or in not doing that which we know to be right." (Compare our critical review of "Sin" in the Methodist Church, this chapter, pp. 403 ff; cf. pp. 400 ff. The Army believes in "Entire Sanctification," though not in Sinless Perfection (cf. "Doctrine", pp. 65-96). This is one of their chief doctrines.

In polity the Army is episcopal. The authority is vested in a General, and from him through subordinates to the local officers. Their official booklet on "Doctrines" says on page 117: "It is really the administration of government by the wisest and best." Considering the character of work done by this organization, it can readily be seen that control must be vested in the "wisest and best."

The glory of the Army is in its service to the poor

and outcast. It is reaching a large class of unchurched and aims to win them to Christ. It is also ministering to the needs of the unfortunate. Its popularity in the United States is due largely to its unselfish service to the soldiers in France.

The history of the Army is strikingly similar to that of the Wesleyan movement in England, in both cases the actuating purpose being to reach the unchurched. In the course of years the Salvation Army will probably be simply another denomination.

A criticism which might at the present time be made is with regard to the neglect of the sacraments; also the emphasis upon the subjective emotions ("inner witness," etc.). Doubtless these features will in time disappear, judging from the history of other similar movements.

The Salvation Army began with open air preaching by William Booth in London, England, in 1865. Thence it spread over England and beyond into all countries, reaching the United States in 1881.

Headquarters in the United States are at 122 West 14th St., New York City. Chief publications are the "War Cry" and "The Young Soldier." The 1926 membership was nearly 74,768 in the United States, served by nearly 4,000 officers. 1936: 103,640 members.

2. *Volunteers of America*. (Census in *Relig. Bodies*, 1926, p. 1388). The Volunteers began work under Mr. and Mrs. Ballington Booth of the Salvation Army in 1896, and is organized on somewhat the same basis as the Salvation Army. Differences to be noted are that the government is controlled by a Grand Field Council (including all officers of rank of Major or above). Converts are directed to Christian churches for membership. In this camp the sacraments are administered, officers are ordained to the ministry. The doctrines are evangelical, of the Arminian type; the "inward witness" is upheld.

This is a rather recent organization, and is making a rapid growth. It is more in sympathy with the established churches than the Salvation Army, which has gradually become an independent church rather than an auxiliary. The anomalous condition of having sacraments, an ordained ministry but not being a real church, will doubtless in time be changed. It is democratic in polity.

Headquarters: 34 W. 28th St., New York City. In 1926, it had 133 stations and 28,756 members. 1936: 102 stations, 26,034 members.

3. *American Rescue Workers*. (Census in Relig. Bodies, 1926, pp. 53-56.) This is a small body, organized in 1884, as the "Salvation Army of America," by workers of the Salvation Army. They objected to the raising of funds in America for use in England. In 1913, the name was changed to the present one.

In doctrine and practice these American Rescue Workers are similar to the Salvation Army. Their government is by an elective board of directors; and besides being an evangelistic and philanthropic movement it is also a Christian Church with the use of the sacraments. The organization is growing as the census shows: 20 stations in 1906, with 436 members; 29 stations in 1916, with 611 members; 68 stations with 1989 members in 1926; 1936, 7,676 members and 180 stations. National headquarters, 2827 Frankfort Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. Official publication, *Rescue Herald*.

VI. EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATIONS.

These are organizations which do not want to be churches but want to work as free agencies. Their members frequently belong to churches of various denominations. Within their group or side-organization they conduct an evangelistic activity in some place of their choosing, be this on the foreign mission field, or in home lands, (in large cities, rescue work near depots, etc.) As a whole they are Methodist in type. Some show an Anabaptist (Mennonite) origin. Many stress holiness, the gift of tongues, divine healing.

1. *The Apostolic Christian Organization*, of Swiss (Mennonite) origin (Rev. S. H. Froehlich), in the middle of the 19th century, now with some 50 organizations and 5,500 members.

2. *The Apostolic Faith Mission*. Result of a revival in 1900, at Topeka, Kansas: Foot-washing. Healing by Faith. Missionary work in Japan, China, Korea and South America. Organizations 1; members 114.

3. *The Christian Church and Missionary Alliance*. Dating from 1887 in New York City by Dr. A. B. Simpson, a Presbyterian minister (Gospel Tabernacle

Church) with 332 branches for evangelism in other cities and with 500 white and over 1000 native workers in foreign fields. Developed into an interdenominational fellowship movement; non-creedal but emphasizing sanctification and divine healing. Membership in 1916, was 9,625; in 1926, 22,737; and in 1936, 31,020 members in 430 churches.

4. *The Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association*. Beginnings in 1892, for evangelistic and relief work, also for preaching of holiness. No formal creed. Of 14 organizations, 10 are in Iowa. The missionaries are usually in other work and receive no salaries. Publication: "Good Tidings," Tabor, Iowa.

5. *Church of Daniel's Band*, working in Michigan. Formed in 1893, for evangelism. Six organizations.

6. *Metropolitan Church Organization*. Grew out of the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Chicago. It stresses the "full Gospel" with "entire" sanctification as an instantaneous "second" work of grace, teaching the eradication of original sin. Baptism by immersion. Insistence upon spiritual work without salary. Headquarters are now in Waukesha, Wis. Periodical: "The Burning Bush."

7. *The Missionary Church Association*. It is a group of coöperating evangelical churches. Organized in 1898 at Berne, Indiana. Disclaims to be a church and to have a creed. Still it holds to "all evangelical truths of Christendom" and insists on certain doctrines in connection with "faith healing, premillennialism, non-resistance, and upon baptism by immersion." This statement is more or less what we understand by a creed. In 1906, it had 1,554 members; in 1926 it was 2,498.

8. *Missionary Bands of the World*, organized 1885 as "Pentecostal Bands of the World." Headquarters in Indianapolis, Ind. The annual conference of 1925 changed to the present name. Doctrinally it stands in close relation to the Free Methodists. It has some 50 ministers in the United States and some 55 workers in the foreign field.

9. *Pillar of Fire* (formerly "Pentecostal Union Church"), represents the independent evangelistic work of Mrs. Alma White, wife of a Methodist minister in

Denver, Colo. Her work, since 1902, has the character of a reaction against conditions in present-day Methodism. It is organized in an Eastern Conference with headquarters in Zarephath, N. J., and in a Western Conference of which Mrs. White is bishop. Membership: 2442 in 1926. In 1934, 10,000 members.

10. *The Angelus Temple*. This religious movement, beginning in 1918 in Los Angeles, is also known as "The International Church of the Four Square Gospel." In England the movement is called the "Elim Four Square Gospel Alliance," and in Germany the "Elim Christengemeinde." Only incomplete reports are obtainable as full census reports have not been received, but the movement has its strongest entrenchment on the Pacific Coast, from which it has branched throughout the United States and Canada and many other parts of the world. Outside of America, England and Germany, it has foreign mission stations in Greece, South Africa, Belgian Congo, Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, Panama and Bolivia. The 1937 Year Book of American Churches reports 357 branches in the U. S. A. and Canada and a membership here of 252,380 adults. It might be added that the beliefs and practices of this group are characteristic of many others in the Tabernacle group throughout this country although they are not directly affiliated with the McPherson movement.

The personality of Aimee Semple McPherson Hutton as an evangelist of the dynamic, dramatic type has made for a large number of followers. In her Tabernacle at Los Angeles she preaches on Sunday nights before three, four and five thousand at the time. Born in Canada in 1890, the daughter of Mrs. Kennedy, a Salvation Army worker, she was converted at an early age. She drifted from grace and became much interested in a career upon the stage but was again converted at the age of 17 years by Robt. Semple a traveling evangelist who afterwards married her and took her as his bride to China. There the husband died, and the widow returned to the United States. She then married Harold McPherson, made revival tours, but separation from the second husband followed. McPherson obtained a divorce on grounds of desertion. She then married David Hutton from whom she has since been separated.

The report of her abduction was a sensation a number of years ago. Against attacks in the press and by ministers of the city she is sincerely defended by a host of ardent admirers. The property of the Temple represents a value of a million and a half dollars of which Mrs. McPherson as pastor is the sole owner. She is the president of the Board of Directors, president of the Assembly and the president of the Missionary Cabinet, holding the power of absolute authority over all that goes on.

Her work in Los Angeles is marked by publicity on a large scale. She controls an effective radio station which sends the report of her work all over the world. Her appearance in the tabernacle, after the thousands of visitors, with representation from many countries, have been seated, is very spectacular. Performances, accompanied by subjective remarks, take a considerable part of the evening. Then follows the brief sermon: Scriptural, fundamentalistic, evangelistic.

Her printed statements of Faith are supported by Scripture passages of the fundamentalist kind. They contain a literal belief in the Bible, including the description of heaven and hell, salvation through grace, the new birth and a subsequent baptism of the Holy Spirit to equip for joyous soul-winning, and the near return of the Lord Jesus to rapture the believers. The name "Four Square Gospel," then, points to the following four articles of faith: (1) Conversion; (2) Divine healing; (3) Baptism of the Holy Ghost including "tongues"; and (4) the premillennial return and reign of the Lord.

While in California for studies in the "paradise of American sects," we also attended an exciting scene of "divine healing" conducted one afternoon by the assistant of Mrs. McPherson in the Angelus Temple. There must have been some 15 persons who sought healing. The character of their malady was read, one after the other, through a loud speaker for the benefit of the audience. All ailments seemed to be represented. Quite a number on crutches were present. When coming up to the platform to be healed many cried "Lord, help me!" The leader objected to such pleas but admonished them to "Praise the Lord!" "God wants to heal you. Do not tease Him." The teaching is that sickness is a condition which has been overcome through Christ's atone-

ment; that "it is always the will of God to heal all who have need of healing." Against this Dr. J. G. Dorn of the Hollywood Lutheran Church published a searching sermon on the question: "Did Jesus Atone for Disease?" The question will be asked whether these and similar healing endeavors have results? The audience has no way of judging as to relief and its permanency. Some become prostrated and lie on the floor for a while. It is our opinion that the healing, as a rule, will take place through the psychic effect upon the mind. The audience, through singing, expression of praise and shouting, is to increase this effect. There are reports that well people appear on crutches and then throw them aside in order to raise the expectation and confidence of the sick. Whether this is true or not we cannot say. But the result must come chiefly through "faith." And there is easily a business interest that attaches itself to the operation. There are no charges, but it is natural for those who have been helped to show gratefulness. Whether the spiritual and the supernatural are really present in individual cases, is a question which we shall not discuss.

Closing Observations.

We have reviewed the Holiness and the Pentecostal movements and have closed with the varied evangelistic societies. Their outstanding trait is their evangelistic character. They differ much in practice. Quite a number of their speakers are women.

In the following discussion we shall not include the *Salvation Army*; its social traits put this evangelistic group into a class by itself. Neither shall we speak of so conservative an institution as the *Church of the Open Door* in Los Angeles, connected with a widely known Bible School (comparable to the Moody Schools) and with the Biola Publishing Company, in the same city. Nor are we including the much growing *Church of the Nazarene* whose leaders aim very seriously to find a middle road between the old conservative and the emotional churches.

Concerning many of the associations, here under consideration, one must deplore two things: (1) The

practice of many of their speakers to compliment personalities when attention should be turned to God and His salvation through Christ; and (2) the creation of a wrong taste in religion by the use of superficial hymns, by the use of undignified witticisms and by a cultivation of a type of revivalism which is often referred to as a travesty on religion.

Still we must admit that these evangelistic organizations fill a need in the religious endeavors of our country. Yes, in conception and practice they are very different from our historic churches. But most of the people that are gathered here in song, in the giving of testimony, in shouting and clapping of hands would not feel at home in our leading churches with their set services, their decorum, their liturgies. They have not learned this form of worship, to wait and to let God speak to the soul; to them, religion is right from the start activism, testimony, demonstration. It is always man that is doing.

They have a number of "fundamentals." Among these are truly Scriptural tenets: such as the fact of God's holiness, retribution for the persistent sinner, the demand of repentance and conversion, faith in Christ's message of forgiveness through His atoning blood, the personal experience of regeneration which must be followed by a life of struggle against sin.

Many, without sufficient caution, stress entire sanctification on the basis of a "second blessing," to be evidenced, according to some, by certain gifts of the Spirit (healing, speaking with tongues). In most groups the nearness of Christ's second coming has much emphasis. They do not feel the need of relating doctrinally the facts of religion to each other, being guided by the "analogy of faith" (Romans 12:6). For instance, the need of distinguishing between Law and Gospel for enjoying the full comfort and consolation of the promises of God is to them not a matter of interest. They are much opposed to all emphasis on the visible side of the Church, to all form in religion, to such a thing as church architecture, to the historical statements of the Faith, to catechetical instruction, to all liturgical features in the religious meetings.

Upon this position they do not see that through these channels there flows a rich heritage of Scripture-truth and Christian experience, that might well be used also in the evangelistic activity of the congregation of believers.

We do not aim to speak disparagingly of these associations. They have a mission, especially among the common, uneducated folk who with sincerity of heart are longing for the comforting message of salvation, for fellowship with other believers and for an opportunity to testify and to do something for their Savior. It was Jesus who said: "And to the poor the Gospel is preached." A leading lady missionary wrote in response to an inquiry: "The Lord gives us many precious souls."

Chapter Eight

THE UNION BODIES

The groups here to be discussed may be divided into two classes: (1) Churches aiming at a *Conservative Union* and (2) Churches which insist upon a *Comprehensive Union*.

The first class, historically *conservative*, wants to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed, and heal the original split in Protestantism. The object is to establish either a full "absorptive" union or to find ways for a "confederation" between these two churches of the Reformation. The historical ground for this endeavor has been Germany and its diaspora to the East (around Koenigsberg, in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary) and South America, with endeavors also in North America.

Church Union, when talked of in North America, has always been of the *comprehensive* type. All Protestants, so far as they are not bound to Unitarianism or other radical "isms," are to unite in one body of believers. Excepting a union of three bodies in Canada, which has not yet passed its experimental period, (see below), all successful union in America, so far, has been of the nature of "family union." Of this type there should be more than has already taken place so far. Here, however, the writer wants to say: The Church of Christ must always be open to evangelical union; it is union endeavors on the basis of indifference to the fundamentals of the Faith, in which we cannot participate.¹

I. THE CONSERVATIVE UNION GROUPS.

A. The Moravian Church, Communion of Brethren (Unitas Fratrum).

Literature: Schweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Churches in the 18th and 19th Centuries. H. Steinberg, Die Bruederkirche in ihrem Wesen und Sein,

1 Cf. our discussion of the Church Union in the "Appendix A."

1921. **O. Uttendoerfer**, *Alt-Herrnhut*, 2 vols. 1925-26. PRE. XXI, 679 ff. RGG, 2, I vol. 1. Cf. the little pamphlet by **J. Greenfield**, *Power from on High*. Rel. Bodies, 1926, 1048 ff. **E. O. Watson**, *Year Book of the Churches*, 1923, pp. 162 ff. Cf. *Year Book*, 1937, pp. 91, 79, 86.

As to origin this group goes back to the work of John Huss in former Bohemia. His martyrdom in 1415, left his followers without a unifying Confession. There was contact with the Waldensians. Characteristic were the groups of serious-minded laymen, working as a leaven within the national church. In 1535, a Moravian Confession of Faith was published, which had the cordial assent of Luther. Their peculiar type of spirituality, however, did not draw them to Luther's Reformation but rather to the union theologians at Strasbourg. Fierce persecution under the Hapsburgers almost exterminated them. In 1722, the small remnant followed an invitation by Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf to settle on his estate at Berthelsdorf in Saxony ("Herrnhut"). This little colony was strengthened by other colonists, Lutheran and Reformed, also by quite a variety of peculiar saints. The "ordinances" of the original immigrants to Saxony, as formulated by Comenius, were retained. Upon this was grafted a form of communion which recognized the dissenting Confessions as mere "modes of teaching" (*Lehrtropen*) all under the Augsburg Confession as a public standard of faith, in order to satisfy the state church situation in Germany. The religious genius of Zinzendorf was in all directions the organizing factor. The ardor of his religion is reflected in his many hymns. The church government, a modified episcopacy, was a kind of theocracy or, to be more accurate, a Christocracy.

A unified system of doctrine was never developed. In 1848, the obligation to the Augsburg Confession was limited to articles 2 (Sin), 3 (Christ), 4 (Justification). The nearest to an all around Confession would be the hymn book. The relation of Jesus as Savior of sinners is the *pivotal* doctrine of the Moravians. In "a naive modalistic manner" (RGG, I, 1228) Christ is practically identified with God as Father. The litany of the Church professes the Trinity; but every child is taught to know and to love Jesus, the Savior, as special friend. Deeply convinced of his sinfulness, the Moravian turns in a per-

sonal piety to Jesus as Redeemer, and in this faith he has a joyous religion. "No one is more holy than the sinner who has found grace." (German Hymn book of 1927, No. 875, 9).

One can speak of a Moravian phraseology, a "language of Canaan," which is colored by a peculiar, sometimes aesthetically objectional realistic play with the blood and the wounds of the Savior. Moravianism inclines to mysticism of the Quaker type (translated into the German). John Wesley's reaction to it, after having visited the Moravians in Germany and observed them at Fette Lane in London, is of interest. In the exercise of his common sense and knowledge of human nature and headed toward the high seas, he predicted that this type would lead straight into inaction. G. T. Rowe comments: "Moravian piety was becoming ingrown. It delighted to gather in sheltered nooks and instruct the choice spirits that might be attracted by it. This 'stillness' he could not stand, declaring that he was 'sick of such sublime divinity'."²

From the beginning in the old Austria and again in the German colony, the Moravians have always been a small communion, never wanting to do more than to plant *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*, after Spener's pattern.³ But great has been their influence. They touched the minds of men such as Wesley, Schleiermacher, Goethe. They were a factor in movements such as German Pietism, also in the planting of Lutheran and Reformed Churches in America. In the age of Rationalism they upheld the preaching of the cross. And last, but not least, they were the pioneers of foreign missions. Zinzendorf sang: "Die Welt mag lachen und fragen, was wir Schwachen in Groenland machen!" Even today Christians all over the world read the little annual for daily devotions: "Die Losungen der Bruedergemeinde," published also in English.⁴

The Moravians have three orders of the ministry: Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. Zinzendorf, as Bishop, took his ordination from the Waldensians. The

² G. T. Rowe, *The Meaning of Methodism*, p. 132 f.

³ Cf. page 235. Spencer had been godfather at the baptism of Zinzendorf.

⁴ The Moravian Book Store, Bethlehem, Pa.

church has an established liturgy, with a litany for Sunday morning and a variety of services for different church seasons, the general order of the ancient church year being observed. The American branch of the church, composed of a northern and southern province, and the European branches are federated in a "Unity," with a general synod, which is an international representative body meeting at least once in a decade.

1. In this general characterization we have been describing the leading body of the *Moravians in America*, the "Moravian Church" (*Unitas Fratrum*). The headquarters in America are in Bethlehem, Pa. There they have a college and a theological seminary and a publication house. The headquarters in Germany are at Herrnhut, Saxony. The membership there is 9,376 in 24 churches. In Great Britain there are 4,063 members in 43 churches; in Bohemia 6,661 members in 9 churches; in America 27,568 members in 135 churches.

Besides this larger body there are in America two smaller groups. (See *Rel. Bodies*, 1926. Watson p. 165. *Year Book of the Churches*, 1937. Klotsche, p. 316. *Popular Symbolics*, p. 281.)

2. *The Evangelical Union of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren in North America* is another body of Moravians. Two streams of immigration may be distinguished: The one about 1848, to Texas; an earlier one to the Northern states. Organization much later. See the long history of these immigrations in *Religious Bodies II*, 1058 ff. Membership 5,000 in 41 churches. Confessions: The *Confessio Fratrum* as presented to Emperors Maximilian II and Rudolph II; also the Helvetic and Augsburg Confessions, "where they agree." Part of the collections for missionary work for a time went to the former German Evangelical Synod. Special memory of John Huss figures in the names of the institutions.

3. *The (Independent) Bohemian and Moravian Brethren Churches*. Organized 1858, by a very small group in College Township, Linn County, Iowa. The original immigrants were members of the Reformed Church in Bohemia. They claim the same origin as the *Unitas Fratrum*. Hold friendly relations to the Presbyterians, recognizing the Helvetic and Westminster Confessions of Faith. For ministerial education they

avail themselves of the Presbyterian Seminaries. Members: 323 in 3 churches.

B. The Union of Lutherans and Reformed in Germany (and its Diaspora).

Literature: The German Church Histories. **J. L. Neve**, The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union ("Union Movements"), pp. 110-137. Cf. our Chap. IV, pp. 227-233; p. 278 f.; also Appendix A. **H. Kamphausen**, Geschichte d. rel. Lebens i. d. Deutschen Ev. Synode in N. A., 1924.

1. Because of our reference to *Church Union* at other places of this book we need here only to indicate the high points on the subject. Germany especially became the battle-ground. It began with the propaganda for Calvinism at the close of the 16th and again during the 19th centuries in Lutheran Germany. This conflict gave to Germany a union problem such as no other Lutheran country has had. The Hohenzollern became Reformed. Their aim was to weld all German dominions into a united Germany. For this a United Church seemed desirable. This brought the proclamation of an *absorptive* Union in 1817, to include not only unity in outward administration, but also fellowship between Lutherans and Reformed in the Lord's Supper. A strong protest forced the state to change the union plan into a *confederation* (1834). Each side was to keep its own catechism and liturgy. The union was to exist in outward government. But the Lutherans could not yield in certain union measures which directly or indirectly affected the public profession of their church.⁵ The state used persecution, which forced many Lutherans to immigrate to America and to Australia.

Note: For a study of the driving factors in the Union movements of that day we refer to the work of 2 vols. by **Prof. H. Leube**, Calvinismus und Luthertum in Zeitalter der Orthodoxie, vol. 1. Lutheranism was on the defensive. In this volume the author discusses the Reformed efforts for confessional peace. He finds that the motives were preëminently political: (1) Growing danger of Roman Catholicism; (2) the influence of outward powers (Holland and England). Next he shows that with the Reformed the motive was more the calculating reason than the religious interest; more the spirit of humanism than that of the Gospel. The union measures of the Hohenzollern as begun by the "Great Elector" were dictated chiefly by the political interest pertaining to their dominions to the West; not just by religious considerations.

⁵ See our *Union Movements*, pp. 117 f.

Other works to be studied in this connection are **H. T. Wangelmann**, *Una Sancta* and **E. Nitzsch**, *Urkundenbuch der Union*. **J. Stahl**, *Die Luth. Kirche und die Union*.

2. The Union found followers also in *North America*. The German Evangelical Synod, with ministers trained at union centers in Germany (Berlin, Barmen, Basel), was organized 1840, on an absorptive union basis. It attracted a large membership which was built up not only of immigrants from union territory but also from Lutheran provinces. We shall not explain the remarkable growth of the Evangelical Synod in those years of large Lutheran immigration from the Fatherland. We have reviewed it in our "Union Movements," pp. 141-148, which there constitutes a section of our chapter on the Evangelical Synod (pp. 138-197). In 1933, this Union body, so largely of Lutheran origin, went into a union with the Reformed Church of German origin (cf. p. 278 f.). From the standpoint of the Union the following work has just been published: *The German Church on the American Frontier, 1939*, by Carl E. Schneider. This book of 600 pages was not available at our writing.

3. In Germany the introduction of the Union has been a cause of conflict up to this day! Professor Kueneth, faithful witness at the Berlin University, has declared again and again that it is the Union situation which complicated matters in such a way that a large part of the Church in Germany has lost its unity and has become unfit for action. In Lutheran Bavaria, for instance, which was never touched by the Union, The Lutheran Church was free to act according to its own genius.

Note: The Union in Germany's Diaspora. Here we refer especially to the churches of Lutheran and Reformed composition in Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In South America there are three union bodies: **The Rio Grande Synod**, with a membership of about 155,000; the **Middle Brazil Synod** with 20,000, and the **La Plata Synod of the Union** with about 30,000 members.

II. THE COMPREHENSIVE UNION.

It has the aim of uniting all bodies of Protestantism.

A. The Disciples, or the "Christians."

Literature: **R. Richardson**, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 2 vols. **A. Jennings**, *A Short History of the Disciples*; also *Origin and History of the Disciples*. **W. T. Moore**, *A Comprehen-*

sive History of the Disciples of Christ. **M. M. Davis**, *The Restoration Movement of the Nineteenth Century*, 1913. **A. W. Fortune**, *Origin and Development of the Disciples*, 1924 (concise); *The Disciples in Kentucky*. **W. E. Garrison**, *Religion Follows the Frontier*, 1936. Cf. also **S. G. Cole**, *The History of Fundamentalism*, 1931. *Religious Bodies II*, 1926.

The Founders. Thomas Campbell had been in connection with the secession branch of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. In 1807, he emigrated to America where he joined the Seceder Presbyterians to work in Western Pennsylvania with headquarters in Washington, Pa. But soon he was censured because of laxity in practice, having admitted to communion people of other branches. He withdrew from the Presbyterians and soon was joined by his son Alexander from Ireland (1809). They now worked independently in reaction against denominationalism and sectarianism. A program ("Declaration and Address") for non-denominational work was issued. This soon led to the establishment of another denomination, the "Disciples of Christ," or the "Christian Church," the latter a name, which to the annoyance of other churches was inscribed on their church edifices. The "Declaration and Address" included union slogans (soon to be quoted) which were bound to have a strong appeal to the public. The introduction of adult baptism, in consequence of which the doors of the Baptists were opened to them, opposition to theology and creeds, and the appeal to certain laymen views concerning religion and church, account for the rapid growth of the group. A considerable increase came through the union with the followers of Barton Stone (1832), originally also a Presbyterian, but with leanings to the rational side of Christianity (Arminianism vs. predestination, criticism of the substitutionary feature in the atonement), strong like the Campbells in his opposition to creed and theology, and practicing adult baptism.⁶

Note: Another "Christian" movement, in New England, was also opposed to sectarian names and human creeds. It started about 1800, and in 1833 it organized with others in a "general convention." But it was nearer Unitarianism (on Trinity and atonement) than the

⁶ A more detailed history would have to include other names in these union developments: C. J. Smith in New England and James O'Kelley in North Carolina, and others. Cf. our Chap. IX on the Congregationalists, Sec. V, 4, Note; also W. S. Garrison, pp. 59, 150 ff.

Campbells were inclined to be. It had a membership of over 100,000. With this "American Convention" (today united with the Congregationalists), the Disciples did not affiliate.

With Thomas Campbell's "Declaration and Address" the Disciples had begun to establish themselves against sectarianism and denominationalism, that is, upon a course of reformation of American Protestantism. They soon were known under the name "Reformers." After these introductory remarks we shall now try to describe historically the denominational characteristics of the Disciples.

1. The Disciples themselves called their endeavors the "*Restoration Movement*," meaning by that a restoration of the Church to primitive Christianity. Preaching and practice in the Church, they said, must be in strict conformity with the very words and practice of the New Testament. The following remarks by Thomas Campbell are characteristic: "Where the Bible speaks, we speak; where the Bible is silent, we are silent." "A 'thus says the Lord' either in express terms or by approved precedent, for every article of faith and item of religious practice." These and other slogans (see below) have contributed much to the rapid growth of the organization.

But these ideas are open to criticism and have been much attacked. G. T. Rowe, a Methodist, says: "First there is ground for endless disagreement concerning the exact form or practice of the Apostolic Church; and, secondly, there is necessarily a transient as well as a permanent element in every period of history, so that the mere fact that a thing was done, or not done, in the days of the apostles, is not sufficient reason for continuing it or rejecting it in all subsequent ages." Rowe is also correct when he adds that "the form of the institution should be determined by the task to be performed."⁷ This statement of Methodist activism should be supplemented by what Kurtz, in his Church History, declares in an estimate of the "Apostolic Age" vol. 1: On matters of practice the New Testament offers guiding principles on the basis of which the Church is to develop its future practice. Following that somewhat Puritanic profession of

⁷ From, *The Meaning of Methodism* by Gilbert T. Rowe. Copyright 1926. Used by permission of Cokesbury Press, Publishers.

Thomas Campbell, it was not surprising that a faction of the Disciples (see below "The Churches of Christ") should secede on the basis that instrumental music and missionary societies must not be used in the Church because they were not used in the services of the apostles.⁸ But the teaching of these seceders continued for a long time to be the settled position of the large majority in the whole group. Alexander Campbell especially had "objected to organized societies in the church on the grounds that they were not mentioned in the New Testament." The early churches, he said, were not split into missionary societies, Bible societies, etc.⁹ He continued: "There is not the least intimation in any part of the New Testament of a representative government. Nothing is said about a number of church rulers being selected as an ecclesiastical council over a number of individual churches." Here we meet a principle of the Zwinglians differing from the Lutheran Reformation. Luther, with his conservative position said: What Scripture does not forbid may be allowed, if it is helpful; Zwingli, upon the Puritanic principle, would forbid what does not have the express command of Scripture. It took a long time for the Disciples to arrive at the point that there could be "coöperation among the churches for spreading the Gospel." A first timid step was taken for coöperation within one county. "But it was specifically stated that these county meetings were to have nothing to do with any church business."¹⁰ There was objection to the introduction of business in the yearly meetings (1835). Finally the practical interest of the church triumphed over the maintenance of the original principle as expressed in the "De-

8 Cf. W. G. Garrison, p. 40: Alexander Campbell and his followers "reverted to the older and more comprehensive conception of restoration and to make it cover more or less completely the whole area of the church life and practice. This proved to be a devious tendency." As one mistaken presupposition behind the whole restoration idea he mentions "that the (original) Church . . . contained no admixture of human influences and was therefore a permanent pattern with respect to part or all of the practices." And again on page 277, Prof. Garrison asks: "Is the historic program of the Disciples—that is the multiplication of 'New Testament churches' of immersed believers—important enough, and are they sufficiently sure . . . in giving this precedence over every other consideration?"

9 A. W. Fortune, p. 140.

10 *Ibid.*, 144.

claration and Address." The coöperation became state-wide (1839). But some churches continued to refuse coöperation "on the ground that the meetings were without Scriptural warrant" (p. 146). From 1845 on, finally, there were "general coöperative organizations."

Note: Here is the place for a remark touching upon **Comparative Symbolics:** The Disciples, as we have seen, objected to church organizations because they were without example in the New Testament. A sect in the predestinarian camp of the Baptists ("Primitive Baptists," cf. our Chapter X, B, II, 2 and 3) protested against Sunday Schools, missionary work and all auxiliary organizations because these were taken to interfere with eternal predestination.

Concerning adult baptism by immersion among the Disciples the following from Mr. Fortune's little history is of interest: The founders "did not imagine whither they would be led when they published the "Declaration and Address," which committed them to the *Restoration* idea. If they had realized that they would be led to abandon infant baptism and demand immersion for themselves it is doubtful whether they would have had the courage to go forward. . . These people who had been Presbyterians but little imagined that they would soon be in fellowship with the Baptists, a people for whom they had hitherto had little regard" (p. 156).

But this "fellowshipping the Baptists" had been a very paying adventure for the Disciples. During those years of union with the Baptists, Alexander Campbell, a very skillful dialectician, had been encouraged by them to conduct debates with pedo-baptist ministers, which gave him much influence in Baptist circles far and wide for propaganda on his special tenet: "The Restoration of the New Testament Order." On this one subject he was a "Reformer." He soon had the determined opposition of the Baptists who proceeded against him and his associates with charges of heresy, twelve in number. (Cf. Fortune, p. 79 f.)

What interests us here is that the Puritan principle of reform forced these Presbyterians from Ireland into the abandonment of pedo-baptism, which now became a *permanent trait* in the Disciples.

The other permanent trait in Disciple worship, the weekly Communion, also came in as an act of obedience to the restoration of apostolic practice (in that day).

2. Another feature of the Disciples, closely connected with the one just discussed, is the principle: "*No creed but Christ.*" This has aided as an effective slogan. Their aim was to get away from sectarianism, and away from "human opinions" and the theological distinctions as expressed in the creeds.

The opposition to creeds, as of normative significance, has been very persistent in this body. The late Dr. Peter Ainslie, Baltimore, Md., for many years editor of the "*Christian Union Quarterly*," always said: "The creeds are exclusive and designed not to include and unite but to exclude and divide." This slogan "*No creed but Christ*," also, has been a strong contributor to the growth of the Disciples. It has been even more effective than the above discussed principle of "*Biblicism*": (1) because there were other churches with a similar attitude to obligatory Confessions of Faith, and (2) because of the same sentiment among the people of the world. Alexander Pope wrote in his "*Essay on Man*":

"On modes of faith let graceless zealots fight.
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.
On faith and hope the world will disagree
But all mankind's concern is charity."

Yes, Confessions of Faith are usually put in contrast to the Christian life as if these two factors excluded each other, and as if Christian "*Theology*" did not always include Christian "*Ethics*," and as if the Confessions of the Reformation did not always have highly important articles on the Christian life (on "*Repentance*," on the "*New Obedience*," on "*Love and the Fulfilling of the Law*," on "*Faith and Good Works*," on "*Law and Gospel*," on the "*Political Order*," on the "*Ten Commandments*," on the "*Lord's Prayer*," etc.).

It would seem that the opponents to creeds would lose some of their objections to the historic Confessions of Faith if at least they would look upon them historically as depositories of epoch-making Christian experience, helpful to the pastors for orientation in the doctrinal development of Bible truth.

Historically there is nothing unreasonable and unnatural about Confessions of Faith to be used for an orientation as to principles by which a church wants to

safeguard its identity. Philip Schaff, a very fair student of the Creeds of Christendom, made this statement: "The Bible is of God; the Confession is man's answer to God's Word." And then he continued: "Experience teaches that those who reject all creeds are as much under authority of a traditional system or of certain favorite writers, and as much exposed to controversy, division and change as churches with formal creeds."¹¹

3. *The Type of Union* which the Campbells and their followers had in mind should here be noted. In that day, at the beginning of the 19th century, when the conflicting principles of so many of the European divisions of religious thought struggled for adjustment or survival, it was the aim of the "Campbellites" to create a *comprehensive* union. It was to include the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, the Reformed, the Moravians, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Methodists, the Adventists, even the Seventh Day Adventists. The invitation went "to all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, in all sincerity, throughout all the churches." There was no thought of the Rationalists which at that time were hardly known to exist outside of Unitarianism. We have quoted from A. W. Fortune, "Origin and Development of the Disciples," 1924. The time for such a union was declared to be propitious for America. Fortune writes: "America was free from the repressing influences of an established church, and the Roman hierarchy did not have a direct bearing on American life." The "Program" insisted "that the Church of Christ upon earth is one": "essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one." Most of the followers of the Campbells who unanimously approved the *Declaration and Address* were members of the various denominations of the community.

At first the group did not claim to be a church; it simply wanted to be an "association" of members of different churches.

"The document protests against making human systems the basis of fellowship, for these divide rather than unite. Nothing shall be made 'a term of communion

¹¹ Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 7, 9. Alexander Campbell, for instance, spoke very authoritatively for his group in his book "The Christian System."

amongst Christians that is not as old as the New Testament.' It is proper to make inferences and deductions from the Scriptures, but these should not be made terms of communion." So we read: "Creeds and Confessions of Faith are opposed only when they mar the unity of the Church by imposing on God's children the opinions of men." Even an admission such as this is made: "Doctrinal systems are of great benefit and should be worked out with great care, but, inasmuch as these systems are the result of human reasoning and are based on inferences, they should not be made terms of communion in the Church." This statement was characteristic: "If adherence to a doctrinal system is the basis of fellowship, Church membership must be limited to those who are intellectually trained; but from the first the Church has had children among its members."

We have quoted these statements in order to give a full insight into the actual position taken by the Disciples at the time of their founding. It is practically the position of George Calixtus who wanted to reduce the basis of mutual recognition among the churches to the Apostles' Creed, only that Thomas Campbell went back of the Apostles' Creed to the Apostolic Age. He discriminated sharply between faith and opinion. His plea was, essentially, to abandon the attempts to formulate in human terms the theological doctrines on which all could agree, and to take rather the simple faith as expressed in Peter's confession, Matthew 16:16.

4. *The Type of Disciple "Biblicism."* One can understand the Campbellite movement as a reaction to sectarianism. But if "Biblicism" wants to function as a successful antidote to confessionalism and orthodoxism on the one hand and rationalism on the other it must combine with these aims a real Biblical theology such as was created on the European continent by conservative theologians like Bengel, Kuebel, Beck, Kaehler, Cremer, and Koegel.¹² Instinctively the Disciples are aiming at this thing, but they were guided too much by the principle of Puritanism pertaining to church practice, and they held themselves in that day too much on the

¹² See our reference to this school of Biblicists in our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. Two, Book V, Sect. I, Chap. 6.

level of a layman's theology which was impressed upon them by their history.

Alexander Campbell, it must be admitted, gave himself to extensive studies on the subject. He wrote a series of 32 articles in the "Christian Baptist" which he published (1823). From a letter received we quote the following: "He insisted upon the distinction between the Old and New Testaments, following Cocceius and the Covenant theology.¹³ He was intent, too, upon the historical and literary interpretation of all passages of Scripture rather than following the proof-text method. The schools of the Disciples were rather progressive in their appreciation of Bible criticism, though usually being conservative and not following the more liberal conclusions of the German schools. The tendency now in their seminaries, which are usually known as 'Bible Colleges,' is to incorporate more courses in doctrine than heretofore but still studying them from the approach of exegesis rather than that of systematic theology."

With these observations a beginning has been made in describing the Disciples as they are today. On the basis of correspondence with representatives of this body and of reading their history we note that the "Restoration" idea does not anymore have the old emphasis. An historian such as Prof. E. W. Garrison, representative of the Disciples in connection with the Chicago University, and other scholars (Dean C. D. Hall, Prof. L. C. Anderson together with men of the conservative group), have been influential in making the theological orientation in this body more adequate. The trend now is also toward more beautiful houses of worship and an enriched order of service.

5. The Disciples preach "*salvation by faith.*" But faith has been defined as "acceptance of the Gospel upon the testimony of faithful witnesses." In an article by Alexander Campbell in the *Christian Baptist* of 1828, the steps in the "plan of salvation" or the "scheme of redemption," or the "natural order of evangelical economy" were spoken of as follows: (1) Faith, (2) Reformation, (3) Immersion, (4) Remission of sins, (5) Holy Spirit, and (6) Eternal life.¹⁴ We gather from literature

¹³ Cf. Garrison, p. 47.

¹⁴ Fortune, p. 118.

and correspondence: Faith is stressed as the assent of one who has become convinced. Reason is emphasized as the important factor in conversion as a process. This was in reaction against the extreme Calvinism of that day. Augustine's teaching of an absence of free will in the process of conversion, as taught by Luther and Calvin, was to be avoided as was also the extreme emotionalism of the Methodists. John Locke was to Alexander Campbell the favored philosopher.¹⁵ "This made the Disciples develop a mode of religion that has been accused of being more of the head than of the heart. They have been an unemotional people." "We are allied with both the fundamentalists and the liberals. Perhaps our basic positions ally us rather with the liberals, as can be seen especially with regard to our emphasis upon the historical rather than the theological Christ. . . . Our leadership is liberal, that is, modestly so. But the more conservative group eschews modernism and contends valiantly for the faith once for all delivered, as is witnessed by the *Christian Standard* and by other activities of that group."¹⁶

6. *The Conflict between Fundamentalism and Theological Liberalism* has been very marked in the recent history of the Disciples. It carries a distinct lesson which is peculiar to the original history of this group. Following critically the report of S. G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism*, Chap. 7 (pp. 132 ff.), we shall refer to only the leading events in this history.

The intense interest in "primitive Christianity" made Alexander Campbell and his followers students of New Testament literature. Unfortunately, the driving motive was the interest of Puritanism. But the dominant desire to combat American sectarianism held them in sectarian tracks of thought and kept many students from growing theologically in the large problems of what the History of Doctrine understands by "Biblicism." We must take into consideration, of course, that the background of Disciple theology and development was English thought, particularly the interest of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Puritanism. The his-

15 Ibid., p. 123 ff. Cf. Garrison p. 41 ff

16 From letters.

tory of England's churches and factions and their struggles for a church home in America had put matters of institution and organization into the foreground. The fundamentals related to doctrine were not worked out by our American pioneers with the needed criticism, neither historically nor exegetically, nor systematically. The Protestant immigrants to America with rootage in the religious history of the European continent had the advantage of drawing not only from the treasures of the Reformation but also from the new conservative theology which was stimulated by the conflict with the earlier form of Rationalism. The Disciples (more than the Episcopalians, Lutherans, Reformed, Methodists), missed the influences from the following age of theological classicism on the European continent. They were satisfied with a layman's theology, comforting themselves that Jesus himself and the apostles had been laymen. Their type was a sincere Pietism, with unshaken belief in the inspiration of Scripture and in the fundamentals for preaching the Gospel. Their colleges were "Bible Schools." The New Testament was their special foundation.

Now came Biblical criticism and the introductory problems of the Bible, the result chiefly of German Rationalism which issued into the *Tuebingen School*, followed by the *Ritschlian School*. It was out of this situation that the "Biblicism" was born of which we shall offer a picture in our *History of Christian Thought* (Cf. footnote 12). The Conservatives everywhere on the continent immediately took up these problems, and sought for a solution to them. We mention particularly the great *Erlangen School* which made the inspiration of Scriptures essentially a "history of redemption" (Cf. in this book p. 242), speaking even of "verbal inspiration" in historical terms. In a Biblicistic group, such as the Disciples, it did not take long until some of the leading men in their Bible Schools were also studying "Biblical Criticism." Our informants say that as a rule, these teachers were not radical. But the application of naturalistic evolution to the Biblical literature and criticism of the supernatural was in the air. Therefore, as in other churches (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Epis-

copalian) the Disciples had within their body a conflict between Fundamentalism and theological Liberalism.

The story of this conflict is told by Steward S. Cole in this book, *The History of Fundamentalism*. The leading organ on the side of the Fundamentalists was and still is *The Christian Standard*. On the other side it was *The Christian Evangelist*. At this place we shall do nothing more than to enumerate the events. The details must be read in the very lucidly written book of Dr. Cole (pp. 133 ff.) The author of this book himself is decidedly of Modernistic persuasion. In 1896, a group of the Liberals (Progressives) organized the *Campbell Institute*. It was for the purpose of discussing questions of Biblical criticism, open membership and friendly attitude to other denominations, to the extent of coöperating in foreign missions. They were skeptical of Biblical inerrancy and critical of the Restoration idea. Opposed to this group were the Conservatives who organized as a *Christian Bible College League*; they held to all the traditional positions and especially insisted on baptism by immersion. In the turmoil of conflict between the two sides, for safeguarding coöperation in the foreign field (China), even a creed was prepared and signed! But agitation at home continued between the Conservatives and Progressives. The Conservatives were decidedly fundamentalistic. They fought for the Restoration of the Church to New Testament ideals, as defended by Alex. Campbell, against "open membership" and the reception of unimmersed persons into membership. The Progressives were especially concerned about their anti-fundamentalistic positions. At the Oklahoma City Convention, 1925, the Disciples found themselves as a clearly divided household. They had to make use of a "long and creed-ridden set of resolutions" (Cole). These were accepted, but the decision by a four to one vote regarding the foreign mission field meant a decisive defeat of the conservatives who from this time on have retired from much of the public work of the Disciples. But they continue with much energy their struggle for the points of Fundamentalism as debated interdenominationally.

Note: Outside friends of the Disciples deplore that many of the Fundamentalists within this body feel themselves unalterably identified with the Restoration Movement and with the demand of adult

baptism by immersion. (See below point 8). It is bound to have a narrowing effect upon a church body and makes for sectarianism. The Biblicistic method especially needs the service of a sane Biblical criticism. The Bible student, in every step he takes, needs to be sure of his ground. We need to be cautious where the leading manuscripts indicate interpolation, and we are encouraged when we find that fundamental passages (as for instance I John 1:7) can stand the light of criticism. Luther weighed with great care the internal and external evidences for and against genuineness of the Biblical books. On the other hand we should guard against being carried away by every suggestion of criticism. Many of our students in European universities have seized upon the fads of critical research of the Bible and have delighted in teaching them in their home country. Rather should we keep some critical objections on the waiting list, for a while, before teaching them as facts.

7. Anti-creedalism (cf. above No. 2) and connected therewith an aversion to *theological discussion*, especially among the Fundamentalists of the group, still have the original emphasis. Confessions are looked upon as standing in the way of church union. The Disciples have had for many years (since 1910) a standing committee, the "Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity," with headquarters at the "Seminary House" at Baltimore, Md., where Peter Ainslie published his "Christian Union Quarterly" and issued book after book on this one subject.¹⁷ True, the interest in church unity must be a sacred concern of the Church, only it must not be realized on the basis of indifference to the fundamentals of the Faith and the life of the Church. Confessions of Faith and the accompanying theological argumentation are discredited among the Disciples. But their own insistence upon the Believer's Baptism of Adults by immersion, as defended by Alexander Campbell ("The Christian System") and by I. Errett ("Our Position"), ought to be sufficient illustration that both creed and theology are a necessity within a church conscious of having a distinct message.

It is difficult to discuss the *situation regarding baptism* among the Disciples because their "order of evangelical economy" (*ordo salutis*) differs from that of the Reformation (cf. above No. 6). I. Errett in his tract "Our Position," which has been held to be the best brief statement of the faith of the Disciples, puts "regeneration" before baptism. He says:¹⁸ "Regeneration must be so

¹⁷ W. E. Garrison, p. 233 ff.

¹⁸ A. Campbell uses the term "reformation".

far accomplished before baptism that the subject is changed in heart and faith, and in penitence he must have yielded up his heart to Christ; otherwise baptism is nothing but an empty form." If we keep in mind that the Disciples always mean adult baptism and if they take "regeneration" in the meaning of reform (cf. A. Campbell above) as a synonym of conversion then we can understand Errett's statement. He then continues: "But forgiveness (which attaches itself to baptism) is something distinct from regeneration; forgiveness is an act of the sovereign, not a change of the sinner's heart. It needs to be offered in sensible and tangible form such that the sinner can seize and appropriate it. . . . In Baptism, therefore, the sinner appropriates what the mercy of God has provided and offered in the Gospel."

The Disciples, then, following the Fundamentalists among them, stress the "believer's baptism" by immersion as the only real baptism although, today, with concession to liberalism, they do not want to deny the validity of such a baptism *by another mode* than immersion. Infant baptism is rejected on the ground that "children cannot believe and accept the Gospel by their own intelligence and will." There is no trace of any trend to relax this position. But infant dedication (parental dedication) is being recognized as having value. It is introduced by men who would most strenuously oppose infant baptism. Still it seems to be a symptom of inclination to concessions. We also hear that many no longer insist upon re-baptising "sprinkled" members which are received from other denominations. This creates a peculiar situation: A double type of membership! We are told: "A so-called 'open membership' (associated members) is slowly but surely spreading among the Disciples." Peter Ainslie in his "Christian Worship" (pp. 96-99) offers a form for the "Blessing of Little Children," which is closely related to the order of infant baptism. But this "open membership" is one "hot spot in Disciple liberalism."¹⁹

The Disciples are fundamentally opposed to "water regeneration." They mean to steer clear of "sacramentalism." This has reference to Eastern Orthodoxy, to

19 W. E. Garrison, p. 301.

Rome, the old Catholics, Anglicans-Episcopalians and also the Lutherans.

As to the last mentioned group, however, it should not be overlooked that Luther wrote in his catechism: "It is not water, indeed, that does it, but the Word of God in the water. . . . With the Word of God it is a baptism."²⁰ To Luther, Baptism (which is infant baptism wherever an early baptism was not neglected) promises the grace of forgiveness, puts the baptized under the special *regenerating* influence of the Spirit and makes this grace to become man's actual possession as long as he does not reject it, and even then continues His converting influence to the very end of life. There is no magic about this. A subject for our preaching in all churches of Christendom should be the question: Do you use, through life, your baptism as a means of grace? Christian baptism is not just for the moment of its administration, but it is for life! Even for the hours of departing from this world our Christian people should have learned to use baptism (which may simply be called the "Gospel" of promise and assurance) as one of the strong comforts in the final conflict. Many groups have made baptism a human work, an "act of obedience"; no, it is a gift, a means of grace where God is acting and drawing our response in prayer, praise and holy living. Under such conception there is no reason why the children should not be included.

At a union conference in Philadelphia, 1919, Dr. Ainslie reported on this discussion within his group and said: "For infant baptism they (the Disciples) prefer to substitute the dedication of children, remembering that the little child is the one model which Jesus held up before all who would be fit for the Kingdom."²¹ If this "dedication of children" could be made a real baptism (immersion or sprinkling can be left an *adiaphoron*), as a *promise* of grace not only, but also as an actual *communication*, in the meaning of the conservative Reformation, then baptism could become the fact of an "Internal Union" with the Ancient Church, including Augustine, the saints of the Middle Ages and the many in

20 For a full quotation see in this book p. 325 f. 4.

21 *Christian Union Quarterly*, April 1919, p. 35.

all evangelical churches, which are convinced that grace as a gift of God must be held in view as the cornerstone of Christian religion. When we speak of grace then we mean grace as justification and sanctification to be accepted by faith which has in itself all the elements of intelligent acceptance (*notitia, assensus, fiducia*). The almost unanimous emphasis on grace at the recent conventions in Oxford and Edinburg (1937) was an event of great encouragement for Christendom in this present day.

8. *The Lord's Supper* is to the Disciples "a memorial feast," divested of "the awfulness of a sacrament" (Errett), open to persons of all communions. "Its interpretation is left to the individual believer." There has been controversy on the question whether unimmersed persons should be invited. The more general conclusion reached was that "we neither invite nor exclude." This memorial feast appears as the solemn consummation of the regular Sunday service, in imitation of a practice in the Early Church. We may ask whether the introduction of this feature which was part of the response to the endeavor at "restoration" in the end will not constitute an obstacle to a union with other bodies.

9. *In Polity the Disciples are Congregational*. Applicants for the ministry are ordained by authority of the local church, and the minister is a member of the church where he is located. In the absence of a minister the members meet in worship, observe the Lord's Supper, and any member may administer baptism.

Ministers are usually engaged by contract for a year or other specified time, the contract being renewed by vote of the congregation. As a rule pastorates are of brief duration.

While disclaiming a denominational existence, the Disciples have their district and state organizations. There is also an "International Convention of Disciples of Christ," which corresponds somewhat to the general bodies among the Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and others.

10. *The Chief Emphasis among the Disciples is upon Unity*. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," is a favorite text among them. Attacks upon the creeds and practices of other denominations are common. One of their

frequent offers to congregations of other denominations is to merge all into one congregation upon a Scriptural basis including, of course, immersion of adults and other tenets peculiar to the Disciples. They are emphatically for union—*on their own basis*, because they are deeply convinced that it is Christ's basis.

The Disciples will naturally think, hypothetically at least, of possible avenues for union with existing bodies. Some think of the Baptist family, into which, to an extent, they belong. Others, of the more intellectual type, think of the developing left wing in the Reformed-Presbyterian family and of the Congregationalists and groups of kindred tendency. On this matter, so far, there have been no clear developments.

11. *Statistics.* The strength of the Disciples for the year 1937, in the United States and Canada, was 8,149 churches served by 7,333 pastors and a communicant membership of 1,607,716.

B. Churches of Christ.

This body is part of the movement under the Campbells. Dissension arose about 1840, over the organization of a missionary society and about 1860, over the introduction of musical instruments into the church (on the ground that such were not used in the early church). Those favorable to these being known as "Progressives" or "Digressives," according to the view-point, while those opposing them were known as "Conservatives" or "Antis." The Churches of Christ are opposed to all of these "innovations," refusing their use for lack of Scriptural (New Testament) mention. Other objections were "un-Scriptural means of raising money," modern names for the pastor, etc.

Doctrinally this body is the same as the Disciples of Christ, the difference being in externals such as mentioned. Much confusion is caused by the existence of these two groups with so much in common. Locally the Churches of Christ are designated by some such name as "anti-organ."

This body is very aggressively missionary, notwithstanding its opposition to missionary societies. In polity it is extremely congregational, very little organization being permitted.

Its membership is 433,714 in 6,226 congregations, four-fifths being in the Southern States.

C. Christian Union.

(Not in historical connection with the preceding two. Adherents stress church union but their argumentation differs from that of the Disciples.)

This group arose in Indiana just before the Civil War, an organization being effected at Columbus, Ohio in 1863. The following are its principles (see *Rel. Bodies II*, 1926, p. 201): (1) The oneness of the Church of Christ; (2) Christ the only head; (3) The Bible the only rule of faith and practice; (4) Good fruits the only condition of fellowship; (5) Christian union without controversy; (Controversy may be sinful, but it may also be helpful and necessary for bringing about a truly Christian Church Union); (6) Each local church self-governing; (7) Political preaching discountenanced. Aside from these it has no doctrinal basis. Choice of mode of baptism is permitted. Baptism and the Lord's Supper (sometimes foot-washing) are observed, but not required. Every congregation is entirely self-governing.

This is a small body of about 14,000 members in about 200 congregations, more than one half being in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

D. The Union in Canada.

In the summer of 1924 the parliament of the Dominion of Canada incorporated what is known today as *The United Church of Canada*. It is a merger of the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the Congregational churches in Canada. The Episcopalian, the Lutheran and the Baptist churches and others did not participate in the merger. Thus, as to result, this union does not seem to belong to the class of the "comprehensive union movements." But all Canadian Churches were welcome, and more may join gradually. Church union, if it is of the right kind, should be the goal for historic Christianity.

1. *Original Union History.* A few words on the three Churches which took part in this United Church of Canada, about a decade and half ago, will be of

interest.²² The several Congregationalist groups in Canada in the Maritime Provinces and in the South of course, had no difficulty in uniting (1906) in one group. But to this group was joined "The Ontario Conference of the United Brethren in Christ," 1907. The *Methodists* of Canada are reported by Dr. Gunn to have gone through eight unions. In the Maritime Provinces it involved peaceful movements between the American Methodist Episcopal Church and the British Wesleyans, while in Ontario it was the story of conflict, divisions and unions or reunion (1884). But all this was on matters of church polity, there were no doctrinal differences to be harmonized, or perhaps there was in this group little interest in differences of the doctrinal type.²³ The especially critical factor in this union movement was the "Presbyterian Church of Canada," which was formed in 1875, as a result of many preceding unions—nine in number. For the details of this large union history see Dr. Gunn, p. 6. Some of the divisions to be healed had to do with attitudes of Scottish immigrants to Canada, such as the Scottish "Disruption" of 1843.^{23a} R. C. Reed in his *History of the Presbyterian Churches of the World* (p. 347) writes of Canada: "There were five organizations instead of one, simply because the divisions of the old country had crossed the ocean, and they grew and flourished despite the fact that there was not the slightest reason for perpetuating them. The ground of them had no existence on the Western side of the Atlantic." Finally a union of all Presbyterians in Canada, East and West, came in sight and was accomplished to the great rejoicing of many! This took place in 1875, in Montreal. R. C. Reed, pages 352 f., writes: "One of the clerks read the Articles of Union. These were subscribed to by the four moderators, who gave to each other the right hand of fel-

²² We have before us the following literature: An address by Dr. W. T. Gunn, 1923, "Uniting the Three Churches"; *The Basis of Union* (with a Brief Historical Statement on the Formation of the United Church of Canada); R. J. Wilson, *After Three Years*, 1929; *Ten Years of Union*, 1925-1935. And on the side of the Presbyterians who refused to go into the Union we have E. Scott, *Church Union and the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1928. Cf. also our discussion of the *Union Problem* in Appendix A.

²³ Cf. Our Chapters VII and IX on Methodists and Congregationalists.

^{23a} Cf. our Chapter V on the Presbyterians in Scotland.

lowship. One of the four moderators then declared that the four churches were now united and formed one Church to be designated and known as *The Presbyterian Church in Canada*. On its role were the names of 623 ministers serving nearly 90,000 communicants in a thousand congregations and preaching places." And then fifty years later came the call of a general union of all churches in Canada. It is an irony of history that it was the Presbyterian General Assembly, at the request of its Board of Home Missions, which appointed a committee "to confer with representatives from other evangelical churches, having power to enter into any arrangement with them that will tend to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in our home mission fields so that the overlapping now complained of may be prevented" (1899). The Methodists appointed a similar committee and, in 1902, proposed a definite movement looking to organic union between the three churches here under consideration. But it was the Presbyterians, who had started the ball rolling, to whom the Union brought a very serious division.

2. *The Basis of Union*. Much care has been taken to make this basic union of the three bodies as evangelical as possible. The outstanding fundamentals are pointed out: the divinity of Father, Son and Spirit, the Way of Salvation, including the supernaturalness of the Holy Spirit's work through the means of grace. There are concessions to the Methodist emphasis on the witness of the Holy Spirit without any urging of the old Methodist revival practices. The theology in general is that of Calvin (excepting his double predestination) and on the basis of the covenant idea, with a teaching on the sacraments in line with the Reformed-Presbyterian Churches. None of the historical creeds—neither the ecumenical nor the particular—are mentioned by title, but their fundamental teachings, in carefully guarded general terms, are referred to, without development of the topics. This Union is not a mere confederation, but it is absorptive in character, with the aim of blending the three denominational characteristics into One Church. For the present each of the participating churches continues a certain identity, of course. But gradually the differences will be looked upon as being negligible. Upon va-

cancies there will soon be an exchange of the ministry, Methodist and Congregational in Presbyterian pulpits and vice versa, carefully directed by leaders following the unionizing principles.

Touching the basis of Union (p. 23), it is of interest to note the following concerning "The Relations of a Minister to the Doctrines of the Church": The candidates for the ministry "shall be examined on the Statement of Doctrine of the United Church and shall, before ordination, satisfy the examining body that they are in essential agreement therewith, and that as ministers of the Church they accept the statement as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. Further, in the ordination service before the Conference, these candidates shall answer the following questions: (1) Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ? (2) Do you believe yourself to be called of God to the office of the Christian ministry, and your chief motives to be zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ and desire for the salvation of men? (3) Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ, and are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto?" There is controversy as to what the examined and ordained candidate is obligating himself.

The Standard referred to is the "Statement of Doctrine of the United Church" which acknowledges in the introduction "the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments as the primary source and ultimate standard of Christian faith and life" and "the teaching of the great creeds of the ancient Church" and maintains its "allegiance to the evangelical doctrines of the Reformation, as set forth in common in the doctrinal standards adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, and by the Methodist Church."

Is there in the United Church of Canada a substitute for the means of educating the youth as the Presbyterians had it in the Westminster Catechism or in the Heidelberg Catechism? These and other catechisms with their rich religious contents, growing out of the

heart of the Reformation, have served as standards which must be equalled by the educational endeavors of the new Union Church. In the above quoted "Ten Years of Union" there is a special article on "Youth and the Church" which reveals the intensity of effort on the part of a Board of Education to furnish a satisfying substitute for what the Presbyterians had to sacrifice, even if for the present they may continue their traditional guides.²⁴

3. *Consummation of the Union and the Presbyterian Division.* Dr. Wilson reports with much enthusiasm on the "Great Consummation" (p. 31 f.) which he calls "unparalleled since the Reformation." The following statistics show the numerical strength of the Union and its growth since the consummation: In 1926, a membership of 609,729; in 1938 the membership was 698,738 served by 3,500 pastors in 7,423 churches and preaching places. Membership of Sunday Schools in 1925, 579,482; in 1938, 588,248. Membership of Young People's organizations (18-25 yrs.) 91,758.

But inseparable from the consummation there is the division which the Union brought to the Presbyterian camp. Many Presbyterians had pleaded for more time. But the opposition had been growing and more and more consolidating itself. We report with the statement in writing from the Union side: "Until 1912 this opposition had been, for the most part, academic; from 1912 to 1916 it had been carried on by a very small body of men chiefly by means of literature. After 1916, it became an organized opposition which, by 1922, had become an association fully officered, organized and heavily financed, and with a fairly complete organization in every province of the Dominion, etc. . . ." After further description of the movement the writer adds: "It meant division. It meant that, while the Methodist and Congregational Churches would enter the Union with practically their whole strength, the Presbyterian Church upon entering must leave behind a considerable body of dissent."²⁵ The aim was to put the present "Presbyterian Church of Canada" out of existence so that it would

²⁴ Cf. in Rec. of Proc. of Seventh General Council, 1936, the Rep. of the Bd. of Educ., p. 337; also Wilson, p. 47.

²⁵ We have been reporting from R. J. Wilson's "After Three Years," p. 22 f.

be illegal to use the name for accepting legacies and holding property under the old name. The final division of 1925, has reduced this church to a small body. Up to the time of the Union (1925) this Presbyterian Church of Canada had developed into a large body: about 180,000 communicant members in nearly 1300 congregations. At present this Presbyterian Church of Canada has statistics as follows: Pastors 740; communicant members 175,824 in 1,313 congregations. Membership of Sunday Schools in 1938, 109,416. Membership of Y. P. S. 18,567.

4. *What were the Objections of the Remaining Part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the United Church of Canada?* We shall enumerate as follows, following critically the objections in the book of 1928:²⁶ (1) Chief objection is the absence of a really Presbyterian form of church government. The Church is governed not by chosen representatives of the people, by elected elders; but by an Act of Parliament certain clergymen and officials are The Church, with the right to officiate and rule in the Church, to select and set apart others to a similar work. Thus self-government of the Church is sacrificed. The new church government is characterized as a type of prelacy which the Presbyterians do not acknowledge in matters of faith and worship (cf. p. 24).

The claim of Biblical foundation for the Presbyterian system of church government (cf. pp. 21 f.) is not admitted by other Protestant groups. We have expressed ourselves on this matter in this book, pp. 286 f.; 322 f. The mere example in Acts 14:23 must not be taken as a command for all times. But the Presbyterians can use this form of government as a protection of the teaching in their Standards of Doctrine as long as their constituency is conservative. This takes us to the other point of objection to the Church Union: (2) "The United Church has dropped all definite pledge to the great truths of the Christian Faith" (p. 151). We refer the reader to the above quoted paragraph concerning confessional obligation at examination and ordination. (3) "Neither the majority of the Presbyterian people . . . nor a major-

²⁶ "Church Union" and the Presbyterian Church in Canada" by former Moderator Dr. E. Scott.

ity in church courts or in national parliaments have any right or power to wind up, blot out or merge the Presbyterian Church, and the votes of any and all of those parties to that end were *ultra vires*, invalid, of no effect" (p. 44).

How many Presbyterians stayed out of the Union and continued under the old name "The Presbyterian church in Canada"? An answer from the office in Toronto to this one question which is asked so much, was as follows: "It is difficult to decide as to the number of those Presbyterians who entered, and those who remained without the Union.

"In 1924, that is on December 31st of that year, the membership of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was 379,762. At the same date in 1935, the membership was 179,959. That is, the number of those in the Presbyterian Church who remained outside the union at the latter date was a little less than half of those constituting the Church before Union.

"It may be said that when the Federal Commission, a Commission covering Canada, whose duty was to apportion the general property of the church, made its distribution, it did so on the basis that 36 percent of the Presbyterian Church as it was formerly, remained outside the Union and 64 percent went in, a proportion not supported by the Dominion census of 1931.

"However accepting it and judging from the figures I am now giving as well as the standing of our Church and its work indicated in a pamphlet I shall forward, would indicate fair promise for our Church. This is the more impressive when it is understood that ours is the only Presbyterian Church in Canada. True, the United Church claims to be Presbyterian, and the Presbyterians who went into the Union have not accepted the logical consequences of Union as have the other two bodies. The Presbyterians in the United Church still claim they are Presbyterians, and not a few notice boards throughout the country present that claim. On the other hand the Methodists and Congregationalists do not profess now to be Methodists or Congregationalists, but to be United Church people. Consequently the Presbyterians who did not go into the Union are somewhat hampered

by this unfair and illogical claim of the Presbyterians who went into the Union.

"The United Church of Canada Act constituting the United Church purported to declare that the three contracting bodies, Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists, went into Union 'without loss of identity.' A judgment of the Supreme Court given a short time ago when the United Church claimed a legacy left to The Presbyterian Church in Canada, contradicts that assumption and that very flatly. It holds that there is no evidence whatsoever that any of these original bodies exist without loss of identity in the new church, and the judgment declares the union to be a merger.

"It needs to be stated that one result of union has been very extensive litigation in which the United Church has chiefly been the aggressor. It has cost the Presbyterian Church in Canada in this connection \$114,000. What it has cost the United Church we cannot say, but it must have been very heavy. One case was taken by the United Church to the Privy Council of England and was lost.

"There is contention with respect to our right as the parties who continued The Presbyterian Church in Canada to use that name, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, for the Union Act purports to forbid the use of this. However we have had one judgment on this by the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, which, with one judge dissenting, upheld our right to the use of that name."

The Presbyterian Church in Canada, now, is very shy of coöperation and all future union. It was the action for coöperation with the other churches for Home Mission work, which had started the movement for a union which could not be shaped in harmony with Presbyterian principles. This body will not agree "that religious denominations are sinful or are to be deplored"; separate existence may be the duty if there are certain aspects of truth and Christian experience to be safeguarded. And they insist that unity and organic union can do more violence to unity than generations will repair.²⁷

²⁷ Cf. the closing sections of E. Scott's book, pp. 154 ff.; also our discussion of the Union Problem, Appendix, A.

E. "Community Churches." Federated Churches.**Independent Churches.**

All these have the union character in one way or another. Quite a study has been devoted in the U. S. Census of Religious Bodies of 1926 to what has become known as "Community Churches." But the Census has abandoned this term as being too ambiguous for its statistical purposes, and instead it speaks of "Federated Churches" (pp. 598 ff.).

Popular Symbolics (Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.) defines the *Federated Churches* as "organizations which are made up of two or more denominational organizations for public services and social activities, the component groups, however, retaining their connections with the respective denominations." The reason for the organization of such federations is the fact that, especially in country places some churches become too weak to be effective so that they must coöperate with other small churches. Frequently the term "United Churches" is used to designate these federations. They are united for local purposes only in calling and paying a minister and in the conducting of services. They want to preserve the organic integrity of each denominational group. The first Federated Church of this kind is said to have been formed in Massachusetts in 1887. It was due to economic pressure. Later this type of church spread to many other parts of the country. The 1926 Census Report listed 361 such churches, 301 of them in rural communities.

In many places the denominational origin and loyalty is lost sight of. They operate as creedless "community churches." A name such as "neighborhood church" is favored. If there is a confessional consciousness in the organization, then the former members of confessional churches yield *de facto* to the confessionally lowest section of the group.

The leaders of the community church movement (The Community workers of the United States of America, 77 W. Washington St., Chicago) stress the cultivation of a *this-world religion*. The services are to be centered about "the every-day struggle for existence." (Cf.

the monthly "Community Churchman," July, 1932; read in Popular Symbolics, pp. 320 f.). Still we believe that the heritage from the age of revivals is functioning in many of these churches. It is claimed that in America there are over 2000 Community Churches.

Independent Churches. (Cf. Rel. Bodies, pp. 638 ff.) The following may here be noted: (1) Nearly one-half of the Independent Churches (259 churches with 40,381 members) are Community Churches and about one-fifth of them are either inter-denominational or Union Churches. (2) There are many which use a denominational name, but their churches cannot list them. Other denominations know of adhering congregations to their creedal or traditional standards which are not in actual organic affiliation with them. (3) And then there are the independent holiness or evangelistic movements of which we have spoken as relatives of the Methodist Church family (Chapter VIII). To these may be added: the *Church Transcendent* and the *Non-sectarian Churches of Bible Faith*.

All these are opposed to denominationalism, even though they themselves move in denominational forms of organization.

Chapter Nine

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Literature: **W. Walker**, *A History of the Christian Church*, 1918, pp. 457-480; **C. M. Jacobs**, *The Story of the Church*, 1893, pp. 278-280; **G. T. Rowe**, *The History of Religion in the United States*, 1924; **L. P. Qualben**, *A History of the Christian Church*, 1933, pp. 509-519; **A. Hauck**, *Realencyclopaedie fuer Protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1901, German Ed., Vol. X; cf. **New Schaff Herzog Encyclopedia**. See **Encyclopedia Britannica**, articles on "Congregationalists" and "Independents"; *Religious Bodies*, 1916 and 1926; **Phil. Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I; **W. Walker**, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, 1912; **W. E. Barton**, *Congregational Creeds and Covenants*, 1917; **G. Punchard**, *View of Congregationalism: Its Principles and Doctrines*; **F. L. Fagley**, *The Congregational Churches*, 1928; **W. E. Barton**, *Congregational Manual and Rules of Order*; **P. M. Brosy**, *The Congregationalists*, A. Dissertation.

I. EARLY HISTORY.

The Congregationalists are the ecclesiastical descendants of the Independents of the Reformation period. They were also called Separatists because they separated themselves from the Established Church of England. The Puritans held to the National Church, which they desired to reform and purify. These insisted on a church government by a series of representative courts. This was Presbyterianism. These "Separatists," however, insisted that the members should have a voice in the selection of ministers, in church government, and in the adoption of Confessions. They asked: What authority has the Church as an organization of churches? Christ, so they said, must control the worship of believers in a local congregation. Despairing of the possibility of a reform on this basis, they refused to join with the Puritans. They regarded separation from the established Church as their only remedy and recourse.

A pastor, Robert Browne, emigrated with his congregation to Holland in 1581, because there was no toleration for a separatistic group in England. But the flock was soon broken up by poverty and internal dissension.

Browne and his people returned to England, and Browne himself joined the Established Church.

John Robinson was another conspicuous figure in this movement. Converted to Separation by the writings of Browne, he was the pastor of a small congregation in Scrooby, England. He adopted the principles of Congregationalism. But he was compelled to leave the country. With a number of friends and followers he went first to Amsterdam, and then to Leyden, Holland. After a few years the party decided to emigrate to America where they could be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. In 1620 the little band of 102 persons landed at Plymouth, Mass., and founded the first Congregational Church on American soil.

A few years later these immigrants were followed by a band of Puritans, who also settled on Massachusetts Bay. Thus the Puritans must be distinguished from the Pilgrim Fathers who first came to America on the Mayflower. The two settlements gradually grew together, and the congregational principle of Separation lost some of its accentuation. But, of course, the main conception of Congregationalism prevailed.

By 1640 thirty-three churches had been organized on a pronounced Congregational basis. The Presbyterian system of government, at first held by the Puritans, was abandoned. For the time, at least, Congregationalism became the officially recognized religion of the state. Other forms of religion were not tolerated. This exclusive spirit, however, was gradually overcome after the Revolutionary War.

II. FURTHER HISTORY.

The further history of Congregationalism is marked by two features which we will describe.

1. *Intermingling of the Congregationalists with the Presbyterians.* The Congregationalists felt that there was considerable doctrinal affinity between themselves and the Presbyterians. Jonathan Edwards, Sr., (Congregationalist) was called as president of the Presbyterian Princeton College and Edwards, Jr., as president of Union College. Later the Junior Edwards took a seat

in the Presbyterian Assembly. Delegates were exchanged between the two bodies.

But this intermingling brought confusion and friction, especially in new fields. To prevent further trouble and bring about a settlement of difficulties, a "Plan of Union" was drawn up in 1801. (Cf. p. 296). This led to the elimination of Presbyterianism from New England and of Congregationalism from new communities in the west. There were some exceptions, however, for there were several settlements of Congregationalists in the West, notably in the Western Reserve district in Ohio.

Finally the "Old School" Presbyterians dropped the union plan (1837), but the "New School" continued in the Union for fifteen years longer. Then the Congregationalists withdrew. The plan, however, had been helpful in fostering the missionary movement. The American Board of Foreign Missions was organized (1810). In the work of this Board the Presbyterians and Congregationalists joined. The American Home Missionary Society (inter-denominational) was also founded. In 1816, however, this organization became distinctly Congregational.

2. *Trinitarian and Unitarian Wings.* In the course of time two wings developed in the Congregational Churches—the Trinitarian and the Unitarian. (See Chapter XII on the Unitarians and Universalists.) There were those who held to the strict Calvinistic faith with much discussion of the decrees. The rigid theology of Jonathan Edwards is well known. The conflict was especially about the person of Christ. There was a long controversy on miracles. At this time, too, the excesses of the great revival began to trouble the churches by causing a reaction in favor of the rationalism of the Unitarians. This reaction from extreme Calvinism led many into the Unitarian camp. In 1805 the appointment of Henry Ware, a pronounced liberalist, as a professor in the Congregational Harvard Divinity School, added fuel to the fires of controversy. The famous ordination sermon by William Ellery Channing in Baltimore in 1819, and his succeeding sermons and addresses defined the issues very sharply. On all this we shall write more in detail in Chapt. XII.

But separation was far from easy because of the distinction between the churches and the so-called "societies," which were owners of the church property. Confusion and legal strife continued until about 1840, when the separation finally became complete, with the result that the Unitarians claimed 150 of the churches, while the Trinitarians held about 100.

3. *Denominational Growth.* The convention of the Congregational Churches at Albany, N. Y., in 1852, was composed of 436 pastors and delegates from 17 states. Here the "Plan of Union," previously referred to, was abrogated. It is claimed that the Congregationalists had lost about two thousand churches by that union movement, which proved to be so futile. But after this convention it developed strong work in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, etc. In the Congregational body a National Council was now appointed, which held its first convention at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1871, and passed some important measures. From this date on the national councils met at first triennially and now biennially, all of which has done much to consolidate the denominational life of American Congregationalism. An especially important meeting of the Council was held in Kansas City, Mo., in 1913, when finally a Congregational platform was adopted (see below).

4. *Latest Developments.* Among these are the following: (1) Admission into their fellowship of rationalistic "Protestants" of the former "Predigerbund"; (2) Union with the rationalistically inclined "Christian Convention"; (3) Establishment of fraternal relationship with the Universalists; (4) There is mutual approach between the Congregationalists and Unitarians, but reunion is yet "far in the future," as was stated by a leading Congregationalist.

III. CREEDAL HISTORY.

A. *English Congregational Creeds.* (1) *The Savoy Declaration* of 1680; (2) *The Declaration* of 1833. (Philip Schaff, *Creeds* I, pp. 829,833.)

B. *American Congregational Creeds* which approved generally of the Presbyterian Westminster Confessions: (1) *Cambridge Platform* (1647); (2) *The Mas-*

sachusetts Revision of the Savoy Confession of 1680, and the *Saybrook Platform of 1708* did away with certain phraseology of the Westminster, but still approved of the general doctrinal features of this Confession; (3) *The Burial Hill Declaration of 1865* was adopted by the First National Council. It was still Calvinistic, but for this reason it failed to find approval; (4) *The Confession of 1883* was never formally adopted, but it served as the basis for many local Confessions; (5) *The Kansas City Platform of 1913* is of special importance (see below) because it represents present-day Congregationalism in America.

The Congregationalists of today, then, are guided by this last-mentioned standard. The fact is that American Congregationalists found themselves in the process of a development in line with the drift of the age into theological liberalism. This meant a general departure from the historic teachings of their old Confessions. In 1880 already the National Council had appointed a Commission to prepare "a formula that shall not be mainly a reaffirmation of former Confessions, but that shall state in precise terms, in our living tongue, the doctrines that we shall hold today." (Rel. Bodies II, 1916, p. 236). Congregationalism in Great Britain and Canada is more conservative than are the Congregationalists in North America.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSED IN THE KANSAS CITY PLATFORM.

(1) The local church is the unit of government, and is sovereign over its own affairs. (2) No Association, Conference or National Council has any ecclesiastical authority. (3) Ordination to the ministry is usually conducted by a council of churches called by the church of which the candidate is a member, or over which he is to be installed as a pastor. (4) The candidate for ordination or installation is interrogated as to the doctrines he holds, but creed subscription does not involve obligation to preach in accordance therewith. (5) The conditions for church membership have as their objective the Christian life, and not for the acceptance of any special doctrines. (For the continuation of denominational

identity, which involves the holding of church property, the Congregationalists rely upon the confidence that a church, in confessional conflicts, will always revert to its historic genius.) (6) Open communion is generally practiced. (7) Infant baptism is customary; baptism by sprinkling is commonly practiced; but the mode of baptism is optional with the candidate. Baptism has the significance of a dedication. It does not any longer have the meaning of the Calvinistic conception of the sacrament as a pledge and a seal.

V. A SIGNIFICANT MERGER.

In 1931, *The Christian Church* ("American Christian Convention") entered into a union with the Congregationalists. This body was a combination of several reactionary movements. One was among the Methodists in Virginia in 1792, under the Rev. James O'Kelly (in opposition to a growing episcopacy); one among the Baptists in New England in 1800, under the Rev. Abner Jones (in opposition to "sectarian names and human creeds"); one among the Presbyterians and others in the "Great Revival" of 1800 in the Cumberland Mountains under Barton W. Stone, and others against denominationalism. Anti-denominationalism was one of their characteristics. Later these "Christians" associated with the Campbells and their followers to some extent, and were always more or less confused with the "Campbellites." They criticized these, however, for introducing the name "Disciples of Christ" and the "Church of Christ"; also for making practically a "consensus of opinion," a "traditional creed," out of their special tenets (mode of baptism, weekly Communion, etc.) Cf. Chapter VIII, II, A.

The position of the "Christians" was extremely broad. Doctrines on the Trinity, Divinity of Christ, etc., were treated as "open questions." They were in full communion with the Unitarians and Universalists. The practice of the Congregationalists had become quite similar. So the union of these two churches was a very natural development.

In 1926 the "Christians" numbered 112,795 members in 1,044 churches. About three-fourths of their membership was in Ohio, Indiana, North Carolina, Illinois and Virginia.

VI. INSTITUTIONS AND STATISTICS.

1. *Educational Institutions*: Many colleges and universities; Theological Seminaries at Andover, Bangor, Chicago, Oberlin. The Congregationalists have been known for their cultural influence and for their productivity along literary lines.

2. *Leading Periodical*: "The Congregationalist", Boston, Mass.

3. *Numerical strength* of the Congregational Christian Church (1937): Membership, 986,211; Churches, 6,129.

4. *Headquarters*: 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Chapter Ten

THE BAPTISTS, THEIR PREDECESSORS AND THEIR RELATIVES.

Literature: **R. H. Gruetzmacher**, *Wort und Geist*, 1902. This is the best discussion of the principles of denominational Spiritualism.¹ **P. Tschackert**, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und der reformierten Kirchenlehre samt ihren innerprotestantischen Gegensätzen*, 1910, pp. 121-157. **R. Seeberg** in his *DG*, IV, 3rd ed., gives a valuable description of the whole spiritualistic movement with its background in the outgoing Middle Ages. **L. Keller** wrote in a way decidedly favoring the Anabaptists under the title: *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien*, 1885. Against him there appeared **H. Luedemann**, *Reformation und Täuferthum in ihrem Verhältniss zum christlichen Prinzip*, 1896. We mention also the book of a Dutch author: *Het inwendig Woord*, 1890. On the side of the spiritualistic movement we have the account by **Sebastian Franck** in his *Geschichtsbibel*, 1531; among recent works we have **H. S. Burrage**, *A History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland*, 1909.

E. Troeltsch has written much on the movement, especially on its social aspects. The reference is to his "*Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*", 2 vols., 1902; translated into English by Olive Wyon: "*The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*," 2 vols. 1931. We should mention especially **Rufus M. Jones**: *Studies in Mystical Religion*, 1909; also his publication on *Spiritual Reformers of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 1914. One who wants to view the situation from all sides, especially the doctrinal interests, must study Luther's reaction to the "Spiritualists" of his day. His anti-spiritualistic thoughts are presented in fine historical review by **P. Tschackert** in the above-mentioned work, pp. 162-196. The publishers of this orientating work are "Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Goettingen."

In the preceding account of literature we have aimed to mention only the works of a general type. There are many monographs on Spiritualism in the different localities. We refer to the following: The publication by **J. Loserth**, on *Balthasar Hubmeier*, covering Tirol, Lower Austria, Bohemia, 1893. **P. Wappler**, *Thomas Muenzer und die Zwickauer Propheten*, 1908. **A. Nicolandoni**, *Jon. Buendelin von Linz und die Oberoesterreichischen Täufergemeinden*, 1893. **E. Mueller**, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer*, 1895. **P. Burckhardt**, *Die Baseler Täufer*, 1898. Against **L. Keller** wrote **E. Egli**, *Die Zuericher Wiedertäufer*, 1878; also, *Die*

¹ The term "spiritualism" must be used much in this and the following chapter. It is the opposite of a theology of realism. Its historical meaning will be understood by following the discussion.

St. Galler Tæufer, 1887. **Nietzsche**, *Zur Geschichte der Wiedertæufer in der Schweiz*, 1885. **K. Rembert**, *die Wiedertæufer im Herzogtum Juelich*, 1899. **F. Roth**, *Zur Geschichte der Wiedertæufer in Oberschwaben*, 1902.

There are also books dealing with the individual leaders of the movement. The catalogues of the Baptist Publication Houses in America have a large literature on the subject.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

The Reformation movement accepted a religion of objective facts. Luther and Zwingli, Melancthon and Oecolampadius, Calvin and Beza, Cranmer and Knox were all conservative, or what today may be called "evangelical." They did not question the revelation of God through Scriptures. The "written Word" was to them the voice of God. While there was no agreement between the Lutherans and the Reformed on the conception of the sacraments, both sides settled upon definitions that were to secure in one sense or another Baptism and the Lord's Supper as means of grace.

But there was even then another fundamentally different type of theology at work. We call it the theology of the "inner light," or of spiritualism. It refuses to accept the Scriptures as such, that is, the "letter", as the Word of God. The Bible was but an empty letter. The "Spirit" was to be the teacher. The Bible would only become the "Word," if man would read it with a certain preparation of a spiritual nature. In other words, the "Word" was thought to be in man. Hence, there was frequent confusion between the Spirit of God in man and man's own spirit.² Generally there was opposition to fixed doctrines. Luther's doctrine of justification was spoken of with contempt; it was said to have opened the door for all kinds of sins. Objection was made to teaching original sin, which was taken to be weakening man in his own efforts. The emphasis was upon personal experience. Christ's suffering helps us only if we act in suffering as He did.

The sacraments were looked upon as empty ceremonies; at best as symbolizing a baptism by the Spirit or, in the case of the eucharist, as suggesting an inner

² J. Hoesch (see below) insists that the theology of the "inner light" was not a general mark on the Mennonites and the later Baptists.

communion of the soul with Christ. They were regarded as belonging to the childhood of the Church; now we have to do with more weighty matters; with faith and repentance. The baptism of infants was seen as an initiation into the pope's church, as a magic of no avail. Away with the outward church, with forms of worship, with the office of the ministry; the true church is a matter of the Spirit.

But not only was the *church* to be reformed, but also society. Here we touch upon the ideals of Thomas Muenzer and upon movements connected with eschatological expectations. Christ himself was to appear. Then there would be no need for government and law. He would then put the sword into the hands of His followers so that the godless could be annihilated and the millennium be realized.³

The leading men of the movement disagreed among themselves. *Thomas Muenzer* and *Andreas Karlstadt* and the "Anabaptists" in general were essentially practical reformers and not theologians. Because of their radical ideas they lost favor with all of the governments. The defeat of Muenzer and the catastrophe at Muenster spelled the end of their operations. We must distinguish between Muenzer and the Anabaptists. Luther did. In the person of *Kaspar Schwenkfeld* (1489), who is to be discussed at the end of this chapter, we have a real theologian with creative ideas of the spiritualistic sort. Then there were others with ideas utterly foreign to evangelical theology. One was *Sebastian Franck* (d. 1542) with a peculiar system of rationalistic-pantheistic thoughts on religion. Another was *Theobald Thamer* of similar thought (d. 1569). *Valentine Weigel* (d. 1588) was another who moved along the lines of pantheism. It may be said that the spiritualistic independence of thought naturally conditions—as has been observed among the Anabaptists—an evangelical theology on the one hand, and a more or less extreme liberalism on the other. This double trait is also today a generally observable characteristic of Anabaptist theology.

3 See R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, IV, 3rd. ed., 27 ff. and his many references to writers such as Rembert and Wappler, Seb. Franck Bullinger.

In the following, the various groups of spiritualistic communities which appeared on the Continent, in England, and in America are to be examined.

I. THE MENNONITES.

"Mennonites" is the name for the first denomination that grew out of this so-called "Anabaptist" movement. In all there are some five hundred and sixteen thousand Mennonites in the world: 1,500 in Switzerland; in Germany 19,000; in the Poland of 1925, 2,300; in France 3,000; in Holland 68,000; in Russia (Ukraine 60,000; Crimea 5,000; Caucasus 1,500; Orenburg Samara, Saratow, Ufa 12,000); in the United States 250,000; in Canada near to 80,000; in Mexico 9,000; in Siberia 30,000; in Turkistan 1,500; on Mission Territory (Holland, India, British India, China) 8,000. This has been compiled by Dr. C. Neff in Germany in *Gedenkschrift*, pp. 286 f., published at the Mennonite 400th Jubilee, 1925. To this statistics J. Hoesch adds Brazil with 800 and Paraguay with 3,000, and he calls attention to the fact that the increase from 3,000 to 9,000 in Mexico is explained by an emigration from Canada to that country.

In certain regions, as for instance in Russia: the Ukraine in former Galicia, then of Poland, now of Russia and Germany, there were large emigrations especially to Canada and South America.

First: On the Continent.

Literature: The articles in the PRE (**A. Hauck**, *Protestantische Realencyklopaedie*) on "Menno Simons" and "Mennoniten" may be read. Cf. the **New Schaff-Herzog** Encyclopedia. Also the article on "Wiedertaeufer" in **Moeller-Kawerau**, *Church History*, vol. 3, 1907. Cf. United States Report in Vol. II of the Religious Bodies, 1926, compared with 1916: also the Year Book of American Churches of 1937.

1. On the Continent various Anabaptist groups were found, which were organized on the basis of the reconstruction principles of *Menno Simons* (1496-1559), a former Catholic priest in Holland, who became converted to Anabaptism. He was more of a practical churchman than a theologian. His *Fundamental Book* sets forth the principles of the denomination which bears his name.

2. *The Principles of the Mennonites.* These do not represent a doctrinal system. We may express them as follows: (1) The necessity for every member of a *spiritual rebirth*. Outward church ordinances bring no salvation. Baptism is but a seal upon regeneration. The Lord's Supper is only a memorial. (2) With this insistence upon the new birth goes a decided *rejection of Christianity as an institution* with the right to regulate divine service as was done in the state churches. (3) Among the forerunners of the Mennonites (cf. Muenzer) there was an *endeavor to establish an outward kingdom of the regenerated*. It led to revolutionary excesses. Note the preaching and activity of Muenzer (1525) and the things that took place at Muenster. But later under the same leadership of Menno Simons (1536) the Mennonites separated themselves from those who aimed at a visible representation of the Kingdom and took the position that the Kingdom of God must be sought in the reality of regenerated souls. (PRE, 12, 606, line 16). (4) Over against the state and society, which were hostile to them and subjected them to cruel persecution, they established themselves upon *non-resistance*. (5) At the same time they demanded of their members absolute separation from this evil world. This included *rejection of legal oaths and refusal to hold civic office*. (6) The *ban* was used with remarkable consistency for maintaining the purity of the Church. (7) The outward evidence of separation from the world was also shown in *simplicity of dress*. (8) There was *opposition to liturgical forms of worship*. (9) *Foot-washing* was added to the Lord's Supper. (10) As to the doctrinal character of their theology the Mennonites never arrived at a uniform position comparable to that of the larger churches of the Reformation. Some of their members have occupied and today occupy positions of strict orthodoxy, while others have followed Socinian (Unitarian) views. The faith of most of the bodies of the Mennonites is expressed in their "Declaration of the Chief Articles of our Common Christian Faith," 1632. See the extract of the document in the Religious Bodies II (1926), 84 f.

3. In the days of their first appearance and before they became finally organized, they were a *martyr*

church more than has been the lot of any church of Protestantism.

Second: The Mennonites in America.

Literature: S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature*, 1929, The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Ind., 1927. The Census of U. S. Religious Bodies, II, 1926, 842-911. O. E. Watson, *Year Book of the Churches*, 1925; also *Year Book of the American Churches*, 1937. Krebichl, *History of the Mennonites General Conference*, 1898. C. H. Smith, *The Mennonites of America*, 1909; also *History of the Mennonite Church*, 1920. (Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind.) J. A. Huffman, *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*, 1920. (Bethel Publ. Co., New Carlisle, Ohio.) We should refer to the **Mennonite Quarterly Review**. Three contributors to this Quarterly must be pointed out as present day scholars on Mennonite questions: J. Hoesch, E. Correll and H. S. Bender.

Note: For the United States of America, the Rel. Bodies count 16 different organizations. Some of them are very small. In the following enumeration, the statistics of churches and their membership will be given according to the census of 1926, with gain or loss since 1916 and in accordance with the census given in the 1937 edition of the *Year Book of American Churches*.

1. *The Mennonite Church*. This is the oldest and largest of the group. This generally conservative-progressive group or body represents the general trend of most of the Mennonite organizations. It has stood for the more liberal interpretation of the Confession of Faith. In missionary and educational work this body coöperates with the Amish Mennonite Church Colleges at Goshen, Ind., Hesston, Kansas, and Harrisonburg, Va. (Churches 294; loss since 1916, 12. Members 34,039; loss 926. 1936 census, churches 388, members 46,904.)

2. *The Conservative Amish Mennonite Church*. Formerly it was identified with the Amish Mennonites or the Old Order Amish Mennonites (see below par. 3). But it has abandoned certain features of the "Old Order." It favors regular houses of worship. Yet, as to attire it retains the practice of using hooks and eyes instead of buttons for men's vests and coats. (In 1926 it had only 7 churches and 691 members. Since 1916 it had lost 6 churches and 375 members. 1936 census reports 17 churches and 2,281 members.)

3. *The Older Order Amish Mennonite Church.* It separated from the Amish Mennonites in 1865 on the question of enforcing church discipline. The "Amish Movement" insisted upon the strictest exercise of the ban (excommunication of disobedient members). They applied this to *daily life and the daily table* instead of simply to the exclusion of expelled members from the Communion table as was done by the other Mennonites. These *Old Order* people are very strict in adhering to all the old demands as the insistence upon the use of hooks and eyes indicate. Carpets, curtains and wall pictures are not allowed in the homes. They also refuse to use a church edifice, worshipping in private homes instead. However, they disagree in these things. Some are constantly drawing nearer to the larger progressive body, the *Mennonite Church*. (In 1926 this organization had 71 churches with 6,006 members. Since 1916 it had lost 17 congregations and 1,659 members. 1936 census, 127 churches and 8,491 members.)

4. *The Church of God in Christ (Mennonite).* This body owes its existence to the Reform movement inaugurated by John Holdeman. The discipline of the times of Menno Simons was to be restored. This included the strictest exercise of the ban including the shunning of the expelled members and the refusal of fellowship with those of other denominations. Other things pertaining to the strictness of the Christian life were introduced. Notable among them was the refusal to take interest on money loaned, it being considered as usury. In membership the movement was augmented by immigration of Mennonites from Russia. These, again contributed to a gradually increasing leniency in discipline and to the growth of a friendly attitude toward the parent body and to other churches. (In 1926 there were 26 churches with 1,832 members; gain since 1916, 5 churches and 707 members. Census 1936, 26 churches and 2,100 members.)

5. *Old Order Mennonite Church (Wisler).* Jacob Wisler, first Mennonite Bishop in Indiana, headed a reactionary movement directed against the introduction of the English Language into the services of the Church, the practice of holding evening meetings, Sunday

Schools and certain other innovations which were regarded as un-orthodox. The result was a separate conference on the territory of Indiana and Ohio (1870). There were similar separations in Canada, Pennsylvania and Virginia, all of which are now united in their work and with few exceptions oppose Sunday Schools, the use of the English language in public worship, evening and revival meetings, higher education, and missions. Telephones and automobiles are an offense to many of these people. They are opposed to a church periodical and to organized charitable work (Compare the "Churches of Christ" in Chapt. VIII). They adhere strictly to the Dort Confession of Faith. (In 1926 there were 19 churches and 2,227 members. Loss since 1916: 3 churches, gain in members 619. The census of 1936 shows 23 churches and 1,587 members.)

6. *The Reformed Mennonite Church.* The founder of this body was Francis Herr and his son John Herr (1812). Another effort toward restoration of purity in teaching and the maintenance of discipline was made. This interest goes back to Jacob Amon's demand for the restoration of the ban in its original security, exclusion from other religious bodies and emphasis upon non-resistance as "one of the cardinal principles of the Gospel." Again there is the opposition to Sunday schools, educational institutions and to missionary work, even to home missions. They are charitable toward those in need, honest and industrious, and generally prosperous. Thirty-one churches are spread over the territory of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska and Kansas. (In 1926 there were 31 churches with 1,117 members. Gain since 1916, 2 churches, but a loss of 164 members. 1936 census: 1,200 members and 23 churches.)

7. *The Defenseless Mennonites.* This body was formed in 1860 in consequence of a separation from the Old Order Amish Mennonite Church. The seceders declared that it did not emphasize sufficiently the need of a definite experience of conversion. Generally, however, it is in harmony with the "Mennonite Church" (cf. No. 1), sharing in the educational work of this body. (In 1926: 10 churches, 1,060 members; loss one church;

gain 206 members. 1936 census: 10 churches, 1,300 members.)

8. *Mennonite Brethren in Christ*. The background containing a number of streams which finally formed this church. (1883) calls for more space than can be given here. We must refer to the "Religious Bodies," 1926, (pp. 889 f.). The right kind of conversion, the distinction between justification and sanctification, divine healing and interest in the millennium belong to the motives for the formation of this body. The movement began in Ontario, Canada, but soon found sympathizers in the United States, in which it has five of its seven districts. Publication headquarters: New Carlisle, Ohio, Bethel Publishing Co., with "The Gospel Banner." In 1926, it had 99 churches; 5,882 members. Loss 9 churches; gain 1,345 members. Census 1936: 107 churches and 7000 members.

9. *Mennonite Brethren Church of North America*. This was a result of an emigration of German Russians from Southern Russia into Kansas between 1873 and 1876. The promise of freedom from military service in Russia was being broken. Baptism is by immersion with the backward motion, like the Baptists. This body is very active in foreign mission work. A college (Tabor College) is maintained at Hillsboro, Kansas. Its periodical "Zionsbote" is published at the same place. In 1926, they had 61 churches with 6,484 members. Since 1916, they have had a gain of 8 churches and 1,357 members. 1936 census: 62 churches and 7,225 members.

10. *The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde*. This is the American branch of a secession that took place in Russia during a movement between 1812 and 1819. The cause was again the demand for greater strictness. Headquarters: Meade, Kansas. In 1926 this group had 4 churches, 214 members, a gain of 1 church and 43 members.

11. *The Krimmer Mennonite Church or Krimmer Brueder-Gemeinde* is hardly distinguishable from the "Mennonite Brethren Church of North America" (cf. No. 9). Like these they baptize by immersion, but differ from them in their insistence upon baptizing in the forward way, differing from the Baptists. They support Tabor College (together with the Mennonite Brethren

Church of North America), also the Zoar Academy at Inman, Kansas (67 students). They have a publishing house in Chicago (2812 Lincoln Ave.), where they issue their weekly "Wahrheitsfreund." *Statistics:* In 1926, 14 churches and 797 members, a gain of 1 church and a loss of 103 members. 1936 census: 16 churches and 1,660 members.

12. *Central Conference of Mennonites.* It represents the organization of a number of independents into a conference. They are less rigid than the Amish Mennonite Church from which they have separated. They conduct city missions in Chicago and Peoria, Ill., and do foreign missionary work in connection with the Defenseless Mennonites. Along educational lines this body belongs to those supporting the Mennonite Seminary at Bluffton, Ohio, which is conducted by the General Conference of Mennonites of North America (cf. No. 16). *Statistics:* In 1926: Churches 29, members 3,124. Gain since 1916: 12 churches and 1,023 members. Census 1936: 26 churches and 2,889 members.

13. *The Conference of Defenseless Mennonite Brethren in Christ of North America.* This body is largely the result of an immigration from Russia in 1873-74. The rescinding in Russia of the promised freedom from military service is the cause of their putting into the title the term "defenseless." It is in harmony with the "Mennonite Church" (cf. No. 1), and it coöperates with the "Defenseless Mennonites" (cf. No. 7). *Statistics:* In 1926, 9 churches and 818 members. Loss since 1916, 6 churches and 353 members. Census 1936: 12 churches and 1,059 members.

14. *The Stauffer Mennonite Church in Pennsylvania.* It was the outcome of another movement in the direction of strictness, resembling closely the "Reformed Mennonites" (cf. No. 6). *Statistics:* In 1926, 4 churches and 243 members. Loss since 1916: 1 church and 34 members. 1936 census: 4 churches and about 150 members.

15. *The Hutterian Brethren,* followers of J. Hutter, a martyred Anabaptist of the 16th century. He had advocated communism to which his followers adhere today. They were driven from Hungary, Moravia, Rumania and

Russia and settled in South Dakota, 1874. In doctrine and practice they hold to the principles that are general among the Mennonites. Statistics for 1926: 6 churches and 700 members. Loss since 1916, 13 churches and 282 members.

16. *General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America.* The list of Mennonites that has been described began with the "Mennonite Church" which is considered to be the "parent body," and it is fittingly closed with this first named body which owes its existence to an endeavor of uniting the many units of this small denomination. It was organized in 1860 at West Point, Iowa. In membership and influence it grew rapidly. Immigrations from Germany and Russia, especially from opponents to the Amish principles favored this body and affiliated with it. At Bluffton, Ohio, the Mennonites of America had their first theological seminary connected with a college.⁴

The doctrinal trend of this body is characterized by the position, "That the passage in I Cor. 11:4-15 does not make obligatory the use of a covering for the head of female members during prayer and worship, and that the passage in John 13:4-15 is not generally believed to command the institution of an ordinance (that of foot-washing) to be obeyed according to the example there described." At the same time this body is loyal to the general principles of the Mennonite group. This is expressed in the declaration of the Conference that it "holds fast to the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, baptism on confession of faith, the refusal of all oaths, the Christ-taught doctrine of peace and non-resistance, and the practice of a Scriptural church discipline." (Rel. Bodies). Statistics: In 1926 there were 136 churches and 21,583 members, a gain since 1916 of 23 churches and 6,175 members. In 1936: 156 churches and 25,561 members. The publishing house is in Berne, Ind.

In conclusion: As leading tendencies among the Mennonites as a whole, three seem to be distinguish-

⁴ For many years this institution had as its president Dr. S. K. Mosiman, a graduate of Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, and a student at Halle. Now retired.

able: (1) The Amish represent the rigoristic element. They watch over the purity of life to the point of monastic separation from the world. (2) Then there is a complementary tendency which expresses itself in a reaction against liberalism and the encouragement of leniency, as particularly seen in the "General Conference" and recognized in the main by the Mennonite Church as the parent body. The future seems to belong to this group. (3) There are also a few bodies (cf. the "Brethren", Nos. 8 and 9) that have allied themselves with principles of evangelism, revivalism and Methodism.

II. THE BAPTISTS OF THE WORLD.

A. History. Principles. Churches Outside of America.

1. Origin and History of the First Baptists.

The Baptists of the different countries, as to origin and exact identity of organization, do not have a common history. In our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. II, Bk. IV, we shall see that on the basis of their leading principles they had an existence long before the Reformation.

The early Baptists in England were an outgrowth of the movement for independence of the Church from the Established Church. In this respect they were related to the Congregationalists who demanded the sovereignty of the local Church; only that the Baptists, entirely congregational in their church polity, went a step further, namely in making each individual independent: There was to be no baptism in their churches before the Christian individual, after the experience of a conversion, was able, as an adult, to speak for himself.

2. The First Baptists in England.

They existed in two somewhat conflicting groups:

(1) *The Arminian or "General Baptists."* They shared the aversion to Calvin's double predestination—some for salvation and the multitude for reprobation. Predestination was growing in England in the 17th century. And, furthermore, they had received influences from Menno Simons who believed strongly in a general atonement for all.

The First Baptist Church in England (London) was established in 1611. Its "Declaration of Faith," written by Helwigs (1611), declared the necessity of a believer's baptism for church membership. And they also pronounced the other Baptist principle, namely, that the state must not meddle with matters of religion and conscience.

(2) *The Calvinistic or "Particular" Baptists*, with seven churches in and around London (1633-1644), established themselves upon the predestination doctrine of a particular redemption. They were the first to insist upon complete immersion. Their "Confessions of Faith" (1677), patterned after the Westminster Confession, with alterations on church and sacraments consisted of 32 chapters. In 1834 a shorter Confession by J. N. Brown of New Hampshire, known as the "New Hampshire Confession," was adopted. The time came (1813) when the General and the Particular Baptists of England coöperated in church work. In 1891, finally, a complete union was effected. The fear of Modernism, however, kept many Baptist Churches in England outside of this general organization. (Spurgeon left the "Baptist Union" for that reason.)

(3) *As to Statistics*, the 1935 edition of the American Baptist Year Book gave to Great Britain and Ireland 3,200 churches with 401,175 members. The converts of these churches in the mission fields (see below) must be added.

3. The Baptists on the Continent.

Here again they had an independent origin, although soon after they were started they received encouragement and aid from the Baptists in Great Britain. The present growing Baptist Church on the continent, in its beginnings, was the result of the labors of a merchant in Hamburg, Mr. Oncken, who had no special connection with the Baptists in England and America.⁵

The statistics of this Baptist work on the European Continent is of interest. We follow the 1935 edition of the American Baptist Year Book which gives countries and numbers as follows: Germany, 265 churches and 682,-

⁵ See concerning his work, the article "Baptists" in the New *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, pp. 479 ff.

571 members. Hungary, 82 churches, 12,835 members. Rumania, 400 churches, 62,203 members. Latvia, 108 churches with 10,521 members. Esthonia, 45 churches, 7,526 members. Finland, 45 churches, 3,239 members. Denmark, 33 churches, 6,099 members. Norway, 51 churches, 7,160 members. Sweden, 690 churches, 68,151 members. France, 28 churches, 1,563 members. Italy, 60 churches, 3,358 members. Poland, 116 churches, 14,033 members. The various foreign mission fields, 193 churches, 15,558 members.

B. Baptists in America. The Larger Bodies.

In America, again, the Baptist movement has no historical relation to the movements in England and on the Continent. Roger Williams, a Congregationalist, at Providence, R. I., in 1683, baptized Ezekiel Halliman, who in turn baptized him. Williams then baptized ten others, and this company of baptized believers organized itself into a church.⁶

1. *Origin of the Baptists of America.* They originated in Rhode Island, 1639. At first they were much oppressed by the Puritan government in Massachusetts, and for a long time the number of their congregations was small. But under the freedom after the Revolutionary War they soon grew. As Baptists they were independent and lacked that binding element which lies in a concentrated church government. But with the organization of a General Missionary Convention for work in foreign fields (1814) and with the establishment of a Home Missionary Society (1832) and the development of a Publication Society (1824-1840), steps had been taken "toward bringing the various local churches together, overcoming the distintegrating tendencies of extreme independence and arousing denominational consciousness." After the Civil War (1865) the Southern Churches withdrew from their Northern brethren and formed the Southern Baptist Convention as the center for the work of the Southern Baptist Churches. Gradually the negroes also became organized around a "National Baptist Convention." Dr. J. B. Lawrence, executive secretary-treasurer of the Southern Home Mission Society in a recent address declared: "In the beginning of

6 Cf. *Rel Bodies*, page 78.

Home Missions in this country, there were but few Baptists. They were relentlessly persecuted. It took 100 years to organize seven churches. The Southern Baptist Convention was organized in 1845. They were the Knights of the Cross. They had the New Testament. They went West. They helped organize States and write constitutions. In 91 years they have sent out 32,000 missionaries and organized 8,600 churches." This gives us in a general way the historical beginnings of the three great organizations. John M. Peck was an outstanding pioneer in Home Missions in the West. He started a college in Alton, Ill.

2. *Statistics of the Three Larger Bodies of the American Baptists.* The entire strength of the Baptists in America, according to the 1935 edition of the American Baptist Year Book, is 10,102,403 members in 57,928 churches. The colored constituency is very strong. (See below.)

The American Baptists are organized predominantly in three main bodies:

First: The Northern Baptist Convention:

In 1926 this body was reported with 7,611 churches and 1,289,966 members. Since 1916 it had lost 708 churches and still gained 45,261 members. The Year Book of American Churches (1936 census) reports 7,694 churches and 1,412,279 members.

Second: The Southern Baptist Convention:

In 1926 it had 23,374 churches and 3,524,378 members. Since 1916 it lost 206 churches but gained in members 815,508. Census of 1936: 24,537 churches with 4,121,663 members.

Third: The National Negro Baptists:

In 1926 they were reported as having 3,196,623 members in 22,081 churches. Since 1916 they had gained 1,010 churches and 258,000 members. The census of 1936 shows them having 3,383,005 members in 24,000 churches. The minor bodies, (all added together, see below) numbered in 1926, 7,126 churches and 429,955 members; a gain since 1916 of 2,097 churches and 156,226 members. Census of 1936: 553,511 members in 7,624 churches.

Between the three main bodies there are no differences in doctrine and polity. Their common name is simply "Baptist." The division is largely for administrative purposes. This however should be stated, they belong to the so-called "Particular" Baptists (predestinarian), not to the "General" Baptists (opposed to predestination). This is a distinction that has figured in the history of the Baptists as a group, in England and also in America. (Bunyan was a "General" and Spurgeon a "Particular" Baptist.)

3. *Outstanding Baptist Confessions.* The following are to be mentioned: (1) The so-called *Philadelphia Confession of 1688*. Schaff: "This is the most generally accepted Confession of the Regular or Calvinistic Baptists in England and in the Southern States of America. It appeared first in London, 1677, then again in 1688 and 1689. Early in the eighteenth century it was adopted by the Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches." To this Schaff adds: "It is a slight modification of the Confession of the Westminster Assembly (1647) and the Savoy Declaration (1658), with changes to suit the Baptist views on church polity and on the subject and mode of baptism." These changes only are mentioned by Schaff, *Creeds III*, 738 ff. (2) *The New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833*, prepared by Dr. J. N. Brown of New Hampshire and adopted widely by Baptists of the Northern and Western States of America, is in harmony with the doctrines of the older Confessions, but expressed in a milder form. With these two Confessions the student may compare (3) the *Confession of the Free Will Baptists*, 1834 and 1868. (All published in Schaff, *Creeds, III*.)

4. *The Distinguishing Characteristic of the American Baptists.* We shall give them as follows: (1) The Baptists are strictly congregational in church polity. A combination of churches must not dictate to a local church in matters of faith and discipline. Each church is sovereign. (It is interesting to note how the dangers of this position to the unity of a large organization are guarded against. This can best be illustrated by the procedure of a local church in calling and dismissing a pastor as this is described in *Rel. Bodies II*, p. 834 f.) (2) The Church is defined as a body of regenerated people

who have been baptized on profession of personal faith and have associated themselves in the fellowship of the Gospel. (3) Rejection of infant baptism. (4) Immersion is demanded. (5) The Lord's Supper is just a commemoration of Christ's suffering and death.

The Baptists are a people of personal religion, not of a state church religion nor of a national religion, with emphasis upon the objective side of Christianity. They are not of the creedal type with binding Confessions for all time and under all circumstances for the whole body. Here is one reason why their personal religion, their spirituality, their Christian subjectivism can easily issue into the "freedom" of liberalism. In church polity they are congregational. They "associate by covenant."⁷ The Confessions come into function only where demanded by circumstance and by special resolution, namely, when the Faith is attacked. This was illustrated in the conflict with "Modernism" about 1923 when the Philadelphia and New Hampshire Confessions were invoked, and when we read of a "so-called Milwaukee Declaration of Faith" (Cole, p. 71).

The evangelical type of Baptist religion is typified by Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (General Baptist) and later by C. H. Spurgeon (Particular) and their evangelical and missionary character by the zeal in foreign missionary work. It is reflected also, in the main, by their above mentioned Confessions. A few quotations from the New Hampshire Confession may illustrate: Art. 4: "The salvation of sinners is wholly of grace, through the mediatorial offices of the Son of God; who by the appointment of the Father, freely took upon him our nature, yet without sin; honored the divine law by his personal obedience, and by his death made a full atonement for our sins." Art. 5 of Justification: "We believe that the great gospel blessing which Christ secures to such as believe in him is Justification; that Justification includes the pardon of sin; that it is bestowed, not in consideration of any works of righteousness which we have done, but solely through faith in the Redeemer's blood; by virtue of which faith his perfect righteousness is freely

⁷ Cf. art. 13 of the New Hampshire Confession in Schaff, *Credentials*, III, p. 746.

imputed to us of God." Art. 6: "We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the gospel." Art. 7: "In order to be saved, sinners must be regenerated, or born again; regeneration consists in giving a holy disposition to the mind; it is effected in a manner above our comprehension by the power of the Holy Spirit. . . ." Art. 8: "Repentance and Faith. . . inseparable. . . , is wrought in our souls by the regenerating Spirit of God . . . we turn to God with unfeigned contrition, confession and supplication for mercy." Art. 9 of God's Purpose of Grace: "Election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which He graciously regenerates, sanctifies and saves sinners. . . . It is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being infinitely free, wise, holy and unchangeable." Art. 13: "We believe that a visible Church of Christ is a congregation of baptized believers, associated by covenant in the faith and fellowship of the gospel."

These were the fundamentals of the Baptists with which they, the same as the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Disciples, faced a conflict with theological liberalism. *The Watchman-Examiner*, in an editorial of July 1, 1920, coined the term "Fundamentalists." (Cole, p. 67.) We have expressed ourselves critically on this conflict in our chapter on the Reformed and Presbyterians (V) and especially in our discussion of the Disciples (Union Bodies, VIII), also in logical treatment of the subject in the Appendix B to this book. Here it may be repeated that, in the reaction of many "Fundamentalists" against textual criticism of the Bible and against the historical approach in Biblical Introduction (Isagogics) in the theological schools, the Fundamentalists in the various bodies took positions that could not always be defended. But in the cases where the attacks were directed against the "Gospel," as professed in the above quotations from the New Hampshire Confession, and where the religion of revelation and of Christian experience was to be supplanted by a religion of humanism and naturalism—there the Conservatives especially those of the moderate type and with insight into the organism of sacred theology (exegetically, historically and systematically), gave expression to a needed testimony.

5. *The Baptist Principle. A Comparative Study.* As to the rite of baptism (immersion or sprinkling, infant or adult baptism) it should here be added that in many of the liberalistic quarters of the Baptists, adult baptism by immersion, as a condition of membership, is not stressed. In some of the liberal seminaries it is mentioned only as a debatable question. Some, much like the Disciples (see Chap. VIII, pt. II, p. 438), have the arrangement of "open membership" for such as were baptized by sprinkling. Some of the "progressive churches" among the Baptists advise congregations to choose their own alternative. They say that "allegiance to Christ is not measured by a physical act, but by adhering to an inner and spiritual ideal."

How churches can differ on a fundamental matter! It was Christ himself who instituted baptism for the Church. The *Lutherans*, the *Anglicans* and *Episcopalians* look upon baptism as being fundamentally a "sacrament" i. e., a divinely appointed means of grace, through the Word with an outward sign. It is virtually the gospel of promise for the whole life, addressing itself, as an objective Word of God, to the believer and functioning as an assurance to the soul in its need of salvation. The *Catholic Churches* (East and West) see in baptism more or less the same truth, only that they do not stress the sacrament as a Word of promise and of assurance and as an appeal to faith, and so they lose themselves in what appears to us as magical "sacramentalism." The *Reformed and Presbyterian Churches* of Calvin's persuasion stress baptism as the Word of promise, but they identify it with the general Word of Scripture, independent of the sacrament and independent of the sacramental action. (Cf. in this book, pp. 206 ff.; 327). To the *Baptist*, baptism is not really a means of grace through which God communicates his grace to man; but it is only an *act of obedience* on the part of man to follow a divine ordinance. It is the submission to a "rite."

If baptism is not a sacrament, but just a work of man, just an act of obedience, merely a rite—then the *Liberalists*, in their estimate of it, are about right when they say that as a merely "physical act" it is not neces-

sary, and that the Church can do without it. And the Quakers also are consistent when they spiritualize it into a baptism with fire.

We hold that baptism is an act of God, and as such it is in the foundation of the Holy Spirit's work on the soul through the Word, all through life: God acting, man receiving; it is the first stage in carrying out the soul's divine election for eternal life. If this is so, then children should not be excluded. Baptism is not just for the moment of its administration, but for life. Do we use our baptism as a means of grace?

6. *The Theological Seminaries of the Baptists in America.* These may be enumerated as follows: *Conservative:* Southern Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky. Southwestern Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas. Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Chicago. Eastern Baptist Seminary, Kansas City, Mo. Western Theological Seminary, Portland, Oregon. Central Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. *Liberal:* Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Colgate, Rochester, N. Y. Crocier, Chester, Pa. Andover, Newton Center, Mass. Berkley Divinity School, Berkley, Calif.

In general, the South is conservative while the North is under a strong liberalistic influence.

C. Smaller Branches of the Baptists in America.

First: Calvinistic or Predestinarians.

1. *Duck River and Kindred Associations of Baptists* (Baptist Church of Christ): (1) *Origin:* The Elk River Association, organized in 1808, was strongly Calvinistic in doctrine. There grew up within it an element which was more liberal in its belief. As this element increased, the opposing party became even more strict in its theology and practice. These differences became so great that the minority withdrew and formed the Duck River Association. (2) *Polity:* Congregational, in accord with other Baptist bodies. (3) *Statistics:* In 1926 there were 98 churches and 7,340 members. Since 1916 the organization has lost 7 churches, but gained 469 members. Census of 1936: 113 churches and 9,236 members.

2. *Primitive Baptists.* (1) *Origin:* These broke away from the larger Baptist bodies in their strict inter-

pretation of Scriptural institutions, opposing all benevolent, missionary, Sunday school, and similar organizations on the ground that such did not exist in apostolic days, insisting that there is no Scriptural warrant for them now. The first official announcement of this position was made in 1827 at the Kehukee Baptist Association of North Carolina. (2) *Doctrine*: They are strongly Calvinistic. Baptism by immersion is the prerequisite for the Lord's Supper. They are opposed to the use of musical instruments in the church services. Sunday schools and secret societies are declared not to be in accordance with Scripture. (3) *Polity*: They are not organized as a denomination and have no state conventions or general bodies of any kind. They are strictly congregational. (4) *Statistics*: In 1936 this organization had 2,267 churches with 81,374 members. Since 1916 there had been a gain of 125 churches and 1,063 members. The 1936 census reports them as having 2,700 churches and 102,919 members.

3. *Colored Primitive Baptists*: (1) *Origin*: Up to the time of the Civil War they were a part of the White Primitive Baptists. After the War they desired to be set apart in churches of their own color. They then became known as the Colored Primitive Baptists. (2) In *Doctrine and Polity* they are like the White Primitive Baptists. (3) *Statistics*: In 1926 there were 925 churches, 43,978 members. Gain since 1916: 589 churches and 28,834 members. Census of 1936: 925 churches and 38,217 members.

About the year 1900 a "progressive" move was introduced among the Colored Primitive Baptists, and a large number of them began the organization of aid societies, conventions, and Sunday schools; some of these organizations being based on the payment of money, things in which the Primitive Baptists had not engaged and against which they had protested.

4. *Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists*. (1) A separation in the latter half of the 18th century from the larger Baptist body in protest against the general laxity of doctrine and looseness of church discipline. (2) *Doctrine*: They hold to a modified Calvinism or predestinarianism, the distinguishing feature of which is the specific election of the seed of God to salvation and of the seed of Satan to reprobation. Foot-washing is observed in some of the churches. The help of a paid min-

ister is not necessary. Christ carries on this work without the aid of man. (3) *Polity*: They are thoroughly independent, each church carrying on its own work. Associations are formed, but for spiritual fellowship rather than for church management. (4) *Statistics*: In 1926 there were 27 churches and 304 members, the loss since 1916 has been 21 churches and 375 members.

5. *Independent Baptist Church of America*: (1) *Origin*: This was formerly known as the Scandinavian Baptist Church of America. Swedish Free Baptists had emigrated to America. By means of mergers and conventions they finally became known under the above name (1927). (2) *Doctrine*: They agree with other evangelical bodies in a number of points of doctrine. They believe in the necessity and authority of civil government. War is claimed to be contrary to the Word of God. (3) *Polity*: Their whole purpose is to carry on Christian mission work in the United States and foreign countries, and to spread the Gospel in the precepts of Christ and His Apostles. (4) *Statistics*: In 1926 they had 13 churches and 222 members.

Second: Baptists of the Arminian Type.

1. *General Six-Principle Baptists*: (1) *Origin*: In 1653 a number of the members of the Baptist Church at Providence, R. I., withdrew and organized the General Six-Principle Baptist Church, the six principles being those mentioned in Hebrews 6:1-2: repentance, faith, baptism, laying-on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment. (2) *Doctrine*: They are in sympathy with the Arminian rather than the Calvinistic Baptists. Their distinctive feature is still the laying-on of hands immediately after baptism, when members are received into the church. This is not a mere form but is a sign of the reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit. (3) *Statistics*: In 1926 there were six churches, 293 members. The loss since 1916 being 4 churches and 163 members.

2. *Free Will Baptists*: (1) *Origin*: The first organization was in Wales in 1701, and in America in Perquimans, N. C., in 1727. This congregation was formed by Paul Palmer. The movement grew until the members formed a separate denomination. Their doctrine is

practically the same as the Free Baptist Churches of the North, which are now a part of the Northern Baptist Convention. (2) *Doctrine*: They accept the five points of Arminianism as opposed to the five points of Calvinism; immersion is the only true form of baptism; foot-washing; anointing of the sick with oil. (3) *Statistics*: In 1926 they had 1,024 churches, with 79,592 members, the gain since 1916 being 247 churches and 24,759 members.

3. *United American Free Will Baptist Church (colored)*: (1) *Origin*: As the number of members grew in the Free Will Baptist Church after the Civil War, the colored people resolved to separate from the white. This was effected in 1901. (2) *Doctrine*: They agree with the white churches of the same faith. (3) *Polity*: They are not as autonomous as the white churches of this faith. (4) *Statistics*: In 1926 there were 166 churches, 13,396 members. Since 1916 they have lost 3 churches and 34 members.

4. *Free Will Baptist Church (Bullockites)*: This is a very small organization in Maine, organized in 1780, but decimated by a split in 1835 in which one faction followed a man by the name of John Bullock. In 1916 it had 12 churches with 184 members. The census of 1926 reports 2 churches and 36 members.

5. *General Baptists*: (1) *Origin*: They trace their origin back to the early part of the 17th century in Holland (1607 or 1610) and England (1611). They came to America (Virginia) in 1714, and from here they spread to the Middle West. (2) *Doctrine*: They have a confession of faith consisting of eleven parts. The distinctive feature of this confession is the doctrine of a general atonement (hence the name "General Baptists") that Christ died for all men, and not only the elect, and that any failure of salvation rests purely with the individual; that it is possible for a Christian to fall from grace and be lost; baptism of believers by immersion; the Lord's Supper open to all believers. Some of the churches practice foot-washing. (3) *Statistics*: In 1926 they had 465 churches, 31,501 members. The loss since 1916 has been 52 churches and 1,956 members. Census of 1936: 544 churches and 33,468 members, a slight gain over the 1926 census.

6. *The Seventh Day Baptists*: This group dates from the English Reformation, having adherents among the followers of Cromwell. They came to America since 1671, settling around three centers: Newport, R. I., Philadelphia, Pa., and Piscataqua, N. J. From one of these came that Ephrata Community of German Seventh Day Baptist Brethren of which we read in the history of Conrad Weiser.⁸ (1) *Doctrinally* they hold to the Arminian side; also to adult baptism by immersion. To these tenets they add the old Sabbath observance "not as a basis of salvation but as evidence of obedience and conformity to the teachings of Christ." (2) On church *polity* they stress independence. Yet there is a "General World Conference" over the local churches, with the right of determining which churches shall constitute its membership and with the right of recognizing or refusing to recognize, as ministers of the denomination, those who have been ordained by local churches. (3) *Educational interests*: Colleges in Alfred, N. Y. (with a theological seminary), Milton, Wis., Salem, W. Va. Leading periodical: "Sabbath Recorder," Plainfield, N. J. Headquarters: Publishing House, 510 Wachtung Ave., Plainfield, N. J. (4) In 1926 they had 67 churches with 7,264 members. Loss since 1916 one church and 716 members. Census of 1936 shows 64 churches and a membership of 6,751, an additional decrease.

Third: Baptists Holding a Compromise Between the Calvinistic and the Arminian Types.

1. *Regular Baptists*. These claim to represent the original English Baptists before the distinction between Calvinistic or Particular and Arminian or General Baptists became marked. In 1926 they had 349 churches with 23,091 members. Loss since 1916: 52 churches, but a gain of 1,570 members.

2. *Separate Baptists*. These separated from the "Regular Baptists." They hold to a mild Calvinism but refuse Calvin's doctrine of a double predestination. They are willing to receive those who were baptized in infancy

⁸ See Neve-Albeck, *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 3rd. ed., 1933.

and by sprinkling although they themselves practice immersion. To baptism and the Lord's Supper they add foot-washing. They are opposed to creeds and confessions of faith. In church polity they are strictly congregational. In 1926 they had 65 churches with 4,803 members. Since 1916 their gain was 19 churches and 549 members. Census of 1936: 70 churches and 4,962 members.

3. *United Baptists.* In the latter part of the 18th and early in the 19th centuries, a considerable number of the "Separate Baptists" and of the "Regular Baptists" combined under the name "United Baptists." They are characterized by features of both these organizations. Especially observable is their retention of foot-washing and the strictness in their practice of closed communion. The census of 1926 shows them with 221 churches and 18,903 members, a loss since 1916 of 33 churches and 3,194 members.

III. RELATIVES OF THE BAPTIST FAMILY.

A. Brethren (German Baptist Dunkers).

1. *Church of the Brethren (Conservative Dunkers).* Formerly German Baptist Brethren Church (Conservative). (1) *Origin:* Pietists organized at Schwarzenau in 1708. They were opposed to creeds and forms, but stressed the inner life. They emigrated to America in 1719, settling in Germantown, Pa., from where they spread to New Jersey, southern Pennsylvania, northern Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas; and later into Ohio, Kentucky, and the Mississippi valley. They went under the name of Dunkers. John Conrad Beissel with his followers withdrew and founded the famous monastic community at Ephrata, Pa., in 1728. After 1881 there occurred several splits because of innovations held by some of the members. (2) *Doctrine:* In general terms they are classed as orthodox Trinitarians. Baptism is by trine forward immersion, the person being confirmed while kneeling in the water. Foot-washing and the *agape*, or the love feasts precede the communion. Women are expected to be veiled during prayer and at communion. In the case of illness the person is anointed with oil. They believe in plain attire, no jewelry, for-

biddance of oaths, non-resistance, total abstinence from liquor, no secret societies. Theirs is an expression of primitive Christianity. They are stern and legal in their form of religion. (3) *Polity*: They approach nearer the Presbyterian than any other form of polity. The bishop presides over the council. There is strict discipline. (4) *Statistics*: In 1926 there were 1,030 churches, with 128,392 members. Gain since 1916 of 33 churches and 23,290 members. Census of 1936: 1032 churches and 149,913 members.

2. *Old Order German Baptist Brethren*. (1) *Origin*: Fearing the introduction of new social customs, and the departure from the original practices of the founders of the denomination, and that the "Scripture suffer violence," some of the members withdrew in 1881 and formed the organization known as the "Old Order Baptist Brethren." (2) *Doctrine*: They accept the literal teaching of the Scripture. They are literalists in Scripture interpretation, hold to closed communion, are opposed to war, politics, secret societies, fashionable dress and amusements; they refuse to take oaths; they anoint the sick with oil; and demand total abstinence from liquor. Nothing but death can break the marriage vow, and they refuse to perform a marriage ceremony for any divorced person. (3) *Statistics*: The Religious Bodies of 1926 reports them with 62 churches and 3,036 members; since 1916 a loss of 5 churches and 363 members.

3. *Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers)*. (1) *Origin*: The membership of the original Brethren communities was composed largely of farmers. The ministers were not learned, there being no seminaries. Few of the members had a higher education. The attempt by some of the Brethren to establish higher institutions of learning, promote missionary enterprise, provide for an educated and supported ministry, and the earnest questioning of the authority of the annual conference as a legislative body, led to a division. Those advocating these steps were derisively called the "Progressives." Unable to be reconciled to the rest of the church, they withdrew in 1882 and organized a new church. (2) *Doctrine*: They are "evangelical," that is, in general accord with the Church of the Brethren. They avoid doc-

trinal controversy, and there is complete unanimity of belief and practice throughout the whole brotherhood.

(3) *Polity*: They insist upon the rights of the individual believer, denying an ecclesiastical body the right to bind the conduct or the conscience of a believer in Christ.

(4) *Statistics*: In 1926 they had 174 churches with 26,026 members. Loss since 1916, 27 churches, and a gain of 1,966 members. Census of 1936 shows them having 168 churches and 25,263 members, a further loss in both churches and members.

4. *Seventh Day Baptists (German)*. (1) *Origin*: In 1724 John Conrad Beissel was chosen pastor of a few families living in Conestogo, Pa. He soon began to embrace doctrines of celibacy and the observances of the Seventh Day Baptist Church. In 1732 Beissel, joined by others, moved to Ephrata, Pa., where he founded the "Ephrata Society." Separate houses were built for the men and women, in monastic fashion. Industries were carried on in communal ways and kept subordinate to religion. (2) *Doctrine*: They laid special emphasis on: (a) the inspiration of the Bible; (b) one God, the Father, and Jesus Christ, His Son, the Mediator; (c) the Ten Commandments as still the rule of righteousness for all mankind; (d) baptism by trine forward immersion; (e) foot-washing in connection with the communion service; (f) the anointing of the sick with oil; (g) the blessing of infants; (h) the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath; (i) the ministry of elders and deacons; (j) non-resistance held to be a divine command. (3) *Statistics*: In 1926: Four churches with 144 members; loss since 1916 was one church but a gain of 8 members. Census of 1936: 3 churches with 493 members.

5. *Church of God (New Dunkers)*. (1) *Origin*: Holding that "Bible things should be taught by Bible names" they withdrew from the Baptist Brethren in 1848. Thus they called themselves the "Church of God." (2) *Doctrine*: They refuse to accept any human creed or confession of faith, holding that this is all set forth in the Bible. They have adult baptism. Communion, the literal washing of the saints' feet, the salutation with the holy kiss, and the anointing of the sick are essential. They also have Adventist features. (3) *Statistics*: In

1926 they had 9 churches and 650 members. Loss since 1916 of four churches and 279 members. Census of 1936: 8 churches and 639 members which shows that they are still on the decline.

B. River Brethren.

Origin: In the latter part of 1750 about thirty Mennonite families from a county near Basel, Switzerland, decided after a long period of persecution, to emigrate to America. Here they became known as Brotherhoods. Their leading Brotherhood was in Lancaster County, Pa., being known as the "Brotherhood down by the River," and thus the name "River Brethren" came into use. In time dissensions arose. In 1843 the body known as "Yorkers," or "Old Order" Brethren, withdrew; and in 1853 the body known as "Brinsers," or "United Zion's Children," also withdrew. The remainder was known as the "Brethren in Christ." Dr. H. K. Carroll tells us in his book on "Religious Forces in the United States" that the question that figured in the split was whether, in observing the ceremony of foot-washing, one person should both wash and dry the feet or whether one person should do the washing and another the drying. *Statistics:* In 1926 they had 119 churches with 5,697 members. Since 1916 there was a gain of seven churches and 308 members. The census of 1936 shows 90 churches and 4,231 members.

C. The Schwenkfelders. (Appended).

Kaspar von Schwenkfeld (d. 1561) was a contemporary of Luther. Luther wrote in harsh words against him. R. Seeberg calls him a "significant and serious man."⁹

Schwenkfeld was the typical exponent of a spiritualistic theology. He was ever willing to admit that it was through Luther that he had found the Gospel. But he opposed Luther and maintained against him a peculiar conception of the means of grace. The importance of the external word was minimized. To Schwenkfeld the

⁹ For objective estimates of Schwenkfeld see Erbkam, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Sekten*, 358 ff.; R. Gruetzmacher, *Wort und Geist*, 158 ff.; the same in PRE, 18, 72-81. Cf. the NSH; P. Tschackert, *Entstehung der luth. und reform. Kirchenlehre*, 157 ff.; K. Ecke, *Schwenkfeld, Luther und der Gedanke einer evangelischen Reformation*.

Bible is only an imperfect human image of what is wrought within the hearts of the prophets and apostles. Thus the Scriptures have no decisive meaning for the inception of the religious life in man; they only show forth that life and bear witness of it. It is not the Word which brings the Spirit, but the man who is filled with the Spirit brings that Spirit with him to the Word. "The divine light must be brought to the Scriptures, the Scripture to the letter, the truth to the image, and the master to his work."

Still he was different from a more Socinian type of those of the Spiritualists which emphasize the spiritual in religion. He believed in the supernatural character of the work of the Spirit. He declined the naturalistic conception of the Word. The "Spirit" is not an innate rational-ethical possession of every man. Not everyone possesses by nature this "internal living Word." But the renewal of man comes without the Scripture as means, through the Spirit of Christ. Here he had Luther as his opponent.

In his estimate of the sacraments he found it illogical to accord to them any true impartation of grace. Baptism, be it infant or adult, is not necessary. He accepts as religiously valuable only the spiritual baptism by Christ Himself. Such baptism has nothing to do with the external rites. There can be nothing more in the performance of the rite than a symbolical significance of that baptism through the spirit of Christ.

His doctrine of the Lord's Supper was in harmony with this general view of the means of grace. It was only in a dynamic and spiritual way that he would speak of an active influence of Christ in the Supper.

Schwenkfeld's Christology was very peculiar and distorted. Christ's body in its flesh and blood, was not from Mary, but from God. He brought it with Him from heaven. Therefore, it was not our nature which He adopted. Through the work of redemption His body became gradually so glorified that its humanity was absorbed. This is a view comparable to the old monophysitism. The distinct natures of Christ are denied.

Among his differences from Luther was also the minimizing of justification in favor of a certain regeneration. Here we have an emphasis upon the moral ele-

ment at the expense of the religious: "God does not count anyone righteous in whom there is nothing of His essential righteousness." (*Epistolae*, I, 812.) Luther found the great foundation for the sinner's comfort in justification, and then looked upon the gradual renewal which is bound to express itself in good works as the natural and necessary consequence.¹⁰

Schwenkfeld had no appreciation of the institutional side of the Church and was therefore opposed to forming organizations. His whole interest was in the religious experience of the individual. For that reason he was unable to establish a church that would strip itself of the characteristics of a sect.

Note: His followers emigrated largely to the United States. In 1734 about two hundred of these landed in Philadelphia and settled in Montgomery, Bucks, Berks and Lehigh counties in Pennsylvania. Here they had to organize to maintain their identity. In connection with the seminary at Hartford, Conn., they are publishing at Leipzig (1907 ff.) the "*Corpus Schwenkfeldianorum*."

In 1926 the Schwenkfelders in America had only 6 churches and 1,596 members. There has been no gain in churches since 1916, but a gain of 469 members. The 1936 census shows the same number of churches but a membership of 1,848, a slight gain over the 1926 membership. We have dealt with Schwenkfeld's theology in detail because of its doctrinal and historical significance.

Note: In the next chapter on the Quakers we shall take occasion for a comparative review of the Protestant groups with special regard to the Mennonite-Baptist-Quaker-Schwenkfeld principle of the Inner Light and the question as to (1) the source of truth and (2) as to who is the interpreter of Scripture and (3), at the close, the question: What is the nature of the Church?

10 AC, articles 4, 6 and 20

Chapter Eleven

QUAKERISM AND THE QUAKERS (FRIENDS).

“Spiritualistic” Religion and Theology in England. The Quakers are Relatives of the Baptist Family. But they go further than did the Baptists.

Literature: There is the thorough objectively and sympathetically written article “Quaker” by **R. Buddensieg** in **A. Hauck**, Protestantische Realencyklopaedia, (PRE pages 356-380. Cf. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia (NSH). Next in this class of literature comes **J. Hunt**, Religious Thought in England, 1871, I, 239; II, 286-304. Above all we refer to the writings of special authority on the Quakers, of Prof. **Rufus Jones** of Haverford College regarding present-day branches of Quakers in America. We refer to the government publication on the **Religious Bodies** 1926, II, pp. 608-631. As sources on the origin and principles of Quakerism must be mentioned especially **George Fox’s Journal** and also **Robert Barclay**, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity. A few titles from the circles of the Quakers may be added: **Elizabeth B. Emmat**, Story of Quakerism (brief); **J. S. Roundtree**, The Society of Friends, its Constitution for the Society of Friends in America (adopted by the Iowa Yearly Meetings.)

I. Historical Orientation.

The Quaker Communion in England was started by George Fox, a shoemaker, who arose as a preacher of repentance (1647) and as a reformer during the disturbances which then distracted church and state in England. There had been the despotic reign of Charles I who was aided by Archbishop Laud. In 1643, Anglicanism was overthrown and the Puritans (Presbyterians) took the reign. But their republican form of church government introduced such a unity of power and such a forced unity of faith that a radical Independentism with the watchword, “Freedom for all religious parties” was the result. It triumphed in Oliver Cromwell (1649-60). Individualism, now in the saddle, insisted upon running its course. We have the Erastians and Levellers with their demand of absolute independence for the individual, religiously and po-

litically. The Baptists brought this demand to a formal expression by practicing the baptism of adults only: The individual believer must speak for himself. We have such a sect as the "seekers" who questioned the right of the existing dogma and, therefore, wanted to be merely seekers after the truth.¹ A like sect was the "Family of Love."² Their idea was that the spirit of love within the heart was making the "inner righteousness" real. There was opposition to external ordinances such as the sacraments; all interest was in the baptism of the Spirit. The "letter" was discredited by references to the Spirit. The historical and literal statements of the New Testament were spiritualized. Christ's crucifixion meant the crucifying of the natural man; the resurrection meant our rising to newness of life; Christ's return for judgment meant that the natural man was to be governed with righteousness; angels and devils were taken to be good and bad men with their virtues and vices; the seven devils which possessed Mary Magdalene were the seven deadly sins, and so on.

George Fox was a product of this atmosphere. He and his followers took offense because John Smyth, pioneer in the Baptist movement, felt that he had to baptize himself, thus stressing the importance of an outward form. They also protested against the idolatry of the Bible, against "worshipping the records instead of the Spirit which gave the record." John Hunt (I, 238), quotes a minister who had said in his church: "We have a sure word of prophecy. It is the Scriptures by which all doctrines, religion and opinions are to be tried." George Fox who was present could not restrain the Spirit within him, and he cried out: "It was not the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit by which holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions and judgments are to be tried."

The Quakers would not limit inspiration to the age when the Scriptures were written and would not admit that men after that age could have no inspiration. In terms of church history this was Montanism. But we know well enough that Rome always expressed some-

1 See the article by F. Kattenbusch in *PRE*, 18, 126 f. Cf. *NSH*.

2 See *Loofs*, in *PRE*, 5, 750 ff; cf. *J. Hunt*, as quoted, I, 234-8.

thing of this same belief in its conception of tradition. The High Anglicans have similarly held that in a sense the Church was inspired (cf. Thirty-nine Articles). Barclay in his standard work for the Quakers quoted Calvin: "He only whom the Holy Ghost has persuaded can repose himself on the Scripture with a true certainty." The French, the Dutch and the Westminster Confession have similar expressions. Melancthon appealed to "pious men" for a correct interpretation of Scripture, and Luther demanded that the true theologian must be a regenerated person (*homo renatus*). It should not be overlooked, as Hunt remarks, that the early Quakers had the same reverence for the Scriptures as had other Christians. They received the Bible as a rule of faith that could not be contradicted by new revelations. We may say that the conflict which the Spiritualists on the Continent and the Quakers of England introduced concerning the distinction between the "Word" and the "Scriptures," touched upon a point which comparative Symbolics has always regarded as a real crux of theology.

II. Principles for Clarification.

We cannot well suppress the question which every careful reader will have upon his lips: Is there a real difference between the Quakers (including the Spiritualists on the Continent) and the doctrinal Protestants? In order to answer this question lucidly we must be guided by two leading questions: (1) Where is the source of truth? (2) Where is the interpreter of Scripture?

First: Where is the real source of knowledge of the divine spiritual truth needed by men as the way of salvation? The Lutherans and the Reformed (including the Presbyterians) would say: In the Scriptures we have the source of truth! They, the Lutherans particularly, would, of course, not exclude "tradition," if by this term is understood the general historical background of revelation in the Old and New Testaments and the further (derived) doctrinal experience of the Church in the ancient Creeds and in the Confessions of later developments, provided they can stand the test of Scripture

light. The *Reformed* (cf. *Helv.* II, 1) admit that God may sometimes illuminate directly, outside of the Scriptures.

The *Quakers* would say: The Scriptures which are nothing but a collection of revelations to individuals of the past are not the real source of truth: they only point to the true source which is the Spirit. And the Spirit communicates divine truth in an immediate way. This immediate revelation by the Spirit is thought of as being simply a continuation of the original revelation given to all men. In making this statement, however, the old *Quakers* emphasized: Nothing can be admitted as revelation of the Spirit that does not agree with or is against the Scriptures. We know of course that many of the "modern *Quakers*" would be willing to join the Socinians in substituting reason for the Spirit as the source of truth, and they would speak of the "Spirit" without using a capital "S", because they mean by it man's own spirit. Thus Spiritualism which started with spirituality as worked by the Holy Spirit runs into Rationalism.

Second: Where is the interpreter of Scripture? The *Lutherans*, together with the *Reformed Churches* (*Presbyterians*), would answer briefly: Scripture interprets itself (*scriptura sui ipsius interpres*). The *Lutherans*, however, have no confessional deliverance on this subject, but the theologians on both sides have agreed upon the following requirements for reliable interpretation of Scripture: (1) Knowledge of the original languages; (2) Knowledge of the history of the sacred writings; (3) Consideration of the parallelism in Scripture; (4) Observation of the "analogy of the faith" (cf. *Romans* 12:6) by which they mean the substantial and actual harmony between the fundamental teachings of Scripture (the *Lutherans* have liked to call this simply "the Gospel"). But without putting it into formal statement, both *Luther* and *Calvin*, as was mentioned above, always wanted these matters to be used by spiritually-minded theologians. The answer of the *Quakers* as to the interpretation of Scripture was: The Spirit only can be the interpreter. And the layman, under the illumination of the Spirit, can reach right conclusions without the theological aids. We admit that in this statement there is a large element of truth, if we are thinking

of the simple matters for the soul's salvation. But it will be different when we think of the theological consistency in foundations of the Faith, such as the historical churches of Christendom have needed.

We call attention to the fact that the Quaker's distinction between "Word" and "Scripture" offered a real problem to the Church that called for some mode of theological solution. In the Quakers we have, historically speaking, the culmination in the development of a spiritualistic trait which is plainly observable in the theology of Zwingli and Oecolampadius. Calvin distinguished between an external call through the Word in the case of the reprobates where the Spirit is not present to make it effective in their hearts, and the real call of the predestinated where the Spirit was actually working through the Word.³ Luther also, in his conflict with Erasmus, had begun to take steps along the line of double predestination. But he did not follow it because it would have forced him to that distinction between a merely outward and an inner word. In his conflict with Spiritualism he had established himself more and more upon the thought of an organic relation between letter and spirit, between Scripture and Word. For him this made the Word, written as well as preached, a real means of grace; not just a collection of moral prescriptions, but a message for imparting life, a seed of regeneration (I Peter 1:23), a "Word full of Spirit and life" (John 6:63), in brief, the "Gospel" as a power unto salvation (Romans 1:16). Most of the people in the Reformed churches to-day are in practical agreement with the Lutherans on this subject; many in the churches of spiritualistic origin as well. But it was the historical mission of Luther and his associates to be the witnesses.

The Church cannot bear that spiritualistic distinction between the external and the inner Word, simply because it destroys the universality of grace and makes salvation through Christ uncertain. If such a distinction is to be admitted, then the efficient promise of the Gospel is not a real foundation of spiritual comfort for the individual Christian; then he is established upon the uncer-

³ See Canons of Dort, Chap. I, Art. VII; Westminster Confessions, Chap. X: on the basis of the Consensus Genevensis on "Eternal Election." Cf. C. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.* III, p. 483.

tain foundation of a secret election or, if he has exchanged Calvinism for Arminianism, upon his own individual experiences (revivalism or rationalism).

This was the religious interest of Luther in his sometimes too impetuous and too violent opposition to the Spiritualists in their separation between the outward and the inner Word. But there was with regard to the Word of Scripture a related thought which Luther himself saw, but which was left unnoticed by his contemporaries in general as also by the Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century. It was the thought of the *relation between the human and the divine in the inspiration of Scripture*. The Word of God, far from being just a collection of writings, a collection of reports on history, faith and morals, is, in its deepest meaning, the revelation in the person of Christ, in whom "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us." In the Bible we have an organism of the divine and the human, as may be observed in the mysterious relation between the two natures in Christ. It is in this sense that so modern a theologian as K. Girgensohn, in his "Grundriss der Dogmatik" (p. 134), pointing to that mysterious relation, warns against separating the divine and human in the conception of the inspiration of Scripture. If we keep in mind this dynamic relation between the divine and the human factors in the Scriptures, then we will have little trouble regarding the problem of their inspiration.⁴

Among the Quakers of the second generation were William Penn (d. 1670) and Robert Barclay (d. 1690). We will see in their doctrinal formulations that Spiritualism inclines to and actually runs into principles of Socinianism. This was pointed out with relentless persistency by Charles Leslie,⁵ and also by George Keith, an apostate from Quakerism. (Ibid. II, 300 f.) The Spiritualistic interpretation of Word and Sacrament as the means of grace is apt to produce one of two things: either an increased spirituality or pronounced rationalism. Rationalism, frequently is the successor to Pietism. Pietistic Halle, among the German universities, was the first to yield to Rationalism.

⁴ Compare the article on "Inspiration of Scripture" in Meusel, *Kirchliches Handlexikon*.

⁵ Cf. Hunt II, 303 f.

The theology of Penn includes a rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity as expressed in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.⁶ In Christology the emphasis was not upon the historic Christ, but upon the "Christ within us" who was declared to be in all men. This reminds us of the *Logos* doctrine of the early Apologists. There is a point of contact with the ideas of Zwingli when he spoke of the noble men of paganism as being within the reach of salvation irrespective of any knowledge of the Gospel. So Penn pointed to Plato, Plotinus, Seneca, Epictetus and Antonius as men who had been obedient to the light of the "Christ within us". Hunt: "It is shown (by Penn in his treatise 'The Christian Quaker'), in the insistence of Lord Herbert, that the heathen knew all the great principles or doctrines of religion. The sublimest passages of Scripture concerning the one God are paralleled by passages from pagan authors. Pythagoras and Plato, Socrates and Cleanthes, believed in conscience as the light of God in the soul of man. It is further shown by many quotations that the pagan philosophers were virtuous men, that they believed in the immortality of the soul and the recompense of the life to come. Penn does not stop with allowing the heathen merely a knowledge of what is called natural religion. He maintains that they had a knowledge of Christ's coming, and anticipated His teaching."⁷

It was statements such as these that laid the Quakers open to the charge of being established upon the principles of Deism.

Barclay, the real dogmatician of the Quakers (in his "Apology for the True Christian Divinity," the standard work for Quaker doctrine), was much interested in proving the "objective character" of the Spirit's immediate revelation. He based it upon passages such as these: "The Spirit shall teach you all these things," and, "I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts." Penn supported Barclay by saying: "It was the Spirit which taught Moses the history of creation and the fall of man, two thousand years after the events. . . the facts of Christ's life were revealed to the prophets centuries before they happened."⁸

6 Works I, p. 30.

7 Ibid. II, 292.

8 Cf. Hunt II, 294.

The Quakers used the language of Socinianism, refusing also to take the death of Christ as a satisfaction for sin and to accept the imputed righteousness of Christ.⁹

III. Quakerism in its Denominational Life.

In England, the cradle of the movement, the Quakers have always maintained their denominational unity. About the middle of the 17th century their first immigrants landed in Massachusetts, Virginia, Connecticut where they were met with persecution. This soon ceased and they spread to Rhode Island, New York, Maryland. In Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Wm. Penn they became recognized.

The early part of the 19th century was marked by divisions. In consequence we have here four different organizations: (1) The Orthodox (by far the most numerous branch); (2) The Hicksite; (3) The Wilburite; (4) The Primitive. (See *Rel. Bodies* II, 608-632).

1. *The Orthodox Quakers.*

Their principles are as follows: (a) They have no formal creed. (b) They want to follow the "light within" instead of the "letter" of the Scripture. (c) They refuse all outward ordinances, liturgy, including baptism and the Supper, on the ground that they are not essential, were not commanded by Christ, and, moreover, tend to draw the soul away from the essential to the non-essential and formal. (d) As to the manner of worship, the original practice that any member has the right to bring a message is still recognized in principle. The article in *Rel. Bodies*, 1926, expresses itself as follows: "There is no formal provision for the training of ministers. While the value of intellectual training is recognized, it is not considered essential, since ministers are 'called of God, and the call to work is bestowed irrespective of rank, learning or sex'. The theory is that the church recognizes when a man or woman is qualified and has received the 'gift,' and acknowledges it, after which he or she is called and acknowledged, recommended, or record-

⁹ Penn's Works I, 61.

ed as a minister. There is no ceremony or ordination, and often the ministers receive no salary, although a change has taken place in this respect, and in most places where pastoral work is expected, ministers are paid. When a minister feels a call to engage in special religious work or to visit another section on a religious mission he asks the monthly meeting to which he belongs for liberty to do so. For an extended journey he must obtain the consent of the quarterly meeting. If that consent is refused, he is expected to remain at home." Thus the Quakers guard against disorder in the Church. "Since the Friends believe that worship is fundamentally a personal matter between the soul and God and can be carried on with or without a minister, meetings for worship can be held partly or even wholly in silence. Formerly there was no prearrangement of service, but some prearrangement is now generally common . . ." (Ibid. pp. 616-17).

In 1926, this branch had 715 churches and 91,326 members. Since 1916, there has been a loss of 90 churches and 1,053 members. The 1936 census shows that there are 677 churches and 72,572 members, an additional loss in both churches and members. It maintains 9 colleges with 4,000 students: in Haverford, Pa.; Greford, N. C.; Wilmington, Ohio; Richmond, Ind.; Oskaloosa, Ia.; Central City, Nebr.; Wichita, Kansas; Whittier, Cal.; Newberg, Oregon.

This body, like the others, stands upon the doctrine of peace or non-resistance, in accordance with which no Friend must fight or directly support war.

2. *Religious Society of Friends (Hicksite).*

These separated in 1827 from the rest of the Quakers because of liberal views advocated by Elias Hicks. It concerned the deity of the historic Christ and an emphasis upon the "Light Within" which pagans have in common with Christians and which was declared to be sufficient as a guide to salvation. We refer to the teachings of Wm. Penn as described in section II of this chapter. Between the Spiritualism of the Quakers and the old positions of Socinianism there are logical touching points. The division at that time took place in New York, Ohio, Indiana and Baltimore. The animosities over the old

conflict have died down and there is coöperation in work because the original body is not so very sensitive on the differences referred to.

In 1926, this organization had 128 churches with 16,105 members; since 1916 a loss of 38 churches and 1,065 members. Census of 1936: 130 churches and 13,878 members. It maintains a college with 556 students at Swarthmore, Pa., 21 preparatory schools with 4,073 pupils, and 13 boarding schools with about 285 persons and a social settlement house in Philadelphia. It participates in the American Friends Service Committee for its expression of foreign mission work.

3. *Orthodox Conservative Friends (Wilburite).*

John Wilbur and others, during the years 1831 and 1832, believed it to be necessary to protest against radical departures from the original principles of Quakerism: That quiet waiting for the immediate moving of God's Spirit in public worship must be restored. They objected to all emphasis upon the importance of an outward knowledge of the works of Christ, and stressed the old emphasis, the "Light Within." As to general orthodoxy which the old Quakers in the main had in common with the rest of positive Christianity, Wilbur and his friends preached the deity of Christ, the redemption through His blood and the work of the Holy Spirit for conversion of the sinner.

In 1926, they had 41 churches and 2,966 members. Loss since 1916 has been 9 churches and 407 members. Census of 1936: 40 churches and 3,901 members. They have one academy with 78 students.

4. *Friends (Primitive).*

These people which represent only one church with 25 members withdrew from the Wilburites because in their judgment they were not serious enough in returning to the Old Quaker principles.

Concerning Church and Denominationalism.

General Observations in the Form of Comparative Symbolics.

In the Anabaptist movement we have the first denominational expression of the old Motanistic-Novation-Donatistic demand that the Church, in its visibility, must

be a congregation of converted individuals. As a matter of course, the Apostolic church and the congregations of the first Christians, as dealing with adults, made their beginnings with converted individuals, baptized after their conversion. As soon as the Church was really established the children of the Christian parents were included in the actual membership of the Church. Infant baptism became the rule. So it was in the Old Catholic Church, during the Ecumenical Catholic Age and on through the Middle Ages both in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. So it is now in the Lutheran and in the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches, including Anglican and Episcopal Churches in England and America.

What is the Church? The Augsburg Confession in article 7 says: "The Church is the congregation of saints." In article 8 it repeats: "The Church is *properly* the congregation of saints and true believers." The suggestion in this last sentence is that while the Church, *properly* speaking, consists of "saints and true believers," there is in the concept of it also an outward or an empirical feature which must be considered for the church "in this life" (*in hac vita*). (See art. 8 of the AC.) The institutional feature, while not constituting the Church *proper* is nevertheless of importance "in this life." It is important for the functioning of the Church under our human conditions as the body is for the functioning of the soul.

Independentism in England insisted upon the sovereignty of the local congregation as opposed to the super-church in the monarchical government of Anglicanism and in the oligarchical organization of the Presbyterians. But the Anabaptists had their interest in the Christian as an individual. This was the first step toward Quakerism. No objective Church was to be recognized, not even in the form of a sovereign local congregation. In Church relationship, the converted individual stands upon himself. He is the Church, and by recognizing and affiliating with like-minded individuals he brings about the outward appearance of the Church. As long as such "like-mindedness" exists this local church will be permitted to continue. The Church is a subjective

quantity. Extreme spiritualism begets an individualism which manifests itself in an endless segmentation that loses sight of the Church as it suggests itself to us in the early history of its foundations. The only step left in the continuation of this development is the position of Darbyism or the Plymouth Brethren. Here even the Christian individual is so spiritualized that he stands above organization and means of grace in sermon as well as sacrament.¹⁰

But is not this divisiveness, seemingly favored by Independentism, the deplorable trait of Protestantism as a whole? Outside of Independentism the liberty to separate and to form new alliances may sometimes have to be made use of. But it is not a constituent principle with any special emphasis. *The Eastern Orthodox Churches* owe their existence, in the form of a long series of separate churches under different names, to the fact that they are national churches; in doctrine and practice they are a unit. *Rome*, though harboring some conflicting theological tendencies, has in its organization a rigidly unifying factor. The *Lutherans*, as a polyglot church, with the sermon as the outstanding feature of public worship, naturally must exist in the form of numerous national or racial churches. But confessionally they are the Churches of the Augsburg Confession, and, liturgically, they are in practical agreement, although it is to be admitted that in America especially, there are degrees of strictness in applying the confessional principle. The *Reformed*, with the *Presbyterians*, are united through an "Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System." There is that difference of the Calvinistic and the Arminian conception of grace, as among the Baptists. The difference of the *Cumberlanders* and the *Covenanters* among the Presbyterian bodies is not felt so much. In addition to these matters, of course, we have now in the Protestant Churches the questions which are raised through the conflict with theological liberalism. The *Methodists*, owing to their religious subjectivism, have had much division (outside

10 Cf. W. Rohnert, *Kirche, Kirchen und Sekten* 5, 1900, pp. 253-256

of the separate organizations on account of race) and would have had much more division if they had not had the episcopal organization. But they can be expected to make great strides in the direction of family union. (Cf. the recently accomplished union of the type in America, pp. 423 ff.) Note their large successes in England in this direction. There is a special stimulus to separation in a solemnly recognized principle of Independentism as can be observed in the Baptist and Quaker groups. Congregationalism is a "rope of sand" if there is not connected with it a strong doctrinal principle drawing the hearts and minds into an inner union. The formidable unity of the Baptists in the three large bodies, North and South, was achieved in the years when the Baptists were all "Fundamentalists." At present the Baptists, especially of the North, are much interested in "Modernism." How this turn in the development, which is favored especially by all the spiritualistic communions (by the Quakers, also by the Disciples), and pressed by the Congregationalists, will effect the Baptist bodies, remains to be seen.

Chapter Twelve

THE RATIONALIST GROUP (UNITARIANS, UNIVERSALISTS).

I. UNITARIANS.

A. Historical Background.

Literature: See **G. P. Fisher**, *History of Christian Doctrine*, and **J. H. Allen** in the *American Church History Series*. Among the Encyclopedias we refer to **J. E. Carpenter's** article on "Unitarianism" in *Hasting's Encyclopedia*, XII, 1928; cf. in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Rel. Knowledge*, Vol. XII, 1912, the article on "Unitarianism" by **F. A. Christie**. **E. M. Wilbur**, *Our Unitarian heritage*, 1925, is a copyrighted work of careful investigation on this subject (495 pages). Among the Unitarian tracts, cf. **J. T. Sunderland**, *The Story of Channing*, 1921; **Ralph Waldo Emerson's** *Divinity School Address*, 1907; **Theodore Parker**, *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, 1907. On Socinianism as precursor of present day Unitarianism compare our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. II, Bk. IV, Sec. A, chapt. 8. In our brief sketch we have made much use of **C. W. Cassel's** *History and Characteristics of Unitarianism*, unprinted manuscript of 536 pages, 1926 (in the possession of Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio). Our reference in this dissertation is first to the *History of Unitarianism*, pp. 15-225. Below (B), we shall review topically the practical positions of Unitarianism and refer to some of the Unitarian tracts.

1. *The Socinian Heritage.* Socinianism, the precursor of Unitarianism, was a strongly intellectualistic movement. It has communicated to the Unitarianism of today a strong emphasis upon reason as the only principle of religious knowledge. Unitarianism does not use Aristotle as did the Scholastics, but it applies to religion certain features of the new philosophies: the anthropocentric position of Descartes, the moralism of Kant, the pantheism of both Spinoza and Hegel, and the evolutionism of Darwin, Huxley and their followers.

The early Unitarians (Socinians) in Poland produced a comprehensive Confession, the *Racovian Catechism* (1605). The Unitarians of today write much against "dogma," but on the basis of the new philosophies they

have erected a very consistent system of faith in the defense of which they are not less intellectualistic and dogmatic than their conservative opponents. The viewpoints of these early Unitarians may be summarized in the following manner: (1) As opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity the Racovian Catechism taught a strict Unitarianism. (2) In a "dynamistic monarchianism" Jesus appeared as man, supernaturally endowed with divine influences and developed into "God-likeness." R. Seeberg wrote: "Paul of Samosata was the first Unitarian" (DG 4, Vol. I). The Holy Spirit was an influence proceeding from God. Jesus was an object of worship; to this, however, a minority, led by F. Davidis, objected. This position of the minority gradually disappears. (3) The old Socinians had developed an extensive argument against Christ's vicarious atonement. Together with the stress on the unity of God, it is still a shibboleth in present-day Unitarianism. (4) Belief in a fall of man with its consequences was dismissed. (5) As to the seat of authority it is to be said that the Holy Scriptures, while much used by the Socinians and their immediate successors for proving truths, are not allowed by the later Unitarians to be of authoritative significance. The independent thinking of the individual is made the seat of authority. In this, Unitarianism was established upon Descartes. (6) The fundamentally rationalistic principle, which was inherited from Socinianism and augmented by influences from the English Deists and French Naturalists, then, led the English and later the American Unitarians to embrace Darwin's and Huxley's theories of evolution as hypotheses for explaining all origins and developments.

2. *The Unitarians in England.* In England John Biddle was the "father of Unitarianism" (died of starvation in prison, 1622). John Milton followed Unitarian principles under the name of "Arianism": "In God are three substances undivided, each being conscious of the thoughts and spiritual states of each of the others. In this triplicity there is thus consistent unity." (Bishop Sherlock, Samuel Clark and N. Lardiner defended this statement); but this "Arianism" was generally attacked. Theophilus Lindsay established in London the first Uni-

tarian Church (1778). He associated with himself *Joseph Priestly* (d. 1804), a man in whom humanitarianism, Arianism and Unitarianism blended in a peculiar mixture. It was Lindsay and Priestley who led Latitudinarian Presbyterians into the tracks of Unitarianism. (See Chap. V, Presbyterian, B 4). *T. Belsham* and *L. Carpenter*, 1780-1840, were others in this leadership. *James Martineau*, a great and respectable thinker, aided the Unitarian movement in England, although refusing to identify himself publicly with the literary work of Unitarianism. (Allen, p. 166 f.)¹ Since 1791, there existed in London the Unitarian Book Society which engaged in extensive literary activity for the promotion of Unitarian thought. This has been continued in the *Hibbert Lectures* and in the *Hibbert Journal*. Since 1726, when the Antrim presbytery in Ireland separated itself from the General Synod of Presbyterianism, there was a Unitarian movement in that country also, which in 1835, together with the "Remonstrant Synod of Ulster," issued into an "Association of Irish Non-Subscribing Presbyterians," the whole being a movement against creedal subscription. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Unitarians in the British Isles numbered 372 Churches.

3. *Unitarianism in America*. In America, since the arrival of the *Mayflower* (1620), the history of Unitarianism is interwoven with the "Congregational System" (so called by Joseph Cotton), uniting those early churches (Plymouth Rock, Salem and others), which at first were independent in their relation to each other. But the church at Massachusetts Bay adopted stringent laws with a view to secure uniformity of belief and practice. The Congregationalists, though established upon the principle of absolute independence of the local congregation, were conservative in the fundamentals of religion; they were even Calvinistic. But those in agreement with the principles of Unitarianism in New England pulled in the other direction. Like J. Wise (about 1715) they stressed the right of reason in mat-

¹ Among his writings are: *Ideal Substitutes of God* (a critique), republished in a Unitarian tract (No. 65) with seven printings since 1907. Other writings: *Endeavors after the Christian Life*, *Tides of the Spirit*, *Studies of Christianity*, etc.

ters of religion. Harvard College became the distinct center of the liberalistic movement in New England.

The whole story of American Unitarianism cannot be told here. The mere mention of a few facts must suffice. Arminianism had arisen to modify strict Calvinism.² Many have followed this mode of thought with no intention of also accepting theological liberalism. (Cf. our Chapt. VII on Methodism.) But the Unitarians welcomed it as a distinct ally. The growing sentiment on toleration also aided the movement. *James Freeman* was the first to establish an openly acknowledged Unitarian Church. He did it by changing the First Episcopal Church (King's Chapel) in Boston into a Unitarian Church, conforming its liturgy to Unitarian thought (1785). The original church of the Mayflower at Plymouth followed in 1799. Influences from Harvard professors, since the beginning of the century, aided this movement. In 1806, the Rev. H. Ware, an outspoken liberal, was elected Professor of Divinity at Harvard College. Controversy followed. But liberalism claimed the right of way. It was cultivated through the "Anthology Club," and through two periodicals: "The Monthly Anthology," and "The Christian Monitor," which Emerson began to publish in 1806 as another periodical for the promotion of liberalism. Especially aggressive and controversial was "The General Repository and Review" (since 1812). It must be kept in mind that the manner in which the strict Calvinists discussed predestination and the way in which the revivals of that day were conducted contributed to the aggressiveness of liberalism. Congregationalism also began to split into a conservative and a liberal camp. The establishment of the theological school at Andover for the purpose of training a conservative clergy presented one feature of this conflict (1808).

Outstanding among the first Unitarian leaders in America was the *Rev. William Ellery Channing*, widely respected as pastor, theologian and author.³ Born at

² See our *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. II, Bk IV, chapt. 2 and 3.

³ Besides J. T. Sunderland, *The Story of Channing*, cf. the *Works of Channing* with his sermons and addresses which are collected in 3 volumes. Here also is the place where E. M. Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, 1925, can be studied with profit. We refer to chapters 34 and 35.

Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780, of pious Calvinistic parents, he grew up under the influence of stern Calvinistic theology. He was graduated from Harvard College, and in 1803 he was ordained to the Congregational ministry in Boston, where he remained for 37 years, until his death in 1842. "He preached a high Arian Christology," championing the movement which finally resulted in the organization of the American Unitarian Church. The Unitarians refer especially to his "*Baltimore ordination sermon*" (1819) at the ordination of J. Sparks as minister of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore. In that sermon he attacked (1) the doctrine of the Trinity; (2) the metaphysics of *Christ's double nature*; (3) the current view of the *atonement*; and then (4) he set forth "the true nature of salvation as a moral and spiritual condition of the soul itself," contrasting it with the 'imputation' of Christ's righteousness. In this sermon Channing sought to impeach historical orthodoxy. He had settled on the position of the old Socinians in the Racovian Catechism that Scripture, as culminating in the New Testament, teaches nothing out of harmony with reason. This point had been stressed by the English philosopher John Locke in his essay: *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1804). Channing's "Baltimore Sermon" passed through five editions in six weeks. As a result of it the controversy received new impulses. The conservatives withdrew more than ever from the liberals. In 1826 Channing preached a *second critical sermon* at the rededication of the Second Unitarian Church in New York City, again attacking all the leading doctrines of orthodoxy: "Trinitarianism obscures God's works in nature," "obscures the mercy and love of God." The doctrine of the atonement was described as an attempt to "erect a gallows in the center of the universe."⁴ In a sermon on "The Imitableness of Christ's Character," however, he found himself in the tracks of English Arianism, not agreeing with the followers of J. Priestley who held Jesus to have been a man of physical, mental and moral frailties. However, he believed in Christ's pre-existence. (Cf. J. E. Carpenter in Hasting's Encyl. XII, 526.) Channing said in this last mentioned sermon: "I believe him to be more than a

⁴ Cf. in the Appendices to this book, Part B. Sect. V on "Redemption."

human being. . . .having received gifts. . .granted to no other." This reminds us of the teaching of the old Socinians (*raptus in coelum*), referred to above. But Channing bridged this estimate on Jesus by saying: "All minds are of one family." "All souls are one in nature" (referring to the divine immanence). Again in agreement with the Socinians, he saw Christ's mediatorship only in his teaching on the fatherhood of God and the immortality of the soul. From 1830 on he began to turn his whole attention to social reform (anti-slavery, philanthropy). He laid much stress upon "*the dignity of human nature*," protesting against the teaching of a "total depravity" as taught by the churches which followed St. Paul and Augustine, Luther and Calvin. Yet he would refer to "our passions," to "our selfish partialities" and our "wrong doing" as needing to be "judged and rebuked" (in a sermon on *The Elevation of the Laboring Classes*).

Channing was a very sincere man and a man of personal piety. His sermons and essays were published on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1880, at the centennial of his birth, a cheap edition of his writings was published in England, which had a circulation of nearly 100,000 copies. (Sunderland, p. 38). Being a Congregationalist, he did not desire to organize theologically liberalism into a church. But after 1810, the lines began to be drawn. The Conservatives refused pulpit exchange, thus excluding the liberalists. About 1815, the crisis came, and in 1825 the separation was effected. The younger men, whose acknowledged leader was Prof. A. Norton of Harvard Divinity School, were the moving factors. And when they found themselves to be "a thing separate and apart," Channing became its recognized leader. From 1815 to 1830 "the fires of controversy blazed high all over New England."⁵ During this period there were the sermons of Channing to which we have referred. Organized Unitarianism, as it had existed in Poland, Hungary and Transylvania and as it finally became established in England, was a religion fundamentally different from historic Christianity. Channing

⁵ Sunderland, p. 21. Compare our Chapter IX on the Congregationalists.

saw this clearly. About three years after his ordination (1803) he wrote of the Liberals among his contemporaries: They "reject the distinction of three persons (in the Godhead), without judging on system as to Christ's nature and work. Others believe the simple humanity of Christ." To this he adds: "We preach precisely as if no such doctrine as the Trinity had ever been known."⁶ There was as yet no *special controversy* on the connoted issues of Rationalism. Conservatism and liberalism dwelt innocently side by side among the Congregational ministers, although, as we have seen, liberalism was encouraged by Harvard College, which had much of its impulses for polemics from the Calvinistic orthodoxy of that day. In this situation Channing sided with liberalism.

It is unthinkable, however, that a soul and a mind so pious and so rich as Channing's should have gotten away *altogether* from some of the evangelical fundamentals which lay at the root of the Calvinistic piety in his parental home. His course had resulted from reaction to the stiff, cold Puritan orthodoxy about him, which had lost sight of the universality of grace (John 3:16). In a letter about a year before his death (1841) he declared: "I have little or no interest in Unitarianism as a sect. I can endure no sectarian bonds." In another letter he expressed the sentiment: "I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light." Such expressions worried some of his followers. Channing, without question, had been very sincere in his championing of the Unitarian movement. In a later letter he wrote: "I value Unitarianism, not because I regard it as in itself a perfect system, but as freed from any great and pernicious errors of the older systems, as encouraging freedom of thought; as raising us above the despotism of the Church and as breathing a mild and tolerant spirit into all the members of the Christian body."⁷ Channing, forced into controversy, had become a champion of a comparatively conservative Unitarianism. He had not especially argued against the super-natural. As we

⁶ Allen, pp. 190 f.

⁷ Cf. the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, III, 3.

saw, Jesus was to him more than man. His last words were: "I have received many messages from the Spirit,"⁸ which shows his belief in Christ's promise of the Comforter who was to lead into all truth. He had grown away from the positions of the Socinians and the Racovian Catechism. He was opposed to creeds. He still continued to look upon Scripture as the chief authority for Christian truth. But about him there were already the voices which wanted to see the seat of authority transferred altogether from Scripture to the spirit within.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), began his career as a Unitarian minister of Second Church in Boston which he served three years (to 1832). Then he resigned. But he became famous as a philosopher and writer. His works, of classical significance, have been published in twelve volumes. He became convinced that the traditional religion can be revitalized only by listening to the voice of God speaking within the individual. This inner voice must be cultivated through a continuous contact with the infinite. Every man must try to arrive at a religion which is satisfactory to his own real nature. These thoughts led him to leave the organized (Unitarian) church and to assume a theological position essentially that of the Quakers with their emphasis on the Inner Light. Profoundly influenced by European idealism (philosophical idealism) and oriental thought, he emphasized the immanence of God, the perfectability of human nature and the secondary authority of Jesus and the Bible. The primary authority was always the voice within the individual soul, which to him was the voice of God. An address which he delivered to the graduating class of Harvard Divinity School (1838) became famous. It is published among the Unitarian Tracts (since 1907 nineteen printings). The thoughts were not new. We find them in Sebastian Franck, in the philosophy of Spinoza, Schleiermacher and Goethe. S. T. Coleridge, the Englishman who had studied in Germany (Goettingen), brought them to England. These thoughts Emerson recast in his own way. Emerson was the most eminent of the Transcendentalists, a club of "like-minded" men in and about Boston—like-minded in

the sense that there are "not even two thoughts alike." They claimed the freedom of the individualists and they emphasized the immanence of God. One of their mottoes was, "Revere your intuitions." They were strongly influenced by the philosophical idealists of Europe.

Theodore Parker (1810-1860), minister of the South Church in Boston, became an outstanding leader in the further development of American Unitarianism along the lines indicated by Emerson. (Cf. his biography by J. W. Chadwick, 1901.) It must be kept in mind that this was the time when the question of miracles, raised by the English Deists and French Naturalists, was being discussed by the theologians in Germany who had come up from the age of Rationalism and were now under the influence of the schools emanating from the philosophies of Schleiermacher, Kant and Hegel. On the background of this question and related matters Parker, in 1841, preached a famous sermon on *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, which the American Unitarians today look upon as a very significant stage in their development toward a more radical liberalism than that of Channing in America and Martineau in England. (Published as Tract No. D, by the American Unitarian Ass'n.) The central thought in this sermon as interpreted by a Unitarian writer, was that the permanent element in Christianity is contained in the teaching of Jesus, "which stands on its own intricate merits, needing no miraculous confirmation, and would still stand firm even though it were proved that Jesus never lived."⁹ The sum and substance of these teachings we know "intuitively." As instinctive "intuitions" he counted three: (1) God, (2) the moral law, (3) man's immortality (as with the English Deists and the German Rationalists). One special question regarding this new Emerson-Parker trend in American Unitarianism was the concept of God. The beginning of the movement in Poland, England and America had been made with Socinianism, reminding us of Dynamistic Monarchianism (Paul of Samosata), which stressed the influence emanating from the Personal One God. This was Channing's position. With Emerson and Parker, there is added a Spinozian thought which soon

⁹ Cf. E. M. Wilbur, Tract, p 16 ff.

was replaced by Hegelian pantheism, reminding us of the modalistic conceptions of God in the early Church (Sabellius). We observe the trend of identifying the Divine with "man's spiritual nature." What will the concept of God be in the New Unitarianism? This was the troubling question in the minds of the more conservative Unitarians of Channing's type. Parker had translated the works of DeWette from the German into English. It was the age of D. F. Strauss and of the "Tuebingen School" in Germany, a time when many of the American students went to the German universities. The theology of Parker may be characterized by the following quotations out of his published "Prayers" (1862) (p. 5): "O Thou Infinite Spirit . . . we adore Thee who givest us all those things that we are, and promisest the glories that we are to become." . . . "We pray that we may forgive ourselves for every sin we commit, that with penitence we may wash out the remembrance of wrong." . . . "Help us to live in peace with our souls, disturbing no strings . . ." It has often been said that on the foundations of pantheism one must logically pray to oneself, forgive oneself, etc. Other writings of Parker show the more simple belief in the existence of the personal God. He believed in the immortality of the soul. Parker's works were published in 14 volumes.

For many years, from 1850 until after the Civil War, American Unitarianism was composed of two warring camps: the conservatives and their opponents. The former were always struggling for a creedal paragraph in the constitution, but they did not succeed. The story is told by J. W. Chadwick, in his *Old and New Unitarian Belief*, 1894; briefly also by E. M. Wilbur in Tract No. 289 (*The First Century of the Liberal Movement in American Religion*.) In the larger work of Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, 1925, see especially the chapters 36 and 37.

Between 1848 and 1863, the Unitarians did not grow. At the close of this period they had 205 churches. In succeeding decades the numbers have been as follows: In 1906: churches 463, membership adult 70,542; in 1916: churches 399, membership adult 82,515; in 1926: churches 353, membership adult 60,152; in 1936: churches 389, membership adult 59,968.

B. Special Points of Emphasis.

Among the Unitarian tracts we refer especially to **H. Westwood**, *God and the Coming Religion*, 1932; the *Problem of Salvation*, 1932; *The Challenge of Unitarianism*, 1935, and to **J. T. Sunderland**, *What do Unitarians Believe?* 1936. (Cf. the similar title by **C. W. Wendt**). The Unitarians have written much on Religion, its characteristics, origin and development. Much of this literature has been critically reviewed by **C. W. Cassel** in the unprinted dissertation on "The History and Characteristics of Unitarianism," as mentioned before, topical division, vol. 2, pp. 246-295.¹⁰

Topical Discussion.

In the *Religious Bodies*, II, 1926, page 1356, we read the following official declaration by a Unitarian representative:

"The most distinguished marks of Unitarianism today are its insistence upon absolute freedom of belief, its reliance upon the supreme guidance of reason, its tolerance of difference in religious opinion, its devotion to education and philanthropy, and its emphasis upon character, as the principles of fundamental importance to religion. There is, however, a general consensus upon the unipersonality of God, the strict humanity of Jesus, the essential dignity and perfectibility of human nature, the natural character of the Bible, and the hope for the ultimate salvation of all souls in distinction from the views traditionally taught on these points."

This very comprehensive although very general statement suggests many questions which cannot be discussed here in the brief space at our disposal. For a connected review of these matters see in the Appendices to this book (Part B) our discussion of "*Modernism*" and "*Conservative Theology*". In the introduction to that article also we shall express ourselves on what we have in mind when we use these two terms: Liberalism ("Modernism") and Conservatism.

In the following paragraphs, however, a few matters may be referred to as Special Points of Emphasis in the Unitarian System.

1. *What is Religion?* The Unitarians underscore the statement that religion is not a "body of opinions." (Westwood, *Challenge*, p. 3.) This discussion of course,

¹⁰ This work with its comprehensive view of Unitarian thought is in the possession of Hama Divinity School of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

is directed against the Conservatives. But these do agree that religion, essentially, is not just a knowledge of truth, not even generally of Biblical truth. In one of their hymns the churches of the Reformation sang: "Der blosse Beifall tut es nicht." (Mere assent does not suffice). Neither do the Unitarians want to look upon religion as being, preëminently, a message of hope, of confidence, of trust and joy on the basis of a divine gift called grace. But they look upon Christianity as being primarily and fundamentally an ethical "standard of life" (p. 5 f.), demanding a strong emphasis upon the will in conforming to that standard. Their watchword is "salvation by character," without offering any special doctrine concerning foundations to be laid by the Holy Spirit's work of grace in the hearts of men, (*ordo salutis*). They differ from the Reformation with its strong emphasis on a special way of salvation. It is this conception of religion which makes them indifferent to the points of cleavage between Catholicism (East and West), Lutheranism, Calvinism and those orientated by the principle of the "inner light" (Baptists and Quakers) and other systems of religious thought. They have little interest in the creeds of Christendom and in the theology connected therewith.

2. *Reason and Revelation.* Unitarianism stresses reason as the only principle of religious knowledge. The mysteries of religion, as they are spoken of in historical Christianity, are rejected as superstition and mystification, or rather "mistification." (Cf. John Eliot, Tract on Religion, pp. 3, ff.) The Conservatives have no intention to deny the plain and proved facts of science. But they insist that beyond the realm of the senses—the things of the exact sciences—there are realities of truth on which Scripture, supported by Christian experience, speaks through many witnesses, especially through the Son of God Himself, and that of this revelation the Church and many devout Christians have had and continue to have undeniable experiences, beautifully reflected in their hymnology and in their prayer life. Altogether it is a testimony which is supported by many voices in the field of "natural revelation."

The Trinitarian believer works with reason just as keenly as do the Unitarians, employing the laws of logic

and feeling the need of consistency of thought. But the leaders of the Reformation and their followers felt deeply the need of limiting the sufficiency of "pure reason" in religion. When Luther and Melancthon and Calvin and Wesley warned their followers not to rely upon reason as an absolute guide in matters of religion, they always meant reason with the claim of sufficiency in itself to find the essentials of truth and the way of life *without the light from God's Word and Spirit*.

We shall here give the following words of a Unitarian leader on revelation: "We believe that revelation is progressive, not stationary; that it is of all times, countries and races, not of the remote past or of a single people only; that it comes through many channels, including nature, history and the mind of man, not through any one channel alone, or in any miraculous way; that, so far from revelation being confined to one book, all moral and spiritual truth known to man belongs to it . . . We believe that the Bible is the greatest, the most influential, the most important, the noblest depository of this revelation that has come down to us from the past, and is therefore to be prized by us as the most precious and sacred of books; though not as the only sacred book of the world, nor by any means an infallible book." (J. T. Sunderland, *What Do Unitarians Believe?* Tract, p. 5.)

With proper qualifications, there is truth in a number of these statements. But a careful analysis of this definition, in friendly conversation between the two sides, would bring out quite a number of very significant differences between the two camps. (Cf. our discussion of revelation in the Appendix B, I.) In the Holy Scriptures as Word of God to man we have God's special revelation. It is there where we have reliable truth and, even where a full revelation is not intended we are nearest to the eternal verities. Guided by the fundamental revelation through Scripture we may find truth (frequently mixed with error) along many other avenues of religious thought. The quotation just cited puts the Bible above all other sources of truth. But there are the Unitarian churches which make it a special practice in their services to offer in the place of Bible readings certain selections in which many sections from non-Christian authors appear side by side with a few sections from

Jesus, Paul and Isaiah. It is to bring out the misleading idea that all is revelation, and that *all is on one level*.

3. *Pertaining to Christ and His Salvation.* With regard to the person of Christ the Socinians and the Unitarians meant to depart fundamentally from the heritage of the Ancient Church and the Reformation. With the rejection of the Trinity, the relationship of Christ to the Father and the Incarnation was sacrificed. The Trinity is not a problem of mathematics, but it is a fact of Christian experience. If the Unitarian dogma should be followed it would change the foundations of Christianity and would do away with the salvation of Christ through a redemption from sin and guilt. We still might hear of Christ's "divine" character. But He cannot anymore be the Savior in the meaning of Scripture and the Confessions of the Church. To lead away from Christ as the Savior of our race from sin certain new ways of expression are invented. H. Westwood in his tract on "The Problem of Salvation" writes (p. 11): "The tragic mistake has been in limiting the incarnation to Jesus of Nazareth." We are told that "every social worker is a savior. Instead of one Savior we have many saviors." From this, then, it would follow that Christ must "not be worshipped." (Sunderland).

In Unitarianism there is a strong emphasis on auto-redemption: Man must save himself and rely upon himself. We refer again to Dr. Westwood in his above-mentioned tract (pp. 4-7): Man must get away from "the idea of a Deliverer, or a Strong One, or a Savior, through whom the work of salvation would be accomplished." We must not seek salvation by believing in Christ. We are told: "Some day the historian will write a history of the influence of the doctrine of the atonement (i. e. the doctrine of the imputed merit of Christ) upon human institutions, and I venture the assertion that to it he will attribute many of the failures of civilization that mar both the present and the long ages of the past." (p. 6). Dr. Westwood criticizes the idea that, "in the last analysis, the problem of salvation belongs to God" (p. 7).¹¹

¹¹ The forerunner of the Unitarian protest in the Ancient Church against the Scriptural thought that God is the author and the origin of our salvation, was Julian Ecclanum. See our *History of Christian Thought*, Book I, chapter 11, Sec. IV.

In the preaching of Unitarianism, as we saw, there is no need anymore of the grace of God through Christ Jesus to be given through the work of the Holy Spirit and to be experienced in response to a *call*, for *conversion* or *regeneration*, with an assurance through *justification*, and followed by a life of *sanctification* as fruit from a root. On this "Way of Salvation," as taught in their catechism, the conservative churches have a large evangelical literature.

The thought of salvation in a life to come lies beyond the special interests of Unitarianism: "We are too busy with doing good for troubling ourselves with the matter of eternal salvation." Sunderland: "We believe the future existence will be one ruled by eternal justice and love, that he whom in this world we call 'our Father' will be no less a Father to all his human children in the world to come, and that the world will be so planned as not only to bring eternal good to all who have done well here, but also eternal hope to such as have done ill here." (Sunderland, Tract: What Do Unitarians Believe? p. 8.) May we remind our readers that in the last decades the matter of Biblical Eschatology has become the object of new and most searching studies on the part of outstanding Biblicistic theologians. Our reference is especially to the works of Paul Althaus at the university of Erlangen and Carl Stange at Goettingen.

The old Socinians laid exclusive emphasis upon the teaching function of Jesus, as prophet, denying His significance as priest and king. This same position is characteristic of present-day Unitarianism: Jesus is foremost among the *teachers* of religion. In this sense He is spoken of as a savior: a savior from spiritual ignorance, by teaching us how to live and to build character. Our statement that salvation is a subject in which Unitarianism is not especially interested must be supplemented by this: "Jesus saves men solely by helping them to become better." (Sunderland).

There will be those who think that the conservative positions on this subject cannot be defended. But for confirmative voices from the best type of present-day theological scholarship on the subject of redemption we refer the theologically-minded among our readers to a work of such merit as the *Goettingen Commentary on the*

New Testament; also to the great *Theological Dictionary of several volumes on the New Testament*, at present edited by G. Kittel. (Bertelsmann, Guetersloh, Germany).¹²

4. *Observations.* Unitarianism has the Pelagian estimate of sin. Sinfulness as the condition of our race, this constantly "originating sin" as Luther called it, its character as an actual depravity which blinds and deceives us about God and man, especially about ourselves, and weakens our will in doing what we should do; this sinful condition of our heart is buried in an impossible optimism.¹³ For this reason there is no appreciation in the system of Unitarianism for the redemption through the death of Christ, or for the "preaching of the cross" in the meaning of Paul in I Corinthians, chapter 1. The whole doctrine of salvation has been rationalized and naturalized so that the very fundamentals in liturgical and hymnodic expression ceased to have application. Notice especially the changed hymns in the rationalistic hymnals in America and abroad. It is against the position of the Conservatives regarding man's natural depravity that the Unitarians stress the "essential dignity and perfectibility of human nature." (Rel. Bodies II, 1356.) Of course, the Conservatives must guard against employing absurd forms of expression. But it was a Conservative like Philips Brooks who defended the "dignity of man." And surely it is human nature itself that is capable of perfectibility—under the Holy Spirit's work through the means of grace. (Cf. II Cor. 3:18): "Changed into the same image from glory to glory" and very many other passages.

In Unitarianism there is very much of the Kantian trait. But infinitely higher for the producing of the moral character than *Kant's Religion within the Bounds of Reason*,¹⁴ and his "categorical imperative," was the

12 In this Dictionary see especially the discussion of *hilasterion* (Rom. 3:25) in Vol. III, 319-324; also of *hilasmos* III, 317 f. and *haima* I, 171-175.

13 Against passages such as Romans 1:28-32; cf. chapter 7:14-24; Eph. 4:18. Note in the New Testament the places where Jesus and St. Paul aim at an enumeration of sins. Jesus especially speaks of the heart as the source of evil. Matth. 15:19; cf. Gal. 5:19-21.

14 *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft.*

motive of the Reformation: namely, the experience of a regeneration of the heart through the work of the Holy Spirit. Kant's aim was at "civil righteousness" (*justitia civilis*) as a foundation for the state; that of the Reformation was at the "spiritual righteousness" for the needs of troubled hearts, which cannot be without civil righteousness.¹⁵ This is how Luther spoke of good works as the fruit of a living faith: "Faith is a divine work in us. It changes us and regenerates us. It mortifies the natural man in us and makes us new in heart, spirit, mind and all powers, and it cannot be without the Holy Spirit. Oh, there is a living, busy and powerful thing about faith. It is impossible that it should not always do good works. It does not stop and ask where good works can be done; before there can be any asking, it does good works and is always doing them." The Reformation called these good works: the *New Obedience*. It is like the spontaneous outflow of the water from its spring. The Unitarians with all their emphasis on "salvation by character" overlook the evangelical side of the emphasis to which we are here referring.

It should not be said, however, that the Unitarians do not recognize the gracious character of God's forgiveness of sin. But their system forces them to deny that God's grace comes on the basis of Christ's redemption, through the giving of His life as a sacrifice for man's salvation. With the late Professor Adolph Harnack they would say: "He who has God as his Father does not need Jesus as a Savior."

The Unitarians as a class are a cultured people. Their history has taken them through ages of persecution when they found themselves under the necessity of offering reasons for their separate position. This made them readers of critically stimulating literature. Through many decades they have attracted members from the cultured classes of immigrants from England and Germany.

In this second section of our discourses we have spoken of special "Points of Emphasis" in the Unitarian system of thought and practice. But present-day Unitar-

¹⁵ Cf. art. 18 of the Augsburg Confession and corresponding articles in the later confessions

ianism does not bind its members to these tenets and positions of its genius. The statement quoted above from Religious Bodies II, p. 1356, began with saying: "The most distinguished marks of Unitarianism today are its insistence upon absolute freedom in belief," etc. But in joining the body the new members pledge loyalty to the Unitarian congregation. This takes the place of confessional subscription in other churches.

Estimating Unitarianism as a movement, its opponents must be fair enough to admit facts such as the following: (1) All through their history, from Poland and Hungary to England and America, the Unitarians have had the testimony of the Christian world as to the sincerity in the pursuit of their ethical ideals. Channing led them into philanthropy. Florence Nightingale was a Unitarian. (2) In clinging to their faith and in the further development of it, the Unitarians have been conscious of holding to a special heritage for which they were willing to go through martyrdom. The Unitarian faith has produced a certain type of piety and church life which lacked perhaps in the emotional but was marked with dignity in the conduct of its services. (3) The Unitarians have had outstanding religious thinkers, such as James Martineau of England, Channing, Parker and their followers. (4) Neither must it be forgotten that out of this group there came a hymn of trust such as *Nearer My God to Thee* by Sarah Adams; also the hymn *In the Cross of Christ I Glory* by John Bowring, which, while not expressing the full faith of the Church, yet sang of the crucified Christ in deepest tones of love. It might be kept in mind that the older American Unitarians had much of the original piety which was at home in the Congregational Church of that day.

5. *Present Constituency and Work.* According to the Year Book of the Churches (1937), the Unitarians have 59,968 members in 389 churches. The Theological Seminary, formerly at Meadville, Pa., is now connected with the Chicago University. There is also the Pacific School at Berkeley, California.

As to mission work at home and abroad see the Religious Bodies II (1926), pp. 1356 f. It is different from the work of other bodies, especially because of the stress

on humanitarianism as such and because of the special aim at uplift through educational endeavors. The aim is not at evangelization and persuasion, which would be regarded as a bigotry that should be avoided. Part of the work covers objects at home; part of it is foreign work which is "conducted chiefly through the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Thinkers and Workers." Headquarters: 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. Presided over by Dr. F. M. Eliot.

II. UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

Literature: See in **The American Church History Series**, Vol. X, 1894, pp. 251-493; also **The Religious Bodies**, II, 1926. Compare the Encyclopedias. See a list of literature pro and con in **E. Klotzsche**, *Christian Symbolics*; also the critical discussion both in Klotzsche (pp. 370 ff.) and in **Popular Symbolics** (pp. 407 ff.)

1. *The Universalists trace their existence in America back to the end of the eighteenth century.* Their early leaders emigrated from England to New Jersey and their teachings were established upon the beliefs that "what ought to be will be"; that "in a sane and beneficent universe the primacy belongs to truth, right and love"; that "the logic of the natural and moral order imperiously compels the conclusion that although all things are not yet under the sway of the Prince of Peace . . . the final triumph of good over evil in human society, as a whole, and in the history of each individual" cannot be doubted.¹⁶ Leaders in the group were John Murray in 1770, and a little later Hosea Ballou, working and organizing in New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

At first the movement followed the congregational principle, thus indicating the impulse towards liberty and opposition to "ecclesiastical tyranny." However, there developed a trend toward a more centralized church government.

Murray was a Trinitarian, but most of the universalists have followed the Unitarian teachings of Ballou. The difference between the Unitarians and Universalists is said to be largely one of emphasis.

Universalism as a system developed as a reaction against Calvinistic orthodoxy, infant damnation and associated teachings.

¹⁶ Rel. Bodies 1926, II, 1379 f.

2. *The first doctrinal basis of the Universalists* was adopted in 1803, in Winchester, New Hampshire. Three articles were accepted: (1) The Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, of man's duty, interest and final destination. To this was later added the statement that the Bible is not the only revelation of God, but that God is always speaking to men. (2) There is one God whose nature is love, revealed in the one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness. (3) Holiness brings true happiness: the believers, therefore, should be careful to practice good works.

Later, 1899, in Boston, there was a "Statement of Essential Principles" which were adopted and made the condition of fellowship: (1) The universal Fatherhood of God. (2) The spiritual authority and leadership of His son Jesus Christ. (3) The trustworthiness of the Bible as containing a revelation from God. (4) The certainty of just retribution for sin. (5) The final harmony of all souls with God.

The following teachings on some special points may here be added: (1) *Christ*—He "had the same essential spirit and human nature as other men; but He was chosen of God to sustain a certain unique relation, on the one hand towards God, and on the other hand towards men, by virtue of which he was a revelation of the divine will and character and a sample of the perfected or 'ful-grown' man." Christ saves from sin "by revealing God and His love; by teaching the evil of sin and the sufferings that follow it; by showing the kind of life men may and ought to live." (Cf. Catechism, que. 15). (2) *Sin*—"Sin is doing, saying or thinking what we know to be wrong." (Ib. que. 19). All men are to be punished for sin, the punishment to last "until they repent of their wrongdoing and learn to obey." (Ib. que. 22). No man can be coerced; but he must repent and obey of his own will. (3) *Salvation*—All men will eventually be saved, hence there is no eternal punishment. This is the doctrine which is much emphasized. (4) Concerning the *future life* the teaching is somewhat uncertain. Some believe in a purgatory of grace where God will cleanse the previously unprepared of their sins.

3. *The status and tenets of present day Universalism.* It must not be overlooked that within church bodies the historical principles of the past continue to be felt long after the modern principles of a new age have begun to function. In the main the Universalists of to-day have accommodated themselves to the positions of present-day Unitarianism with its strong emphasis on naturalistic evolution: Man is the creature of evolution, himself and his religion arising out of pre-human and savage ancestors. The doctrines of the fall of man and of original sin are repudiated. Evolutionary processes are still in operation with the added fact that man is now able to coöperate in shaping his biological inheritance toward moral and socially useful ends. It is stressed that man is inherently religious and capable of achieving righteousness. With this accommodation to evolution modern Universalism has lost its interest in saving grace, as a work of God in man.

Statements covering modern Universalism do not vary so much from the original position in doctrine or teaching. They present rather some change in emphasis. The Universalists *hold revelation* to be *progressive* and so cannot feel themselves bound by *creeds*. With the Unitarians they say: We do not know what we will believe tomorrow. Any statement of principles thus is to be considered not as an indication of position but rather the direction in which they are moving.

The Universalists of today are in theology thoroughly Unitarian, *largely pantheistic*. The *Trinity* is rejected in Sabellian fashion, a pantheistic trait being noticeable. God is referred to as the *Great Reality*, or the *Soul of the Universe*. Only certain God-like qualities mark the *deity of Christ*. He has no divine nature denied to other human beings. Only the spiritual leadership of Jesus is accepted. Thus Jesus can bring about no *vicarious atonement*. In fact a vicarious atonement is not necessary according to Universalist teachings. Since neither the fall nor *total depravity* have a place in their evolutionary system, sin is a temporal matter which, when it is duly wiped away by suffering or "punishment," leaves the way open for *universal salvation*. Human suffering in the world is God's "loving chastisement" which is in-

tended to correct the fault and make the forgiveness of sins possible.

Some Universalists hold that any sins, left over at death unatoned for, are wiped out in a sort of purgatory, while others feel that the process of salvation continues, uninterrupted by death, by a continuous normal, natural process until finally all are "saved." Thus is held the belief that right shall finally triumph over wrong in every soul and that finally all men will exercise "their highest desires" and enjoy the "peace of conscience."

Since all will be saved, Christ will not return to *judge the world*. There is to be no resurrection of the body. So *universal salvation* is a condition for the soul. In the background of the teaching of the Universalists are the spiritualistic views held by the Old School of Alexandria (Origen, Clement, Gregory of Nyssa and their successors.)¹⁷

The sacraments are not considered *means of grace* but are looked upon as "sacred symbols" and acts which mark the Christian life and membership of the church. Not all Universalists accept them, but those who do accept three sacraments: consecration (parents pledging the religious instruction and religious life of their children), Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Stress is laid upon the critical study of the Bible in the light of human reason, for it only *contains* the Word of God, which is mingled with elements that are human and fallible.

4. *Organization and numbers.* As to organization we quote the following from the Census of Religious Bodies, 1926: "Owing to the peculiar early organization of the Universalists into societies, rather than churches, the term 'communicant' or 'church member' does not accurately apply in this body. In a considerable number of societies there are yet no church organizations, and consequently no 'communicants,' and in any society or parish the number of registered church members falls short of the whole number of Universalists. Where there is church membership, the method of admission is not the same in all churches. There is, however, a uniform

¹⁷ See our **History of Christian Thought**, Book One, chapter 8, Sec. III.

custom of requiring subscription to the Winchester Profession or the later statement of essential principles."

The Universalist Churches in America maintain in this country four colleges and three theological schools, among them Tufts College, School of Religion, affiliated with Harvard Divinity School. The body reports 65,543 members in 554 churches. The headquarters of the Universalist Church are 16 Beacon Street in Boston, Mass., Dr. Robert Cummins, General Superintendent. They maintain missions for negroes and the poor of the South, also missions in Japan and Korea. Leading periodical: *The Christian Leader*.

Chapter Thirteen

THE ADVENTIST BODIES.

Literature: Religious Bodies, 1926; **A. C. Johnson**, *Advent Christian History*, 1918. The following leaflets and pamphlets may be mentioned: **C. P. Bollman**, *Why I am a Seventh Day Adventist* (leaflet). **I. C. Wellcome**, *History of the Sabbath First Day*. **J. Brinkerhoff**, *White's Vision*. **R. A. Torrey**, *Ought a Christian to Keep the Sabbath?* (booklet). **W. E. Biederwolf**, *Seventh Day Adventism*. **W. DeLoss Love**, *Sabbath and Sunday*. **D. M. Canright**, *Seventh Day Adventism*. Cf. our Section on "Eschatology" (pp. 222 ff.) in Chapter Four of this book; also Appendix B, VIII.

The name Adventist is given to these groups because of the special emphasis they place upon the Second Advent of our Lord. They are all looking for His proximate and visible second coming.

What is known as the Adventist Movement originated with William Miller, who was born in 1782 and died in 1849. In early life he was a skeptic, but was converted and became a Baptist minister. Through his study of the Scriptures, and especially the prophetic portions, he was convinced that the usual method of propagating the Gospel for the conversion of the world was unscriptural, but that Christ's coming to establish His millennial reign on the earth was near at hand and could be fixed with actual definiteness.¹

Although additional details of Mr. Miller's teaching might be given, this was the outstanding feature. Relying on the 2,300 years of Dan. 8:14, he calculated that Christ's Second Advent would occur in 1843 or 1844, when the "cleansing of the entire earth" would take place.

Through the efforts of Mr. Miller and his early followers in heralding this message much interest was aroused. At first, however, the movement was carried on entirely within the existing Protestant churches, with no thought of forming a separate denomination. But

¹ New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 56; A. C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History*, pp. 33 ff.

when Mr. Miller's prediction failed, much confusion followed, and his doctrine came under the ban of most of the denominations. So in 1845 at Albany, N. Y., a general organization of those who held to the Adventist belief was formed. At this conference a declaration of principles was adopted, embodying Mr. Miller's views concerning the premillennial character of Christ's second coming, the resurrection of the dead, the renewal of the earth as the abode of the redeemed, and other related matters of doctrine. This organization continued for ten years, and it included practically all Adventists except those who believed in the *Seventh Day Sabbath* (Johnson, p. 119).

About 1855, however, a tendency was observable to split up into separate and independent groups. These formed churches, the conferences, and finally general associations.

Of course, the doctrine of the second coming of Christ as such is not peculiar to just the Adventist groups, for many within the evangelical denominations hold that doctrine; but it is their particular conception of that event that distinguished these people. With them it is a matter of primary importance in the Christian system. They insist that all Christians should contemplate our Lord's second coming with vivid expectancy as being near at hand. They agree that His coming will be premillennial—that is, prior to the thousand years mentioned in Rev. 20:4, 5, and they say that this apocalyptic advent is essential to the triumph of the Gospel. Concerning the interpretation of Rev. 20:1-7, compare our discussion of "Eschatology" in Chapt. IV, pp. 222 ff.

There are five organized and active branches of Adventists in the United States and Canada. All these bodies accept the Bible as God's Word, and they agree on the outstanding tenet of Adventism, namely, the imminent second coming of Christ; but they differ considerably on certain matters of interpretation. Thus they have their separate organizations, systems of doctrine and church government.

1. *The Advent Christian Church* was one of the first of the independent groups to be organized. Its members claim for it the form of doctrine and practice

which is most like that of Mr. Miller and the earliest Adventists.

The disappointment felt at the passing of the year of 1844 without the advent of Christ led to much discussion as to the accuracy of Mr. Miller's calculations. In 1852 Jonathan Cummings, one of Mr. Miller's associates, began to teach that Miller had been mistaken, and fixed the date of the advent at 1854. Because of much contention over this teaching, the followers of Cummings began to withdraw. With the passing of 1854 they admitted their mistake; but other doctrinal differences arose. So, instead of re-uniting with the original body, they held a conference in Boston in 1855, and on Nov. 6, 1861, organized the Advent Christian Association, now known as the Advent Christian Church. The official name, however, is "The Advent Christian Conference of America."

At the General Conference held in Boston in 1900 a doctrinal basis was adopted. This declaration sets forth a less extreme prophetic view. While this group believes that the second advent is near at hand, it holds that "no man knoweth the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh." They accept the following additional doctrines: that through sin man forfeited immortality; that immortality is imparted to believers at the resurrection; that death is a condition of unconsciousness, lasting until the resurrection of the body at Christ's coming; that the earth will be cleansed, the wicked destroyed (annihilated), and the righteous will be given immortal life. The first day of the week is observed for rest and worship, immersion is practiced, and the Lord's Supper is celebrated. But the chief emphasis is placed upon the second coming of Christ, the study of prophecy, and conditional immortality.²

This group is congregational in its form of government. After baptism and confession of faith, candidates are admitted to membership in the church by a vote of the majority. Open communion is practiced. Ordination is conducted by the Conference. Although at one time this body seemed to be indifferent to education, they

² Declaration of Principles, Advent Christian Publishing Society, Boston, Mass.

now have a number of schools, including colleges and theological seminaries. They have been active in literary work, publishing tracts, pamphlets and larger volumes. They have two publishing houses and issue four representative periodicals. Their present headquarters are at 160 Warren St., Boston, Mass. In 1926 this body reported the following statistics: local congregations, 444; church edifices, 410; members, 29,430.³ The Year Book of Churches gives their statistics for 1936 as follows: churches, 438; members, 25,758.

2. *Seventh Day Adventist Church.* This is the largest, and is by some considered the oldest branch of the Adventist faith. It traces its origin back to the split caused by the controversy over the interpretation of Dan. 8:14: "Then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." Some Adventists claimed that no mistake had been made by Mr. Miller regarding this event taking place in 1844, but that the sanctuary to be cleansed was the heavenly sanctuary. Although this event was invisible, they maintain it began to occur at the date set by Mr. Miller.

Further study also convinced these adherents that the seventh day was the proper Sabbath to be observed by Christians. In 1845 a number of them began to keep that day sacred. In 1860 the Seventh Day Adventist Church was organized at Battle Creek, Mich., and three years later they established a General Conference.

This group teaches that no creed but the Bible is needed; that the seventh day of the week is the proper Sabbath; that man is mortal by nature; that he becomes immortal only through faith in Christ; that he becomes unconscious in death; that the investigative judgment, now in progress in heaven, decides the destiny of all men; that Christ's second coming is near and will be personal; that the righteous living will be translated and the righteous dead raised and taken to heaven, where they will remain until the end of the millennium. During this period the punishment of the wicked will be determined, and at its close they will be raised from the dead and destroyed. The earth will then be made a fit abode for the saints, who will descend and occupy it forever. Immersion is observed and is "open." Tithing is made obliga-

tory on all members. Foot-washing is practiced. Mrs. Ella White is considered an inspired prophetess.

The three doctrines that distinguish this body from all other Adventist bodies are these: The inspiration of Mrs. White; the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath, the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary. For example, the Advent Christian Church (previously mentioned) observes Sunday and believes it will be the earthly sanctuary that shall be cleansed.

For further details of teaching on the part of the Seventh Day Adventists confer Popular Symbolics (Engelder and others), pp. 353-356.

For an antidote to the legalistic and Judaizing teachings of practically all the Adventists read the following passages of Scripture: Matt. 15:10-17; Acts 10:9-16; Col. 2:20-23; I Tim. 4:3-5; Gal. 3:24-25; Rom. 10:4; Gal. 5:7. 4.

The polity of the Seventh Day Adventists is largely congregational, although there is some supervision by the conference of which the local church is a member. These people are very persistent in their mission work and in the propagation of their peculiar teaching. An extensive educational system is maintained, including church schools, intermediate, primary and day schools, academies, colleges and theological seminaries. Much attention is also given to health and medical work, and a number of well-known sanitariums are maintained. This body has made much progress. The following statistics were reported in 1926: local churches, 1,971; church edifices, 1,399; members, 110,998.⁴ The Year Book of the Churches gives the 1936 statistics as follows: churches, 2,274; members, 149,595.

Note. An interesting feature about this group is their manner of raising money for church objects. Stressing as they do the Old Testament Sabbath, one can readily understand that they would also make tithing obligatory for membership. In a tract published for propaganda the following statements are made: "In 1920 the tithes from believers in the United States amounted to \$3,918,515.14, and from those outside of the United States, \$3,276,947.90, making a total for the year of \$7,195,463.04. The tithe then paid since the denomination was organized, 1860, amounted to \$44,771,521.23."

3. *The Church of God.* This is a very small Adventist group. A number of local congregations differing somewhat in doctrine from the Seventh Day people

were organized, and in 1868 were merged into a separate and distinct ecclesiastical body.⁵

They teach as follows: The Bible is God's Word; Christ's second coming is near and is much stressed; He will then reign on earth for a thousand years; the Kingdom of God will be a kind of divine-political government; there will be the restitution of Jerusalem and of Israel on the purified earth; men become immortal only through faith in Christ; at the close of the millennium the wicked will be destroyed in the sense of being annihilated; all men are unconscious from death to the final resurrection; the Holy Spirit is not a person, but the radiation of God's power; immersion is practiced; the seventh day is observed.

These people, then, differ from the Seventh Day Adventists on rejecting the inspiration of Mrs. Ella White, the investigative judgment, foot-washing, the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, and certain interpretations of prophecy. Their form of government is largely congregational. They have no representative colleges and seminaries, but make use of other institutions of learning. In 1926 the following statistics were reported: churches, 58, members, 1,686, (Religious Bodies). The Year Book of the Churches for 1937 estimates their membership at 5,000 in 110 churches.

4. *Life and Advent Union.* This is a small group of Adventists which originated through the separation of some of the members from the Advent Christian Church because of certain differences. Their distinctive belief is that there will be no resurrection of the wicked. They have a membership of 315 in 6 churches. (Year Book of the Churches, 1937.)

5. *Churches of God in Christ.* In 1888 representatives from a number of independent Adventist congregations met in Philadelphia and formed this organization which is known simply as "Church of God."

This body holds no creed but the Bible. The following are some of their distinctive views in which they differ from some of the other bodies: At Christ's

⁵ It must not be confused with the "Churches of God in Christ Jesus." (See below No. 5). Nor with the other Churches of God (Winebrennarians, Gospel Trumpet People, Anderson, Ind.)

second coming, which is imminent, all the dead will be resurrected; the wicked will be destroyed; the righteous will be blessed with immortality, and will share in Christ's eternal kingdom, of which Jerusalem will be the capital city. They hold that the kingdom will include the literal restoration of Israel on earth. They also look for the "restitution of all things." They observe Sunday, practice immersion, and celebrate the Lord's Supper. They do not believe in the inspiration of Mrs. White.

Their church polity is congregational, but for fellowship and general work they gather in state and district conferences. Home mission work is carried on by evangelists. No schools or colleges have been established, but education is carried on by other agencies, such as conferences, Bible classes and an extensive literature.

The following statistics were reported in 1926: Churches, 86; members, 3,526.⁶ The Year Book of the Churches reports a membership in 1936 of 3,612 in 92 churches.

⁶ Religious Bodies, 1926.

Chapter Fourteen

MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

INDEPENDENT AND UNRELATED

In previous parts of the book we have reviewed many of the smaller organizations of Christendom. These were secessions or variations from the larger church families, and so it was natural to treat them in such connection. But there are still a number of organizations which are independent of and unrelated to any other branch of the Church. Some of them are clearly Christian in character, others are peculiar mixtures, and again others have departed so far from the fundamentals of evangelical Christianity that they can hardly be spoken of as Christian. These must be reviewed very briefly in this chapter. If the title of this book were different so as to promise a view of all the "Religious Forces" of the world, then we would also need to include Judaism and the various forms of Theosophy. In a future edition this may be undertaken in an Appendix.

I. CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS.

A. General Eldership of the Churches of God in North America.

For a brief orientation regarding the various "Churches of God", cf. our Topical Index. Among the *Adventists* (our Chapter XIII) there are two groups under that name; among the *Mennonites* (Chap. X) one; among the Holiness and Pentecostal people (Chap. VII) there are three; among the *Evangelistic Associations* (Chap. VII) is one. All mean to express the anti-sectarian tendency.

Literature: *Religious Bodies*, 1926, II, 407 ff. **E. Klotsche**, *Christian Symbolics*, 1929, pp. 352 ff. **Engelder**, *Popular Symbolics*, 1934, p. 310. **E. T. Clark**, *Small Sects*, 1937, p. 105.

The General Eldership of the Churches of God here to be discussed was organized out of a following of John

Winebrenner, a German Reformed preacher, near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1820. He had experienced a conversion of the Methodist type, after which he employed the revival method of work. This resulted in estrangement from the Reformed Church and, after 1825, in the formation of independent groups of followers which in 1830, were organized into the church here to be reviewed. Creeds were not recognized at the time of the organization. But, later, 1849, "Twenty-seven Points" were adopted, which have served as symbols of mutual recognition in matters of "faith, experience and practice." In 1925, these were supplemented by a new "Doctrinal Statement."

From both the German Reformed and the Methodist side the group has an Arminian type of theology. It is opposed to Calvin's double predestination and stresses man's personal responsibility. It speaks of justification and regeneration, and the perseverance of the saints, but in such a manner that man, with his will is always the acting agent. Perfectionism has had much emphasis. This body has also received influences from the Mennonites. It does not recognize sacraments in the sense of means through which God communicates grace, but man shows his obedience by submitting to that which Christ has ordained. Adult baptism is practiced and the method is by immersion. With the Lord's Supper as a memorial, there is combined the washing of the Saints' feet. In church practice there is a constant aim at Biblical literalism. "Bible things as church offices and customs should be known by Bible names, a Bible name should not be applied to anything not mentioned in the Bible."¹ There is much interest in social reform. In church polity the body is Presbyterian.

At this time the church has 430 congregations and 32,000 members. Its headquarters are at Harrisburg, Pa. In Findley, Ohio, it has a college.

B. The Irvingites.

For a fuller discussion we refer the reader to **Klotsche**, *Christian Symbolics*, pp. 327-331. *Religious Bodies*, 1926.

¹ *Rel. Bodies*, p. 410.

1. *The Catholic Apostolic Church* is characterized by a belief in the need of the *restoration of the New Testament apostolate* possessing charismatic gifts. Plausibility was given this belief by the appearance about 1830, in the congregation of the London Presbyterian preacher, Edward Irving, of certain phenomena assumed to be charismata (prophecy, speaking with tongues). Thus by "direction of the Holy Spirit" there were consecrated twelve apostles who in turn ordained prophets, evangelists and pastors. When the "apostles" died, no successors were consecrated and the ordination of the lesser clergy ceased. In America this body is very small. But in Europe the intellectuals have contributed to its adherents (in England Henry Drummond, in Germany Professors H. Thiersch and P. Wigand of Marburg University, also von Richthofen). It is strictly ecclesiastical in its worship and doctrines, using a highly ritualistic liturgy and accepting the ecumenical creeds. Though possessing a deeply devout piety, its emphasis upon the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit in the affairs of the church, and its astonishing claims for the power and authority of its "apostles" constitute the distinctive characteristics of these "Irvingites," as they are usually called. In Great Britain, Germany and America there may be some 50,000 adherents. (In Germany about 25,000; in America 2,869.)

2. *The New Apostolic Church* is the German division of the Irvingites which, following Heinrich Geyer of Berlin, insists that the "apostolate" must be continued and consecrates successors to "apostles" who die. All, however, are under the authority of the "Stammapostel" in this group which since 1906, has had the official title "Neu-apostolische Gemeinde." Its views are characterized by a special emphasis upon the apostolate through which God's will is made known. In effect the word of the "apostles" is placed above the Bible. This sect has a very small representation in America. In 1936, a membership of 3,551.²

² Germany has a considerable literature on this subject. We refer to RGG 2, III, on "Irving" and "Irvingianer"; and PRE, vol. XI, pp. 424 ff; and P. Scheuerlen, *Sekten der Gegenwart* 4; K. Schmidt, *Jenseits der Kirchenmauern*, 1923; M. Riemer, *Die neuzeitlichen Sekten und Haeresien*, Guetersloh, 1926.

C. The Plymouth Brethren.

Cf. the encyclopedias, the PRE, New Schaff-Herzog, Hastings, the Britannica, the RGG; also the books on Christian Symbolics; and for a more thorough study, W. B. Neathy, **A History of the Plymouth Brethren**, 1902, and A. Miller, **History of the Christian Church** (after Darbyite views).

The Plymouth Brethren, known in England as Darbyites or Exclusive Brethren, prefer to call themselves simply Brethren or Christians. In America they are a small group continuing the views of a dissenting movement in Ireland and England, which flourished especially at Plymouth—hence the name “Plymouth Brethren”—and in which John Nelson Darby was a leading figure. They emphasize the heavenly character and essential unity of the church, denying all tangibility and visibility of the Church. The Brethren rejected the creeds, all denominational organization, and were opposed to an ordained ministry. They hold to the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the individuals and the work of the church, teaching an absolute independentism of the individual so that a congregational life can hardly be realized. Church rites, church organization, worship in church buildings are discredited. They accept the Calvinistic view of predestination; they hold premillenarian views; they favor baptism by immersion, though Darby baptized children. Great simplicity marks their organization and meetings. They own no church property, but meet in homes or public buildings. They observe the Lord’s Supper, which for them has only commemorative significance, by “breaking bread” weekly in the forenoon in private homes. Because of minor doctrinal and disciplinary disagreements the Brethren have suffered division into six bodies all of which are represented in the United States and are designated by the same name. For a description of each see the Religious Bodies, 1926, and the statistics in the Year Book of American Churches, 1936.

The Darbyites have a considerable representation in Germany and Switzerland along the Rhine, with publication headquarters for an intensive activity in Elberfeld. They published a new translation of the Bible. On the European continent they have approximately 15,000

members. Recently, in order to comply with demands of the state, they were forced to organize on the basis of professed "Principles of Faith and Life," thus abandoning the particular foundation of their establishment, namely to be without organization as were the early believers of the New Testament.

D. The Church of God.

This church has headquarters at Anderson, Indiana. It refuses to be a denomination, calling itself a "Reformation Movement." It had its origin about 1880, in the midst of holiness agitation under the leadership of Daniel S. Warner. He published the *Gospel Trumpet* to advance his views. It is still being published. The chief emphasis of this group is on the invisible church. It is opposed to "humanly organized churches." With this emphasis goes an antagonism to all forms of "ecclesiasticism."³ There is very persistent polemics against Rome. Creeds are rejected as "a system of human authority in church relationships and spiritual operations." Faith in the realization of the entire sanctification of the individual is professed. Three ordinances are acknowledged: the Lord's Supper, baptism by immersion and foot-washing. The leaders in the church are believed to possess charismatic gifts of healing, miracles, and prophecy. In fact, leaders in the group are recognized as such when they demonstrate the possession of these divine gifts, and not because of any ordination or appointment. These views naturally grow out of the strong emphasis upon the invisible nature of the church which is directed immediately and guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit. For this reason it is difficult to obtain statistics. The Year Book of Churches, 1936, gives the following large numbers: 78,980 members in 1,326 churches. Missionary work in many parts of the world is energetically conducted. The *Gospel Trumpet* is still the official organ of this church. Camp meetings are conducted in different parts of the country, and annually an international camp meeting is held in Anderson, Ind. In this place the body has extensive publishing interests.

3 Cf. E. T. Clark, *Small Sects*, p. 132.

II. PECULIAR MIXTURES.

A. The Christadelphians.

Literature: See the Religious Bodies, 1926; also the publications of the founder.

The Christadelphians, also known as "Brothers of Christ" and "Thomasites," are an anti-trinitarian sect which had its beginning about 1850, under the teaching of John Thomas, M. D. Their position as conscientious objectors during the Civil War compelled the followers of Thomas to adopt a corporate name; whereupon was selected the title "Christadelphians." They constitute a very small body in the United States (Year Book of Churches, 1936: 3,980 members). Their chief emphasis, by which their other views are colored, is upon conditional immortality. According to their teaching, the wicked perish at death, while there is resurrection only for persons whose lives exhibited faith and good works. Christ's death is not an atonement, but simply a revelation of love. In denying the Trinity, they assert that the Holy Spirit is the effluence of divine power, and that Jesus was a man in whom God was manifest. For Christadelphians, baptism is merely an act of obedience, and the Lord's Supper is commemorative. Infant baptism is rejected. They are opposed to war; they have no ordained ministry, and no missions among the heathen. Missionary work, however, is conducted in European countries. They believe that Christ is coming soon to set up a theocracy at Jerusalem. It is a peculiar mixture of Socinianism and Adventism.

B. The Russellites—International Bible Students Association—Jehovah's Witnesses.

(For a detailed supplement to this brief sketch we refer to **E. T. Clark**, *The Small Sects in America*, 1937, p. 58-68.)

About the year 1879, one Charles T. Russell began publicly to expound his peculiar religious views in an independent church at Pittsburgh. Somewhat later he established the Watch Tower Publication House from which issued a veritable stream of tracts and so-called studies in Scripture. Those attracted to his peculiar views were organized with Russell as "pastor," and very

properly came to be known as "Russellites." Later still, and apparently at Russell's suggestion they adopted the name: "International Bible Students Association." By this pretentious title they were known until quite recently when, at the proposal of their present leader, Judge Rutherford, they adopted the name: "Jehovah's Witnesses." While this frequent change of name might indicate also a change of allegiance and of identity, the fact is, that Russell's views on all matters are tenaciously adhered to and his writings propagated with much zeal to this day.

Coming to the religious tenets and views of this changing group of religionists, it needs to be said that every formulated and expressed statement and pronouncement is highly colored and controlled by the peculiarly extravagant millennial views of Russell. Emphasizing as is done the Bible, one would naturally suppose that at least on this point Russellism would find itself in partial agreement with the Church's historic pronouncements. But, the Bible *as such* is not accepted as a guide and rule of faith. The Bible must be read with the aid of Russell's "Studies in the Scriptures," as is easily apparent from the following quotation from the Watch Tower: "If any one lays 'Scripture Studies' aside, even after he has become familiar with them, even after he has read them for ten years, and goes to the Bible alone, though he has understood them for ten years, our experience shows that within two years he goes into darkness. On the other hand, if he had merely read 'Scripture Studies' with their references and had not read a page of the Bible as such, he would be in the light at the end of two years, because he would have the light of the Scriptures." Thus, not the Bible itself, but Russell's interpretation of it is to be studied and accepted.

Russell denies the Trinity. After stating correctly in volume five of "Studies in Scriptures" the accepted views of the Trinity, Russell goes on to say: "this view well suited the dark ages which it helped to produce." Then he speaks of the "trinitarian nonsense" which was "foisted upon the Lord's people to bewilder and mystify them."

Concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, Russell's explicit teachings are in conflict with those of the New

Testament and evangelical Christianity. He says, for instance, "Jesus is only a creature of God, and not the Son of God from all eternity; and now, since his death, the God-man no longer lives". . . "It was necessary not only that the man Christ Jesus should die—but just as necessary that the man Christ Jesus should never live again—shall remain dead to all eternity." Thus the inseparable union of the two natures in Christ is definitely denied.

Speaking of the Atonement Russell says: "but the sacrifice for sins does not complete the work of Atonement." Throughout, Russellism speaks of being "ransomed" studiously avoiding the word "redeemed," but by "ransomed" it does not mean what the New Testament means by "redeemed." So, really, Jesus has not fully redeemed—but he only "ransomed" us—that is to say: He has secured for all men a second chance to save themselves in the millennial age. Here are Russell's own words: "The teaching of Scripture is, that this royal priesthood shall during the millennial age *fully accomplish* for mankind the work of removing the blindness which Satan brought upon them, and shall bring back to full At-One-Ment with God *whosoever wills* of all the families of the earth." Even more pointedly he says: "The ransom for all given by the man Jesus Christ *does not give or guarantee everlasting life or blessing to any man*, but it does guarantee to every man *another opportunity* for everlasting life." In short, according to Russellism, the Redemption was not finished on Calvary; it awaits completion in the millennial age, dependent upon the attitude of man toward a second chance. Hence we have no assurance now of salvation by faith, for, asserts Russell, "nor can this work of atonement be accomplished by faith. It may begin by faith; but the scope of At-One-Ment is grander and higher than this. This great work has appropriated to it the entire millennial age." If that be true then, indeed, "they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished"; and that, not only because Christ's atonement is not *now* complete, but also because, according to Russell, Christ did not literally arise in the body from the dead.

The particular tenet of Russellism that has provided for it a large hearing and wide acceptance on the part of

many is this teaching concerning a "second chance" and the absolute denial of retribution or punishment for the wicked. But the Bible teaches neither of these.

In this fanatical zeal for his own views Russell consistently denounced by word of mouth and the use of the pen all forms of organized Christianity, referring to the "churches" as "the great Babylon of prophecies," accusing them of misrepresenting the Bible and misleading the people.

C. The Swedenborgians.

Literature: For detailed information see the encyclopedias and the church histories. All the older books on Christian Symbolics discussed this subject. The writings of Swedenborg have been much circulated.

The members of *The Church of the New Jerusalem* are the followers of Emanuel Swedenborg (born 1688 in Stockholm), a distinguished scholar in mathematics and astronomy who, in 1743, devoted himself to theosophical speculations. He cultivated ecstatic states, claimed that God revealed to him the true relation between the material and the spiritual world, and commissioned him to reform Christianity. He was a prolific writer. His followers organized in London in 1787. In Great Britain there are 75 churches with 6,700 members. The first organization in America was at Baltimore in 1792. In the year 1817, *The General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America* was organized. The Year Book of the Churches, 1936, gives their statistics as 5,160 members in 79 churches. From this body in 1897, there went the secession of a more strict group under the name *The General Church of the New Jerusalem*. Membership (1936): 1,207 in 14 churches.

The key to all Swedenborgian doctrines is the fact that all Scripture is spiritualized. Thus all Christian doctrine is rationalized. In his view there is no real Trinity. His doctrine of the nature of Christ is Sabellian. The sacraments are mere symbols. His followers claim that theirs is the only true church. They declare that the Second Advent of Christ is spiritual and occurred in 1757. In polity this organization is mildly episcopal. In America the groups are quite small and gradually declining in numbers. There is a certain intellectualism in the

Swedenborg type of religion. The famous philosopher William James, also the much beloved poet Edger Guest came from the older of these two American groups.

D. The Amana Society.

See Religious Bodies, 1926, p. 438. As an experiment in communism this little group has attracted many writers. See the encyclopedias and cf. E. T. Clark, p. 181.

This group, an emigration from the southern part of Germany, is called "The Community of True Inspiration." The name "Amana" means: "remain true." The group, which in previous editions of the United States Census was counted among the communistic sects, was not at first communistic, but its chief characteristic was in the cultivation of "inspirationist" or "enthusiastic" trends of thought. There were various persons in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who claimed to possess divine inspiration, and who, in proclaiming these alleged revelations, gathered adherents about themselves. The pacifist views of some of them brought them into opposition with the government, which led to their emigration to America in 1842. They settled first near Buffalo, N. Y., where they were known as the Ebenezer Society, but later, (1854) they located near Iowa City. Absolute communism was introduced in these settlements, but this was abolished in 1932, when a form of socialism was substituted. They refuse to take oath and bear arms.

The group claims the direct guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit in their lives. They have no ordained ministry. The Lord's Supper is celebrated every two years and then only when the Spirit directs. They cultivate great simplicity in worship and in dress. The Sunday services, however, are only prayer meetings without a sermon. The group is very small in numbers, and it is declining. According to the Year Book of the Churches in 1937 there were 7 churches with 1,300 members.

E. The Shakers.

(For a full description see E. Klotsche, pp. 322-325.)

This body bears the name, "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming." It is also known

as the Millennial Church. The adherents are the followers of Ann Lee, a Quaker of Manchester, England, whose meetings were attended by unusual physical phenomena of such nature as to bring upon the group the name "Shakers." Some of them came to America in 1774, settling near Albany, N. Y., and gaining adherents in New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts.

The Shakers were celibate and communistic in practice. The writings of Ann Lee were considered to be inspired and equal to the Bible. Quaker influences could be traced in the movement. They rejected the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the sacraments and the resurrection. They taught the dual sexual nature of God as well as of all creatures.

The sect is gradually going out of existence, and is now almost at the point of extinction. It has significance only because historically it was a forerunner of spiritism. In reply to questions, we received the answer: "Leave us alone, we are dying."

The Year Book of American Churches gives their statistics for 1936 as 133 members in 5 churches.

Note: We can here not take space to treat the other communistic sects (including the practically extinct **Christian Catholic Church** at Zion City, Ill., founded by J. A. Dowie). Study them in E. T. Clark's book, **The Small Sects in America**, chapter 5. The following movements also may be studied under this same guide: **Father Divine's Peace Mission**, (pp. 153-160); **The House of Prayer** (pp. 149-153).

III. FUNDAMENTALLY AT VARIANCE WITH CHRISTIANITY.

A. The Mormons.

Literature: The following is based on Revelation in Mormonism by **Rev. Geo. B. Arbaugh**, Ph.D., University of Chicago Press, 1932. Paging below refers to it. For history see **W. A. Linn**, *The Story of the Mormons* (1902), best though incomplete non-Mormon account. Also, the 6 vol. *History of the Church*, or **J. F. Smith's** one volume *Essentials in Church History*, both by the **Utah Church**. On the Book of Mormon see **Arbaugh's** analysis and **C. A. Shook's** documentary evidence in his, "The True Origin of the Book of Mormon" (1912). There is no adequate work on plural marriages. **Ann E. Young**, *Wife No. 19*, is representative. Other useful books: **J. H. Beadle**, *Life in Utah* (1870), **J. Remy**, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (1861), **S. W. Traum**, *Mormonism Against Itself* (1910), **H. M. Beardsley**, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (1931), **M. R. Werner**, *Brigham Young*

(1925), **E. H. Klotsche**, *Christian Symbolics* (1929), pp. 376-385, and **T. H. Engelder**, *Popular Symbolics* (1934), pp. 440-446.

This group of three quarters of a million people, using the name, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," dates from 1827-30. Sidney Rigdon, a Disciple preacher, wrote the Campbellite theology into an Indian novel (copied from Rev. S. Spaulding), and Joseph Smith published it as a long buried Indian Bible thereby becoming the leader of the group. It was organized in 1830, at Fayette, N. Y. Rigdon openly joined it a year later. The Mormons moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where he lived. In 1838, Smith led his followers to Independence, Mo., and a year later to Nauvoo, Ill., where the sect grew rapidly. Smith secretly introduced polygamy and entertained high political ambitions. In 1844, he paid with his life for his presumptions when, after he had been arrested, a mob broke into the Carthage, Ill., jail and shot him and his brother.

Immediately many factions arose, adding new scriptures and revelations to the many Smith had published.⁴ Mormonism had changed radically in those fifteen years. So while some factions continued the religion as Smith left it, others claimed identity with the original church and regarded the later doctrines as error. Among the latter were churches headed by Rigdon, Wm. Bickerton, David Whitmer, J. C. Brewster, and G. Hedrick. The factions which continued Smith's later tendencies were more numerous and impressive. C. B. Thompson, L. Wright, Wm. Smith, A. Cutler, J. J. Strang, and others led separate groups, but the apostles with Brigham Young at their head succeeded in holding the majority of the people. The other groups have gradually declined in numbers or ceased to exist altogether.

The majority group was driven from Illinois in 1846. Starting for California, they stopped in Utah, grew rapidly in power and wealth, and spread to adjacent territories. Brigham Young became president of the organization and dominated it (172 ff.). Polygamy increased rapidly and after 1852, was openly promulgated. After years of conflict with the United States government and

⁴ See the grand total of forty odd scriptures listed in **Revelation in Mormonism**, pp. 235 f., though some overlap.

a longer period of evasion, this practice was given up, though the revealed doctrine cannot be abrogated. Headquarters are in Salt Lake City, Utah. From one point of view, the movement appears as a great business concern. The practice of tithing is followed. When Brigham Young died, 1877, he, a great organizer among these pioneers, left an estate of two million dollars to be divided equally among his seventeen widows, sixteen sons and twenty-eight daughters.⁵ The astonishment at such a growth today takes tourists in never-ending crowds to the "Temple Block" in Salt Lake City, to have explained to them the rise of these people from abject poverty to a great wealth in this former desert now irrigated into most productive lands. In and about Utah, in cities and regions far away, practically the whole commonwealth is Mormon with centers of missionary work established in all directions.

The source of doctrine is the entire body of Mormon scriptures and the Bible. Mormon doctrine cannot be summarized by the well-known "Articles of Faith" (116), which were prepared for propagandist purposes, though they contain the Campbellite "first principles" which Mormonism makes its groundwork. Early Mormonism tended toward Unitarianism, but later, through anthropomorphism, became outright polytheistic. "God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man" (104). Spirits (which are refined matter) are begotten by gods and their polygamous wives and put in human bodies to learn of nature and in turn become gods. Adam is the father-god of the earth and the human race. Salvation is not by absolute grace. Immersion washes away previous sin, and if one truly repents he commits no more sins (109 f.) The Lord's Supper is a mere symbolic ceremony. Righteous Mormons who are sealed in marriage by the priesthood will go to the third degree of the highest heaven and be gods. A Mormon may accept a proxy baptism for a person long since dead for the latter's salvation. Christ will return to reign a thousand years and will set up his throne in the Mormon temple in Salt Lake City.

Mormonism is a strange and incongruous mixture of Jewish and heathen ideas covered over with Christian

5 W. E. Garrison, *The March of Faith*, p. 290.

terminology. It stands opposed to evangelical doctrine at every point. It has developed a very powerful ecclesiastical hierarchy. It sends out numerous and energetic missionaries, and has been making a steady advance in membership.

After the departure of the Brigham Young faction for the far West, a majority of the Mormons scattered through the mid-west formed "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ Latter-day Saints." Young Joseph Smith, son of the slain prophet, became the leader in 1860. This group rejected the later Mormon doctrines and revelations, including those of polygamy, polytheism and baptism for the dead. Though this group suffered a minor schism in 1925, it continues to make active growth in membership.

A second minor group must be noted. A faction started by Granville Hedrick about 1852, called themselves "The Church of Christ" and secured the plot of ground upon which, according to Joseph Smith, should be built a temple in which Christ will reign during the millennium. The other Mormon groups have been eager to possess this lot, but the "Hedrickites" have kept it, though unable to raise funds for the temple. Recent increases in membership have increased their hopes of a million dollar temple of Doric type. In most respects the Hedrickites closely resemble the Reorganized Church. Practical emphasis is on the temple and the millennial reign of Christ. Although having less than 5,000 adherents, this group is exercising considerable influence on Mormonism as a whole.

Note: In addition to the scholarly literature at the head of this article we mention a few of the tracts which we obtained recently during a visit in Salt Lake City, Utah. They will give an insight into what the adherents themselves are claiming: **The Philosophical Basis of Mormonism**, by Dr. J. E. Talmage, 1915. **Mormon Doctrine Plain and Simple**, by C. W. Penrose, sixth edition, 1929. **The Plan of Salvation**, by E. J. Morgan (published at Temple Block, Salt Lake City).

B. Christian Science.

(The treatments of this subject are so many that we refrain from mentioning any).

Christian Science is the religion founded by Mary Baker Eddy, who was born in Bow, N. H., in 1821, and died in Boston, Mass., in 1910. She was educated in the

public schools at Sanbornton (N. H.) Academy, and by private teachers. At an early age she was admitted to membership in the Congregational Church, in spite of her inability to subscribe to some of its doctrines. This membership was retained until she founded her own church. She was always a devout student of the Bible, and in her distress of body and mind she constantly turned to it for relief and guidance, and in 1866, while suffering from a serious accident, she gained what she believed to be the true perception of the meaning of Scriptures, which brought about her own healing and gave rise to the religion she founded. After nearly a decade of work in pondering her discovery, perfecting its statement, and proving its worth to her fullest satisfaction, she produced in 1875 the textbook of Christian Science, entitled "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures." In 1879, she organized the Church of Christ, Scientist, which in 1892 was recognized as the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass. Of this Mother Church of Christian Science she was pastor for many years.

There are about 2,000 Christian Science churches in the United States, and more than 350 in other countries, of which the majority are in Canada, England and Germany.

Doctrines of Christian Science. All Christian Science teaching is based on the assertion that no form of evil possesses the nature of substance, but every phase of evil is only an aspect of error. Acknowledging God as the origin of all that really is, Christian Science does not find origin for anything else, but consistently denies that anything which is not of God can have an origin or real existence. Material sense has no principle, no cause or substance, so that sin, disease and death are simply wrong thinking, an illusion and a dream. In the last analysis not only disease and health but mortality and immortality are opposite mental states, resulting from contrary modes of thought. Health is primarily a mental and spiritual quality. Disease, on the other hand, is a palpable evidence of false belief.

Christian Science does not teach a personal God. It defines and describes God as supreme, infinite Mind,

Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, Love. One of the leading points of Christian Science is that God is Life, Mind and Soul of man. Jesus is man, the Teacher and the Way-shower. The word "Christ" is used in an entirely impersonal manner. Christian Science utterly rejects the doctrine that Jesus, by His death, made atonement for the sin of the world and thus wrought the deliverance of those who believe on Him. The disciples saw Jesus of Nazareth after his crucifixion and learned that he had not died. According to Christian Science the theory of three persons in one God suggests heathen gods.

Allied to the teaching of Christian Science concerning the nature and character of God is the concept of man. They assert that man is now, and forever has been, the perfect child of God, that man has never been separated from God, and a recognition of this fact and an adherence thereto in our constant thinking will lift us above the thoughts and beliefs that are in opposition to the perfection of God and his plan.

The plan of salvation, as understood and taught in Christian Science, embraces the thought of destruction of sin and thereby its cessation in the life of the individual. Sin is primarily wrong thinking and it is forgiven as it ceases. Freedom from sin and disease follows the absolute knowing of the truth concerning God and man. To cope successfully with sin and disease it must be resolved into false belief and dealt with on a mental plane, in accordance with the divine law by which truth destroys error. Christian Scientists tell us that repentance, forgiveness and regeneration are not tinged with the mystery of absolution or vicarious atonement, but depend upon the effort of the individual.

Christian Science calls upon its followers to be continuously active in holding to the power and presence and reality of good, or the manifestation of God, as well as to be alert and intelligent and faithful in opposing, denying and destroying in their thought the illusion, the appearance and the suggestion of evil or of the devil.

C. Unity.

This movement is somewhat related to Christian Science. The official name, under which this movement

goes at present is *The Unity Society of Applied Christianity*. It started, 1886, as a cult for healing disease as practiced by Mrs. Myrtle Fillmore. The present adherents call themselves a school.

The term *Unity* expresses their basic principle. There is a pantheistic ring about their ideas. Their magazine *Unity* serves them as their chief means of propaganda. They speak of the "Allness of God," of the "Kingdom of God," of the "Eternal Truth Taught by Jesus," of His "Universal Spirit." Baptism is "the Spirit of Truth," the "Immersion in the Allness of Truth." Upon this basis they preach "the omnipotence of thought," the power of gaining dominion over thoughts, emotions, feelings and passions. In this there is a certain relationship to Christian science. The body can be made immortal, so that it reflects the image and likeness of God. As to practice they aim to influence not only the people of their own groups, but also the members of Christian churches and those outside of the Church. This syncretistic trait prevents the statistician from reporting reliably on gain or loss. The specifically Christian fundamentals are absent in this movement.

APPENDICES.

Having finished our study of the Churches and Sects of Christendom we shall now add a few discussions of some especially pertinent matters with which it was not advisable to burden the body of this book.

A. THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH UNION.

Observations. All the efforts to do away with the historical denominations, where they do not concern "family union" or a situation near the family union, present occasion for interesting study. We think of the Union endeavors in Germany, of the former Evangelical Synod in America, of the Canada Union, of the Community Churches and other smaller movements. All such unions, soon after they had been launched, found themselves against historically established situations. Where the differences are chiefly in the field of custom, ceremony and adiaphora the picture can be overcome in time. But where the difficulties have their rootage in matters of the faith, of religion, of a different comprehension of the Gospel the consciences of thoughtful Christians will not cease to speak. Why is it? Because religion is a matter of the soul, and it has something to do with man's relation to God; to His Word and the means of grace; also with a literature in which the delicate interests of religion are objectified.

I. Some Motives for Union Examined.

Much light is shed upon the merits of present-day union movements by an examination of their motives. Some of these motives are right and some are questionable and even wrong.

1. Chief among these motives is **the exhortation that comes from the Holy Scriptures** when Christ prayed that His followers "all may be one." (John 17:21); when Paul expressed it as the goal for the Church as the "body of Christ" that "we all come in the unity of faith" (Eph. 4:13); and when he recognized only "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Lord and Father of all" (Eph. 4:5,6). Followers of Jesus and believers in the testimony of His apostle must work for a true Christian union. But it must be a "Christian" union, a union in the "Faith" according to Eph. 4:13. The student will note that it is the objective faith which is here meant, the "fides quae creditur", the confession of faith; not faith as the expression of spiritual life "fides qua creditur", which on this side of eternity never could be made a condition of outward church union. The correctness of our contention that in Eph. 4 Paul speaks of the objective faith is proved by verse 15: "that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine" etc.; "but speaking the truth in love. . ." Many zealous advocates of the cause of Christian union, in quoting the above passages, entirely overlook the fact that it is the union in the truth

of God's Word that is meant. The first duty of the Church is to be faithful to the truth "once delivered to the saints." "If ye continue in my Word, then are ye my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." (John 9:31,32). Those who demand union at any price forget entirely the emphasis which in the Scriptures is placed upon divine truth. Read Psalm 86:11; Isaiah 8:20; 2 John 4; Eph. 4:14. With a false union we would by agreement make error co-exist with truth in the Church of Christ. The suggestion to find a union by "agreeing to disagree," when this is to cover matters pertaining to the way of salvation, is unworthy of the Church. The Church is not a social or a literary club for the exchange of religious and ethical views, but is a divine foundation for leading souls to Christ as their Savior. There are between the conservative churches the differences which rest upon fundamentally different comprehensions of the Gospel; these surely ought not to be treated as matters of indifference, but an attempt should be made to overcome them by careful examination in friendly conversation. Then there are church organizations which have their orientation altogether or largely in the principles of rationalism. With so very many of those clamoring for a speedy union of all churches the authority of Scriptural truth is ignored. The Scriptures are not permitted to be more than a kind of commentary on the personal religious life of the Christian, helpful for the understanding of his own inner life, but not fundamentally the source and standard for an objective faith of the Church. We repeat, no Christian should be opposed to a truly Christian Church Union. But doctrinal indifferentism and rationalism, as proposed principles, are the real obstacles to Union.

2. **The children of God through the ages and in the various churches have been and are longing for a union in the faith** ("one faith, one baptism.") To satisfy this longing and to contribute to the realization of this hope is a true motive for union endeavors.

3. Among the motives for Church union there is one which we shall here describe and try to review with criticism. It is said that the various churches, in their separate existence have developed **certain charisms and graces** which after a union would become the common possession of the whole Church.

The Danish Bishop Martensen in his large 3 vol. work on Ethics¹ devotes a special chapter to the ethical peculiarities of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The Lutheran Church, he says, has brought out in the Christian life of its members the evangelical freedom of the Christian man; the Reformed, as followers of Calvin, have been strong in organization. Lutheranism, again, in cultivating the type of Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, has shown a special gift for the development of the inner Christian life, and in consequence has shown its strength in contemplation, mysticism, in religious songs (the chorals), in the forms of worship and church art; the Reformed, with a preference for the type of Martha, has shown a gift for the development of outward activity which has expressed itself in great missionary undertakings, in Christian propaganda, in Bible and tract societies. Martensen himself suggests that the characteristics which he is discussing can hardly, at least not di-

¹ German ed. vol. 1, 54 f.

rectly, be traced back to the doctrinal differences of the two churches. This is correct. Elements of practical life that can be traced as flowing out of erroneous doctrinal positions, such as a legalistic confounding of Law and Gospel, or a misconceiving of the relation between Church and State, can never be counted among the charisms and graces, no matter how great they may appear to the superficial observer; on the other hand, the church which is established upon the Scriptures will produce all the charisms. This is fundamental. However—and there is the element of truth in the thoughts of Martensen—besides the endowments of a church, which have their root in a special comprehension of Scripture truth, there are in the various churches also the elements that must be traced to the peculiarities of the founders, even to the nationality from which they sprang. Luther was a German mystic and as such was a veritable embodiment of that untranslatable German "Gemuet", accounting for so much of that wonderful religious depth in the German chorals and in the devotional literature of the Lutheran Church; Calvin, unrelenting in his logic, was stern and practical, with a genius for organization, in all of which he had a powerful appeal to the Anglo-Saxon mind. Lutheranism is mystical, Calvinism is practical, Methodism is aggressive, and so on. This combination of traits in the historical churches, is what many advocates of the union have in mind when they say that the "Una Sancta" as a united Church, would be able to present itself to the Lord as its head and to the world as adorned with all the gifts and graces.

To many this consideration is a plausible motive for union. But we confess that we cannot endorse it so unreservedly as is usually done, simply because of the kind of union usually aimed at, an artificial union, that is, a union which does not grow out of an inner agreement in matters of faith. An artificial organic union, with the expectation of making the gifts and graces of the various churches the common possession of a merger body, would defeat the end in view. Such gifts have their roots in the historical organizations that have produced them. These roots would suffer especially in a union which ignores the history of the churches in question, and the graces would be lost instead of preserved. Those who urge union on this ground mean well, but they fail to see that here questions are involved, that have not been thought out to the end.

Next we shall discuss a number of motives of a somewhat less general importance.

4. **The economic motive** is much advanced. We shall state the suggestion and its criticism in the following words of the late President Dr. Haas of Muhlenberg College: "In this age of material considerations and of big financial undertakings men are prone to judge not only commercial concerns but all interests of life from the point of view of economic advantage or disadvantage. It seems a great waste of money and effort to perpetuate a number of minor organizations when a large major organization could be formed with a great budget and a strong appeal because it saves so much in overlapping operations. It cannot be doubted that this economic motive which looks to a great central religious trust is moving many men to a minor emphasis upon conscientious convictions which churches have long held sacred. The dream of a great organization, if it be effected without the clearest agreement in the truth, is a violation

of the obligation which God has put upon the Church to keep His truth pure, undefiled and spiritually effective. A union formed through mere pressure of lay interests from fundamentally economic emphasis is a destruction of the spiritual strength of the Church."²

5. Speaking of the motives for Church union there is one to which we have referred many times in our book on the Union Movements. State governments, considering **the Church a valuable instrument for nationalization and for the accomplishment of political purposes**, have followed the policy of forcing a union of Protestantism. On the part of church members there must be patriotism and loyalty to the government, of course, but the Church as such should never be manipulated for political purposes.

6. **"From theology we ought to return to pure religion"**—this is to very many a motive for union. In the abstract it is legitimate to distinguish between pure religion and theology. Yet in the manner in which this distinction is used by many advocates of church union there is something misleading. They overlook the fact that, after all, theology is indispensable in expressing and communicating religion to the minds of man, and that it depends upon the character of this theology whether the religion which is communicated is pure or adulterated, true or false, Scriptural or not Scriptural.

The advocates of union tell us: "From theology you must go back to religion," "from the Confessions back to the Scripture," "from Luther and Calvin back to Christ." This sentiment is to many a motive for union. What do these suggestions mean? They can mean only that we must disown the doctrinal experience of the Church and return to the beginning of its history and confess that we do not know. The full-grown man, equipped with the doctrinal experience of a rich history is to return to the state of development of a child whose mind on definite beliefs is yet a blank. And what then? Is the development to be started over again? No, we are simply to establish ourselves upon the "Scriptures" (refusing to interpret them confessionally), upon "Christ," upon "pure religion," and then the dream of an all-inclusive union will be a glorious reality! But can a church, by entering into organic union with other churches, on the basis of confessional agnosticism, ignore or forget what it does know? The Church certainly did learn something from the writings of the Reformers. Some of their books are immortal. Supposing that in the spirit of indifference we enter into such an organic union, can we forget the historic creeds? Will the conflicting principles of the Lutheran and the Reformed creeds and the great theologies that have been built upon them cease to function and continue to be dead? There are churches which can unite and ought to unite because they belong to one family. The writer is a strong advocate of "family union." But to make the historical churches of conflicting theologies the partners in it would be wrong. A true union will always be a confessional union which is bound to be theological in character.

II. The Union of Lutherans and Reformed.

1. We are told that in Germany the introduction of the Union (1817) was everywhere favored by the revived Christians, by the

"Pietists" of that day. This is true. The Pietists, especially the newly converted among them, always favor union. The profound impression from their religious experience leads them to regard all as brethren in the faith who have had a similar experience. But, as a rule, the time soon comes when they feel the need of linking their religious experience with the doctrinal experiences of the historic Church. This is especially the case where there has been catechetical instruction. So, they gradually develop into confessional Christians and identify themselves with the life of the Church in confession, liturgy, hymns, polity and practice.

2. The historical endeavor of bringing together **the Lutheran and the Reformed branches of Protestantism** has continued through more than three centuries. Germany and her diaspora have been the special field for these endeavors. We observe the beginning of this union interest in the early Zwingli-Calvin and Bucerian influences upon the church of Luther and Melancthon. This is a long history. We have discussed it critically in our "History of Christian Thought."³

3. It will be of interest to recall **the many union movements between Lutherans and Reformed**. They have gone through more than three centuries: (1) The Consensus of Sedomire (1580); (2) the Montbéliard Colloquy (1586); (3) the Colloquy at Leipzig (1632); (4) the Convention at Thorn (1645); (5) the Colloquy at Cassell (1661); (6) the Colloquy at Berlin (1662); (7) the life work of Calixtus and Dury; (8) the union movements of the nineteenth century beginning with an aim at absorptive union (1817), then changing to a confederation (1834); (9) the Evangelical Synod of North America (1840) which recently (1934 and with full consummation 1938) entered into a union with the Reformed Church in the United States of America.

4. The case of the "Evangelical Synod in America" offers an observation of interest. Founded in 1840 by emigrants from the Union centers in Germany it was hoped that this Union body as a middle ground between Lutheranism and Calvinism would have a continuing appeal to all opponents of denominationalism and confessionalism. It enjoyed the favor and active support of all the centers of the Union interests in the Fatherland (Berlin, Barmen, Basle). For a long time the growth was remarkable. But the almost exclusive use of the English language at the close of the World War and the task of the Evangelical Synod, as a Union movement, to find its place among the existing bodies of American denominationalism changed the situation, so that almost over night this body found itself homeless. The question was: "Where shall we go?"⁴ This was the frank admission: "There is no longer a reasonable possibility of realizing the aim with which the Evangelical Synod was founded." (Ibid. 1920). "We have not accomplished a real union between Calvinism and Lutheranism." (Ibid. Mar. 1919, p. 127). Wittenberg or Geneva suggested itself as the alternative. Many of the older men felt themselves drawn to Lutheranism; the younger generation preferred the Reformed. The

3 Book Three, chap. 6 A. and with special detail in our "Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union." For a brief extract from these larger discussions see our Chap. IV, on The Lutheran Church, pp. 227 ff.

4 Ev. Magazine, 1919, pp. 125 ff.

fact that there was a Melancthonian trait in the German-Reformed body made for a union with the Reformed Church in the United States for those of German descent.

5. The present situation in Germany is this: The old Prussian provinces have a union in the form of a confederation in which the Lutherans use Luther's catechism and the Reformed use the Heidelberg. The official church book offers parallel formulas for worship, between which the confessional Lutherans, the Reformed and the few followers of the "Consensus" may choose. The provinces of later accession (Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein) are outside of that Union.⁵

6. Our brief review of the Union both in Germany and in America reveals a weakness in this type of union which is inherent in the movement. The Union in Germany, even as a confederation, since 1834, would never have lived if the Lutheran Church had had the freedom to act independently according to its own historical genius. The maintenance of the Union was an interest of the State.

True, it is the modifying, the leveling, the mediating influences that receive the praise of the public, such as Semi-Pelagianism in the Roman, Arminianism in the Reformed and Melancthonianism in the Lutheran Church. Regarding this observation, the late Prof. E. J. Wolf of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., in a series of articles on "Melancthonian Lutheranism," wrote as follows: "The whole history of Melancthonian Lutheranism shows it to be lacking in the element of permanency. It has no staying quality. With all the advantages of circumstances and leadership, with the popularity which is generally claimed for liberal views over against rigid orthodoxy, it has proved incapable of holding its own, incapable of self-propagation, which is the first essential of all true life. It comes forth with much promise, it contains some very specious features, it seems to commend itself especially to Americans. But it is ephemeral. The spirit, the tendency, the school has no future, it has never succeeded in embodying itself in a permanent form. It has never become a distinct branch of the Church. It either rebounds to pure historic Lutheranism, or it bounds off to Presbyterianism, Methodism or some other ecclesiastical species. It soon develops to a point where it is found necessary to be one thing or the other. A middle ground between historic Lutheranism and the position of the other churches, a firm rock between two opposing Protestant systems, in which one can shout 'Hier stehe ich,' has never been reached."⁶

Note: It was only natural that this present age of reconstruction in the land of Luther should also affect the problem of Union between Lutherans and Reformed. In June, 1937, a convention was held in the city of Halle where the defenders of the Union crystallized their position in a **Consensus de Doctrina Evangelii**. This is published in a book by H. Asmussen on **Abendmahlsgemeinschaft**. H. Gollwitzer, in a book on the **Lord's Supper** (1937, 328 pp.), had undertaken to show where the discussion about the time of the

5 For further details, particularly also as to statistics see this book, Chap. IV, Sec. II.

6 *Luth. Evangelist*, 1891, April 10 ff, and following issues.

Formula of Concord had closed, so that the investigation could now be continued. The leading men of that Halle convention were Reformed theologians. Karl Barth and his associates have always wanted to be Reformed. (Cf. Barth's essay on **Reformierte Lehre, ihr Wesen und ihre Aufgabe in "Das Wort Gottes und die Theologie,"** 1925, pp. 179 ff.). They argue from the standpoint of the Existenz-philosophie. The stress is not upon **being** but upon the **relation of man to God**. Applied to the Church the interest is not in the Confessions of the Church but in the act of confessing; not in the Bekenntniskirche of the bishops, but in the "bekennende Kirche" (thus Asmussen and Niemoeller). See p. 247. This is individualism in the Union.

III. The Aim at a Comprehensive Union.

The preceding investigation followed particularly the union endeavors between the Lutherans and the "German Reformed," a type of German Protestantism, which originated through the early influences of Zwingli upon some of the southern parts of Germany. These influences were especially strong in the cities of Upper Germany with Bucer at Strassburg as their leading power. It was a movement which later was controlled by Calvin and spread to the Palatinate, to Bremen, Nassau, Anhalt, Hesse-Cassel, Lippe, Brandenburg, to parts of East Friesland and to the Rhine Province. The confessional bond of union was the Heidelberg Catechism. It held to Calvin's teaching on the means of grace but as a rule did not follow him in his doctrine of predestination. It was a Calvinism "modified by the German genius" (Richards). In some of the above mentioned dominions (in Anhalt, for instance) the prevailing type was nearer to Melancthonianism than to what we would call genuine Reformed. It must be understood that union in Germany means a union of the Lutherans with a type of the Reformed in which there is, as a rule, an absence of "high Calvinism."⁷

When in America we are invited to become partner in Church Union, a far more comprehensive program is before us. In the movement known as "The Call for a World Conference on Faith and Order by the Protestant Episcopal Church" (1910), as also in the "Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity" of the Disciples (1910), invitations are extended even to the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic Churches. And all Protestant Churches "who accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior" are included, of course.

Typical of the movement for "Comprehensive Union" was the "Call for a Conference on Organic Union of the Evangelical Protestant Bodies in America by the Presbyterian Church" (Dec. 1918). The invitation was to all the Protestant Churches in-so-far as they are "evangelical" or "orthodox."⁸ These are two terms on which we must later have a brief discussion. The following churches participated actively in that conference, held at Philadelphia in 1919: Episcopalians, Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Reformed, German Evangelical Synod, Congregationalists, Metho-

⁷ Cf. our **Union Movements**, pp. 19-48.

⁸ See **Christian Union Quarterly** of 1919.

dists, United Brethren, Moravians, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Society of Friends. A reading of these names reminds us at once of the confessional positions to be reconciled in such an "organic union."

If the Lutherans had joined in that movement the problem would have been forbiddingly difficult. Their confessional positions as expressed in the Augsburg Confession of 1531 would have had to be reconciled not only with the spiritualistic conception of the means of grace, as was the case on the European continent, but also with the predestinarianism of high Calvinism or with the Arminianism of the opposite wing of Reformed Protestantism and with the positions which emphasize such matters as church organization, episcopacy, mode of baptism, etc. There are difficulties in the way of full Protestant Union in America which are absent in the union endeavors on the other side of the Atlantic. Among these we should also count the teaching and practice of churches which may be called the daughters of the Reformed Church. (Cf. p. 270 f. of this book.) But such Union must not be undertaken on the basis of Confessional indifference.

The speaker for the **Disciples of Christ** quoted as his church's position: "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of the Protestants." This could only mean: The Bible without confessional interpretation of its teaching by the Church. The United Church, then, would be asked to make no profession of what the Bible teaches. The speaker appealed to "the right of private interpretation." He continued: "The various communions have their systems of theology, based upon interpretations of the Word of God, and which they adopt as standards of their respective churches." "Since all agree that the Scriptures contain the Word of God, why could not the Scriptures alone be sufficient? They appear to have been so in the early church. Why should they not be for the Church now?"

To these remarks we reply: (1) The Church is forced to a distinct authoritative or symbolical interpretation of the Scriptures because individuals and communions with misleading teachings also claim the Bible. Adoption by a Church of the Scriptures and at the same time refusal to interpret them confessionally as a bond of union is a negative or neutral and not a positive adoption. (2) The early Church, in its conflict with error (Ebionitism, Gnosticism, the pneumatics in general and an endless number of sects), was forced to give an authoritative interpretation of the canon. We have the result of such creed-making in the Rules of Faith which gradually issued into the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. (3) A grown man cannot be forced back to the state of development of the boy. The Church of today has been led by the Holy Spirit into a rich doctrinal experience of the fundamental truths of Scripture. We cannot ask the Church to ignore all this in order to return, in a kind of Christian agnosticism, to the primitive knowledge of the Christianity of the post-apostolic fathers.

IV. Family Union.

If we try to analyze the situation without undue optimism then we must say that a union of American Protestantism of the comprehensive type does not seem to be in sight. At present, however,

there is one kind of union that is within reach. That is the family union. The reading of a number of the addresses at the above mentioned conference in Philadelphia on organic union has confirmed us in this opinion. We can agree with these statements. The late Dr. W. M. Roberts of the Presbyterian Church spoke of a "consolidation among the churches of the Reformed Faith which are most nearly akin in doctrine and organization."⁹ Dr. Wm. M. Anderson, in speaking for the United Presbyterians, said: "Our denomination stands committed to a federated agreement uniting all of the Reformed churches in America holding the Presbyterian system" (p. 39). There is already an "Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System," we read in the address of Dr. W. Miller for the Reformed Church (p. 58), and he says that his church "is ready for an organic union of the Presbyterian-Reformed family of churches" and adds "These ten or more bodies, by reason of history, polity and doctrine, are practically one and should be organically united together" (p. 59). The same is to be said of the Lutheran Church in America. The aim is to unite the Lutheran synods in the United States and Canada and to draw the Lutherans of the world into a common understanding. Considerable progress has already been made. In 1917 three Norwegian synods united into one large body. The next year three pre-eminently English speaking Lutheran bodies (General Synod, General Council, United Synod South) consolidated themselves into the United Lutheran Church in America. And since that time the synods of other groups have united in the American Lutheran Church, and this body again has joined with the Scandinavians in an "American Lutheran Conference" (1930). Such movements for "family union" are to be commended for two reasons: (1) they are proof of a feeling in the Church that small and petty affairs must not stand in the way of union. But (2) they also show that the historic churches of Protestantism, so far as they are not too much honeycombed with rationalism, will not dismiss with indifference the matters which in the light of Scripture testimony and of historic development are of fundamental importance; these differences must be faced and settled before there can be union.

B. POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEOLOGICAL LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATIVE THEOLOGY.¹⁰

Preliminary Remarks.

We need not here go into details in describing what we mean by "Conservative Theology." In its development from the Reformation up to the present, its leading positions have been in the full light of history. Still, this should be stated for the purpose of our discussion: When we speak of the "Conservatives" we shall not limit these to the so-called "Old-Lutherans" in the Church of

⁹ See *Christian Union Quarterly*, as cit., p. 32.

¹⁰ This article, in a large part of its contents, was published in the *American Lutheran Survey*, March, 1927. Most of it has been rewritten.

Luther, nor to the "Fundamentalists" (or "Essentialists") as distinct groups in the family of the Reformed Churches. We include among these Conservatives the progressives in theology, in all the "evangelical" churches, men who, broadly speaking, feel indebted to some especially maintainable elements in the old or present-day "Erlangen School" of theology. We are referring here to a very large class of theologians in Germany, England and America. Regarding the conception of revelation and the use of Scripture, they differ in methods of approach from their brethren of older schools, but in their Christology, in their soteriology and in eschatology they find themselves on conservative ground and in essential agreement with the confessional experiences of the Church.

In discussing points of conflict between Theological Liberalism and Conservatism it is freely admitted that it is not possible in every respect to show the cleavages as clear-cut cases. The day of theological "schools" is passing, in which whole constituencies are sharply defined by doctrinal boundaries and are massed for offense and defense all along the line, as was the case in the old Tuebingen School, among the older Ritschlians, or their opponents on the conservative side. Some of the Conservatives, in their grappling with problems, may feel themselves driven to occupying a position in part overlapping that of Modernism; and some Modernists, in shrinking from radicalism, may express convictions here and there which, though obviously conservative, nevertheless do not so completely permeate their position as to result in an alignment with the conservative element. There will always be eclectics. But when all this has been said, we shall still find that there are the two camps—the "Modernists" (Liberalists) and the "Conservatives." They have their literary organs of expression in periodicals and books, and in these one can observe outstanding principles as boundary lines between the two camps.¹¹

The questions that have proved to be divisive are such as the following: Shall the essentials of our religion be reduced to a few general things in the field of ethics, which all religions of the world have more or less in common? Is evolution, a mere hypothesis, to be the norm of spiritual and ethical values? Where is the authority of truth? What think ye of Christ? Is the new spiritual life in man to be effected by natural or by supernatural powers? What shall be our attitude to eschatology? It is the answers to these and other questions that have created two more or less distinct camps of theology—in spite of occasional overlapping in detail.

I. Revelation.

The Modernists are disinclined to concede a special significance to the revelation through the Holy Scriptures. Revelation is to them nothing but "the necessary and spontaneous development of forces inherent in human nature"—a speaking of man to God and of God (subjectively), not a voice in which God speaks to man (objectively) direct or through the experiences of individuals and nations. Here

¹¹ It will be of interest for American readers to know that in Germany the Modernistic movement goes under the name "Neuprotestantismus," a much more fitting name than the term "Modernists," which we have conceded to use only because it has been so coined by the public.

the Modernists are enthusiastic followers of the Historico-Religious School (*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*).¹² They look upon Christianity as a syncretism of many religions. The emphasis is upon general revelation which, according to their view, has received expression through all the founders of world religions, through the classics and the thinkers of the ages, just as well as through the prophets and through Christ and His apostles. (Cf. our Chapt. XII, p. 556).

The Conservatives insist upon a special and singular revelation in Christianity, different from all that revelation which in one sense or another may be mediated through the avenues suggested by the above-mentioned school (Acts 14:16, 17, 27 f; Rom. 1:19 f; 2:14 f). In describing the specifically Christian revelation, however, the Conservatives divide themselves into two camps. In the one camp it is said that this revelation is simply the contents of the Scriptures through "verbal" inspiration. In the other camp (Erlangen theology) the Scriptures are taken as a record of a supernatural revelation that was worked out by God through a historical process culminating in Christ as the Savior of the world and the founder of a new spiritual creation (F. H. R. Frank). In this (dynamic) conception of revelation there is no special emphasis upon an inerrancy of the Scriptures in the purely external matters, but it is maintained by the faithful Conservatives of this group that Scripture in its entirety is God's Word and infallible as a guide in all matters pertaining to salvation. The contents of the Bible are taken as an organism of truth in the exposition of which also the form as expressed in words is not without significance.¹³

II. Source and Authority of Truth.

The Liberalists estimate the Scriptures not as source and authority of truth, but merely as a commentary on the Christian life or as a reflector of human experience, and, therefore, refuse to use the Scriptures for proving truth.¹⁴

The Conservatives, from their standpoint that in the Scriptures we have a revelation in a special sense, and that the Christian revelation is essentially a history of redemption, recognize this testimony of the Scriptures as source of truth and as authority.

¹² In our History of Christian Thought, Part V, A, we shall have occasion to characterize this school.

¹³ On this subject we recommend for reading the following illuminating discussions. First we mention a few brief publications by the late Prof. K. Girgensohn (Leipzig). "Geschichtliche Offenbarung" in *Biblische Zeit und Streitfragen*, 1910; "Die Inspiration der Heiligen Schrift" reprinted from *Pastoralblaetter*, 1925; see also Secs. 18 and 19 in his "Grundriss der Dogmatik," 1924. Next we mention a very helpful discussion by the late Bishop L. Ihmels, "Das Wesen der Offenbarung im Licht der neueren Dogmatik" in *Jahrbuch der Pastoral-Theol. Konferenz fuer Westfalen*. Bertelsmann, 1910. See also J. A. Faulkner in his "Modernism and the Christian Faith," 1921. A literature of such kind should be compared with the many publications of the Modernists on this topic. For convenient orientation we refer to the scholarly discussions of Shailer Mathews, especially in his book, "The Faith of Modernism," 1924, also the writings of the late G. B. Smith.

¹⁴ Cf. H. E. Fosdick, "Modern Use of the Bible," 1924 (pp. 6, 173, 178, 195).

The question may be asked whether the Erlangen theology is not also a type of Modernism. It is true that this school has laid large emphasis upon Christian experience. But it should not be overlooked that when these theologians speak of Christian experience they do not mean by that a source of truth independent of Scripture which must remain the objective source of truth. The first great systematician of this school (Frank) was not fortunate in his expression on the situation. His successors, such as Luthardt and Ihmels, emphasized that in all cases the Scripture must be the source of the Christian experience. The reference here is to the work of the Christian theologian in the construction of a system of doctrine. These Erlangen theologians, in this connection, are not theorizing on the Bible; they merely want to explain how the conviction of Christian truth, on the basis of communicated Scripture revelation, originates in the individual, particularly in the mind of the investigating theologian. In other words, the Modernists make experience of the philosophising mind the source of truth, which is in keeping with their naturalism; the Conservatives deal with "Christian experience" and "religious consciousness" only as **a theory of knowledge with regard to becoming convinced of the truth which is objectively contained in the Scriptures.**¹⁵

And because Scripture is to the Conservatives a record and authority of Christian revelation, therefore they will also undertake to prove Christian truth by appealing to this source as a standard of truth. The Modernists refuse to use Scripture for proving truth, because their real proof lies in experience, divorced from the objective truth as expressed in the revelation of God's Word.¹⁶ Of course, this should be added: the Conservatives of the historical approach having learned a fundamental lesson from that epoch-making work "The Scripture Proof" (*Der Schriftbeweis*, 1852-56) by J. C. K. Hofmann, will not offer Scripture as proof in quite the way this was done in the 16th and 17th centuries, (promiscuously and topically) although there may be cases where such practice is still justified (cf. Buechner's *Handkonkordanz*). But they will be careful to use the Scriptures by following climactically the succeeding epochs of revelation and finally summarize the whole as an organism of communicated truth. And this is of interest: The theology here spoken of is not dead yet. With representatives in almost all universities it has been the leading factor in the general turn of the students in Germany from the theology of liberalism to a sane and progressive conservatism.

III. Sin and Man's Responsibility, "God's Wrath."

The Conservatives, guided by Augustinian thought, by Scripture testimony (Ps. 51:7; Rom. 7:17, 24; Gal. 5:16, 17) and by the Confessions of the Reformation believe in a natural depravity of our race dating from the fall of the first pair as spoken of in Genesis. By yielding to sin and living in it, man lost his original knowledge

¹⁵ For broad reading on this subject, we recommend P. T. Forsythe, "The Principle of Authority"; also L. F. Stearns, *Evidence of Christian Experience*, 1909.

¹⁶ See Dr. Fosdick in the Introduction to his book "The Meaning of Prayer."

(Col. 3:10) and a righteousness and true holiness (Eph. 4:24), and "original sin" became the "originating sin," as Luther called it. The "civil righteousness" which all men, including the unregenerated, should have, is no substitute for the "spiritual righteousness" which he had lost. A new spiritual life must be kindled in him through the creative or regenerating act of the Holy Spirit. Then his will becomes liberated and can cooperate in a life of sanctification (Augsburg Confession, art. 18). Even our modern psychology of religion (of the Girgensohn type) has made it clear that such a conversion or regeneration cannot be explained merely out of immanent psychological factors.¹⁷

Rationalism, Socinianism and the types of theological liberalism are established upon the leading principles of Pelagianism. In addition to reason as the principle of knowledge there is now the appeal to the evolution theory. Instead of a "fall" and "original sin" we hear of the "rude instincts which are our biological inheritance," but, they say, there is a moral potentiality of man, a divine endowment, a natural goodness, which will develop in conflict with that "biological inheritance." Man himself can do it. His free will is not lost. A redemption through Christ is not needed.

But—so the Conservatives object—this leaves out of consideration the Scripture's estimate of the fact of sin, both the condition and the acts resulting therefrom. God's law accuses our consciences. We read of God's "wrath." Here we shall refer only to the New Testament testimonies. We may distinguish between the manifestation of God's wrath during the life of the sinner and His wrath as it shall be manifest on the day of judgment.

(1) **God's Wrath on This Side of Eternity.** "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness" (Rom. 1:18). "God willing to show his wrath" (Rom. 9:22). "For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" (I Thess. 2:16). "But the wrath of God abideth on him" (John 3:36). "So I swear in my wrath they shall not enter into my rest" (Hebr. 3:11; cf. 4:3). "Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come" (I Thess. 1:10). "We shall be saved from wrath through him" (Rom. 5:9). "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Eph. 2:3). "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law" (Gal. 3:13).

(2) **The Wrath of God in Final Judgment.** "Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come" (Mt. 3:7). "There shall be great distress in the land and wrath upon this people" (Luke 21:23). "Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell" (Mt. 10:28). "Which delivered us from the wrath to come" (I Thess. 1:10). "Treasurer up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath" (Rom. 2:5). "Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance?" (Rom. 3:5). "For because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience" (Eph. 5:6; cf. Col. 3:6). "If God willing to show his wrath and to make his power known endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction" (Rom. 9:22). "Vengeance is mine, I will repay says the Lord" (Rom. 12:19). "Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb" (Rev. 6:16). "And thy wrath is come" (Rev. 11:18). "Seven golden vials full of the wrath of God"

17 Cf. Gruehn, *Religionspsychologie*, 1926.

(Rev. 15:7; cf. 16:1; 19:15). "To give unto her the cup of the vine of the fierceness of his wrath" (Rev. 16:19).

Theological liberalism has a different orientation: The expression "Wrath of God" (*orge tou Theou*), they say, is an anthropopathic phrase that should be avoided. The Conservatives reply that then we would also have to avoid to speak of God's love which has anthropopathic features. (RGG, V, 2136). Where sin is taken seriously there the reality is recognized which lies back of these terms of Scripture.

Prof. F. Buechsel, in Kittel's new Dictionary to the New Testament (III, 942), insists that the idea of God's judgment in the New Testament is a central thought and must not be pressed into the periphery: "If there is not the judgment of which Jesus speaks, then Christ with His message has only a historic, i. e., a constantly lessening significance, but no meaning for the relation between God and man. But, on the other hand, when the reality of God's judgment is seen then man's life is hopeless and unbearable without the assurance of Jesus: "Thy sins are forgiven thee." (Cf. p. 942). "The love of God is grace." Hence the question of justification becomes the fundamental problem of man's life." For the believers, Paul is sure of salvation in that final judgment (Rom. 8:31-39), even for the grave sinner in I Cor. 5:5: "They are justified." And Paul "sees the foundation for this hope not at all in the ethical renovation connected with justification which follows from the communication of the Spirit, but solely in Christ (Rom. 5:9 f.; 8:33 f.) For this reason he can even expect salvation for those whose life and work, as such, in the day of judgment, cannot stand the test." (Kittel, p. 939). Luther with his view of Faith upon the "Christus Victor" (cf. G. Aulen) over "sin, death and devil" risked to speak of the wrath of a loving and forgiving God. Cf. also Aulen on Luther as author of *Das Christliche Gottesbild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1930 (translation from the Swedish), pp. 204 ff. Even the "Law" and God's "Wrath" are overcome by this Christus Victor.

IV. The Person of Christ.

It is impossible here to express ourselves with any degree of adequacy upon the attitude to the person of Christ as a point of cleavage between Modernism and Conservative Theology. The interests to be included in statements of distinction are so many and the situation as to theological expression is so complex that a full chapter would be needed in order to say what really should be said. Having to confine ourselves to a few distinctive statements we shall be content with saying the following:

The Modernists, whose positivistic and pragmatistic conception of philosophy, theology and science does not permit the reality of supernatural factors, stress the humanity of Christ, reject His virgin birth, His resurrection and His return for judgment. Still they call Him "divine," although refusing to say that He is the Son of God essentially and in kind. The generous emphasis upon His divinity does not mean much if we consider the stress laid upon God's immanence. His preexistence is rejected as "metaphysics" (Ritschl); He is spoken of as the "fairest flower

of our race" (Idealmensch), as the "revealer of God," etc. As to His function He is chiefly the great religious and ethical teacher. His priestly office is entirely ignored. His kingship appears as a part of a social gospel in which there is no place for a biblical eschatology.

The Conservatives see in Christ the God-man, born of the virgin Mary, in whom the eternal Word assumed flesh and came into the world to effect our salvation. He is our Savior; He had the Messianic consciousness. He is not merely the teacher of our Faith, but its very object. This is unquestionably the conception of Christ as held by the New Testament writers and by the early Church.

It is interesting as well as sad to observe where liberalism, when it has run its course, is bound to land. First, the Christ of the Synoptics is established as an ordinary human being who was favored with special divine influences (Ebionitism, Paul of Samosata, Socinians, vulgar Rationalism, Unitarianism, Modernism). But in a Christ of that kind there is no satisfaction! The ancient Church turned away from such a mediator. The Reformation did likewise. Against Rationalism we saw the reaction in Supra-naturalism. And in our present day we are beholding the same spectacle. Let us emphasize: Even our present-day "modern man", after he has thought long enough, comes to the conclusion: There is no need for a Christ whose origin is in the human race and, in addition to this fundamental fact, merely partakes of some "divine" traits. The modern man, as well as man centuries ago, needs and wants exactly the Christ of the Church, the Christ of all the Gospels, the Christ also of Paul and the Scriptures as a whole.

The Christology which makes Christ a mere man, no matter how much it afterwards may decorate Him with divine traits, has never given satisfaction to the Church. As a rule, the bankruptcy of this Christology shows itself in this that it runs out into the mythical conception of Christ. In the ancient Church we see it in the Docetism of the gnostic and Sabellian systems. We have representations of it also among the Anti-Trinitarians of the Reformation time, although not in distinct forms (cf. Michel Servetus). After Rationalism had reduced Christ to a mere man, and after Hegel's pantheism had prepared for further speculation on the person of Christ, it was D. F. Strauss, particularly in the later time of his career, and others, that followed him, who reduced the history of Christ to a myth, which developed as the expression and exemplification of an idea. Strauss, as "Young-Hegelian," arrived at an interpretation of the Gospels, in which he taught that in Jesus it was in reality the human race which was born, which suffered, died and rose again, and which is to climb up to perfection—Christ alone being entirely insufficient as the full and final expression of that idea.¹⁸ Christ is to those of the mythical theory merely "a working hypothesis of God's character"; "the Gospels have only a functional worth." Kant had already expressed this view. It was propounded in public lectures by A. Drews, to which Prof. J. Leipoldt of Leipzig has devoted a most searching review in his book: "Has Jesus Lived?" (Hat Jesus gelebt?)¹⁹

18 See Bishop Martensen, *Dogmatics*, Engl. edition, p. 244.

19 Comp. also W. B. Selbie, "Aspects of Christ," p. 27.

Our Modernists in America do not favor this school of Christology, as a rule. They believe in the historicity of the earthly human life of Christ as a "divine" teacher. In their work, however, of "re-discovering the historical Christ" they go very far in their criticism of the New Testament records. Following the Historico-Religious School they are strongly convinced with Prof. O. Pfleiderer that for the construction of the real Christ the Gospel of John as well as the testimony of Paul must be eliminated as historical sources, and that the synoptic Gospels have to be cleared of all Babylonian, Egyptian, Phrygian, Jewish, Greek, and other foreign matter. What will be left by the time they are through? Not much more than this that Jesus, the son of a carpenter, a religious genius, by claiming divinity of character, provoked the jealousy of opponents and found a tragic death. He was "in no way different from us", He "nowhere overstepped the limits of the purely human", but as a teacher left us a few rather inoffensive sayings, such as for instance, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Surely the question is in order: What will be the use for the Church of a Christ so stripped of His power as a Savior? We have simply indicated the course that was taken in the past, and want to repeat: The modern man, when he thinks long enough, wants the Christ of the Church or no Christ at all!

V. Christ's Work of Redemption.

For a full analytical investigation of the New Testament teaching of our redemption through Christ we would need to follow the New Testament writers, one after the other, as K. Girgensohn has done it in his brief Dogmatics of 1924, pp. 135-144. Presupposing such an exegetical investigation we shall here present, in our own way, the essentials as follows:

Why have men of all ages been so deeply interested in Christ? Because He claims to be their Savior, their Redeemer. The Christian Church of all ages has accepted and worshipped Him as such. "Modernism," following Abelard, sees in the life and death of Christ—His resurrection as reported in Scripture is denied—an example of His love to which man must respond with confidence and trust. It is to be admitted that in the Anselmian expression this doctrine appears in too juridical a form; it was a first endeavor to state the problem. But it was a step in the right direction. The Conservatives have been building upon this foundation.

Through the life and the suffering of Christ, a broken relationship between God and man was to be restored. For this, God in His mercy takes the initiative in sending his Son as mediating Savior (John 3:13-18). In Christ's life of obedience, in His death upon the cross and in His victorious resurrection we have all the elements that make for man's redemption, a "ransom from the curse of the law" (Gal. 3:13; 4:5) and a complete "atonement" for our sin through a "sacrifice" (Rom. 3:25; I Cor. 5:7; Eph. 5:2; I Peter 2:24; 2:18; Heb. 10:14). The vicarious significance in the giving of Christ's life is expressed by Christ Himself, at the institution of the Supper, in the phrase found in two of the Gospels, "a ransom for many" (Matthew 26:28; Mark 10:45). And this is to be noted: The Pauline appeal to respond to the act of reconciliation (Rom. 5:9-11) rests

upon the historical fact of the redemption effected by Christ. Without the redemption as an objective act of God through Christ the **whole Biblical history on this subject is without meaning!** With the objective significance of Christ's death, admitted to be **fundamental**, it is right to say also (with Abelard) that "His life and death was an example of His love," to which the redeemed souls will respond with confidence and trust in God. There are elements of truth in all the conceptions of the atonement. But the sacrifice of the very life of a Savior, in whom humanity and divinity were united in a personal union, is basic to all other conceptions.

There are certain mysterious truths which cannot and need not be proved by cold arguments. Such a truth is the need of an atonement. Even in profane history, as in legend and poetry, we meet that approach to the idea of a transmission of guilt in certain families and tribes and observe that by the death of an innocent one in the kinship this guilt seems to be atoned for. Antigone, in the tragedy of Sophocles, atones for an old offense against God's law as it was resting upon the house of Laios. We all feel that the sting of death is in sin. It points back to the words in the beginning of our history, "The day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." If we could die—not only the temporal but even the eternal death—and still live, then we could help ourselves and need no Savior. But we cannot. Therefore we need Christ and Him crucified.

In the language of practical piety there is marked unanimity in the fundamental features of this teaching. In theological expression of it there is variance also among conservative theologians, for the simple reason that the Scriptural expressions on this subject are so many and that this testimony was given more in the form of indications than in concepts fully developed and formulated. It must also be taken into consideration that here all human analogies fail. As the person of the God-head was unique, so was His work unique. The Conservatives have learned more and more that the doctrine of atonement is a sacred mystery, to be experienced by the troubled soul under the burden of sin. They all agree in this that without the redeeming work of Christ we should still be in our sins (I Cor. 15:17).

The special message of Luther as viewed by the Swedish Bishop G. Aulen, formerly at Lund University, in his before-quoted work, **Das Christliche Gottesbild**, pp. 204 ff., and in his book **Christus Victor** (English 1930), deserves a special note. Luther's emphasis was not upon Anselm although he (Luther) also taught with much emphasis (following especially Paul and John), the vicarious character of Christ's suffering and death, which was to him the full atonement for sin in which the love of God Himself had the initiative. But in addition to all this, which to him was fundamental, he stressed Christ's obedience, His suffering and death, and His glorious resurrection as a conflict with and a victory over the world, Satan and hell. In support of this somewhat "neglected emphasis" Professor Aulen called attention to an element of truth that lay in the early church's crude conception of the atonement as an act against Satan. The author in his "Gottesbild" (p. 209 ff; cf. his **Christus Victor**) takes his readers into Luther's Commentary to the Galatians (cf. the English edition by Theodore Graebner). In connection with the view

of Chrsit's life, suffering and death as a victory over Satan, Luther speaks of the annihilation of sin, death, the law, wrath, etc., leaving the legalistic emphasis of Anselm in the background.

VI. The New Life (Source and Experience).

(1) **Source:** To Modernism, Christianity is essentially a kind of natural ethics. It is defined as "a new way of living." But because of the ignoring of regeneration as a creative act of grace it is reduced, in effect, to a moral reform brought about by man himself in his own natural powers, and because of the absence of the unity of impulse the good works appear as a heap of stones where the one act is not in organic relation with the other.

In the view of the Conservatives, Christianity is, to start with, essentially a message ("doctrine," "dogma") on the love of God, evidenced in the sending of Jesus Christ as Savior of the sinner in his helpless condition, that he might be brought into right relationship to God, experience the forgiveness of sin, and receive the strongest impulse for the doing of God's will. In this they do not mean to reduce the Gospel to a purely intellectual concept, for it is to them the Word of God as a seed of life. Thus the Christian life becomes the result of the evangelistic message—or doctrine, if you please—and Christian ethics receives its truly religious foundation.

(2) **Experience:** In judging the New Life of the Christian and covering it with the term "experience," Modernism always means empirical experience. The genesis of this life and its further development is looked upon as a natural process to be explained psychologically by cause and effect with no place for the Holy Spirit as spoken of by Scripture and the Protestant Reformation and as presented doctrinally by the Christian guides in religious thought. We shall ask the student to read what we wrote on this subject in Chapter XII on the Rationalists (Unitarians, Universalists) who declare that they have no interest in the discussions on salvation (B, 3).

As to the Conservatives we must admit that among the Churches and Sects of Christendom there is not entire unanimity of language on this subject. Eastern Orthodoxy and Rome differ from the conservative Reformation fundamentally. Within the Reformation there are differing teachings on important matters. The revival churches have coined terms of their own. Still there is much agreement of thought in certain fundamentals covering the way of salvation (*ordo salutis*). On this subject there is an immense wealth of thought in the Scriptures, especially in the Psalms, the prophets and the New Testament. From this material the liturgies, the hymns and the devotional literature have been drawing.

Which are the points of Conservatism, if, in a few lines, we confine ourselves to soteriology in its leading Biblical teachings? The topic is the **Salvation of the Soul**—so much discredited by modern Rationalism. Note how Paul speaks of the "natural man": incapable of understanding the things of the Spirit (I Cor. 2:14), the same fact of which Jesus spoke to Nicodemus (John 3). The natural man is referred to as in need of "regeneration." Sins, in the

meaning of Scripture, are not exclusively nor even for the most part, the acts of boisterous transgression; but they consist of an attitude of man's heart, inclined to satisfy himself and to forget God and his fellowmen. And this kind of existence is a life of alienation from God, being blind to the truth of His Word, and living with a sleeping conscience. Such is man's state until gradually or suddenly, through the work of the Holy Spirit, his eyes are opened, and he becomes restless (cf. Bunyan's description) and concerned about the condition of his soul and begins to pray and more and more yields himself to the influences of divine grace. The experiences, in their details, are quite varied, due to the differences of circumstances and individuality. Here is where psychology can aid the pastor in his work of caring for, leading and guiding.

A careful distinction also is found between the "civil and spiritual righteousness." It should be seen that "civil righteousness" is no substitute for the "spiritual righteousness" which is worked through the Holy Spirit. (Art. 18 of the Augsburg Confession: "But this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word." I Cor. 2:14). Scripture and the Church's Confessions speak of a "call" and of the sinner's response in "contrition" ("terrors smiting the conscience," art. 12) and a "faith" as trust, which together may be called the full evangelical "repentance" (cf. the same article), and they speak of a "conversion" or of a "regeneration" and then of a proper type of life in the "quest after holiness." Even our modern psychology of religion has made it clear that the contents of these terms cannot be explained merely out of imminent psychological factors. (Cf. Gruehn, *Religious Psychology*, as referred to above).

We need not to insist on this historical terminology, but we should remember that around these terms the Church of Christ has had a great Christian experience and through a very large devotional literature has received a rich religious heritage.

VII. The Final Consummation (Eschatology).

In the attitude toward eschatology, particularly with regard to Christ's return for judgment, we see two decisive points of cleavage between Modernism and Conservative Theology.

The **First** of these pertains to the question **whether we are to look for an end of the world, catastrophically, or whether this world will move, evolutionally, toward an ever higher perfection.**

The theologians of liberalism do not speak of a coming End of the World. The late G. B. Smith, "Principles of Christian Living", 1924, p. 26) wrote: "We no longer look for a catastrophic revolution in history. The ideal for the Kingdom of God has been transformed in modern thinking into the conception of a righteous society which is to be evolved out of the existing social structure." And H. E. Fosdick ("Modern Use of the Bible") declares himself opposed to "apocalyptic hopes where expectations of God's triumph center in a supernatural invasion of the World." To this he opposes "our social hopes that foresee a prolonged fight ahead with many a catastrophe and many a hard pull." The modern man is led, he says, by "philosophical methods and structural ideas that have no kinship with apocalypses, because to him things are shaped by the new democracy and the new economic order."

The Conservatives accept the testimony of Scripture regarding the return of Christ for judgment. They believe what Christ, the prophets and His apostles have seen and described in perspective panoramas of judgment over the forces of Antichrist and of a final catastrophe that shall bring the end of the world, and the elimination of the enemies of Christ and the final and perfect freedom for the children of God in a new world where righteousness is to dwell. They look to the blessed state of an eternal salvation: the natural consummation of the believer's fellowship with God upon earth; when the conflict between the old man and the new has come to an end; when beholding and seeing takes the place of faith and hope. Christ speaks of "that day" even of that "hour" (Mark 13:32). This hope is not spoken of in a carnal and selfish eudemonism, but in the assurance of the consummation of God's "Kingdom" where God rules and the believers are a part of this Kingdom. (Cf. P. Althaus in RGG 2d ed., V, 417, referring to Luther's Works in Weim. Ed. 2, 98 f: cf. pp. 21, 15 ff. Cf. the same author in his book "Die letzten Dinge," 4th ed., pp. 241 ff.)

The **Second** point of difference between Modernism and Conservatism appears when we ask: **Whether the final issue of mankind will be dualistic, with salvation for one part and loss of salvation for the other; or whether the issue will be a continued evolution of all to salvation?** (Universalism). May the writer call special attention to the above mentioned classic on Eschatology by Althaus, pp. 177-182.

Will there be the souls saved and the souls lost? Scripture and the Confessions both of the Ancient Church and of the Reformation do teach very clearly man's final issue as being dualistic. It is this fact that attaches a tremendous seriousness to the Church's message. Upon this doctrine has rested the evangelical preaching of the ages and the Church's care for souls. This teaching is the background for our theology of sin and grace, for the emphasis on justification and sanctification, for the evangelical distinction between Law and Gospel.

We shall not discuss the question as to how God, the God of love and mercy, can condemn the souls who, under their circumstances of life, could not find the way into harmony with Him, except that we must here say: (1) God is good and just; with all the spiritually "underprivileged" He will surely have His own holy way of grace and mercy, so that there may even be the cases where "the last will be the first" (Matt. 20:16). Neither must we overlook (2) that there are the special degrees of willful separation from God and indomitable hostility to His saving grace, which, as a matter of course, will draw their natural consequences.

Here we are to speak of the fact that, opposed to the traditional doctrine of a dualistic issue of mankind, we have today the teaching of a continuous development of all souls, before death and after, into the saving union with God. This is the doctrine of prominent thinkers who refuse to be guided by the fundamentals of Scripture and prefer to seek their orientation in philosophical thought: W. Dilthey speaks of E. Lessing as the first to have suggested the thought of such an evolution of man which is to continue after death.

Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 7th ed., 1921, p. 166. **Lessing**, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, 1780, pp. 92 ff. Cf.

P. Althaus, op. cit. 24 ff.; 176 ff. Cf. his reference to **R. Rothe**, *Ethik*, par. 1, III, 793; also to **O. Pfleiderer**, *Grundriss der Christl. Glaubens und Sittenlehre*, 6th ed. 1898, p. 225; also to **E. Troeltsch**, *Glaubenslehre*, 1925, p. 362. Even the late **R. Seeberg**, mediating theologian, though conservative in the main, and not a real evolutionist, wrote in his *Christl. Dogmatik*, II, 626: "All spirits, the just and the unjust, the Christian and the non-Christian, after death, will be prepared by the Redeemer for their eternal life and will so arrive at the goal of spirituality."

We admit that this is a fascinating thought. American Modernism took it over from the Unitarians. The Universalists are the special representatives of it.

We need not deny the possibility of a **further** development in eternity of those who died in the Lord. But the Church cannot accept the doctrine that at the end of this life there will not be the "double issue" of souls saved and souls lost, and that the decision of man on this side of eternity, through faith in Christ, will have no meaning for his eternal salvation. Scripture, in innumerable places, is very outspoken on this subject. (Cf. Hebrews 10:28-29; John 3:19; Hebr. 2:3; 9:27; John 5:29. There are the cases of Pharaoh, Judas, the thief on the cross, Lazarus and the rich man. And there is the absence of passages speaking of salvation by further development in eternity).

Professor Paul Althaus, among present day theologians the outstanding writer on the subject of eschatology, offers deep-going discussions on the matters here under consideration. He does not deny that certain features of evolution can be observed in the history of individuals on this side of the grave. But in the name of the Church he protests against substituting the evolutionary soteriology of Modernism for the dualism of Scripture and the Confessions. Read "*Die letzten Dinge*," pp. 178-180: The sinful condition of man is taken too lightly. The teaching of the Reformation on sin (Luther, Melancthon, Calvin) must not be abandoned. The evolutionists like to dwell upon cases of seeming weakness, upon certain transitions from one symptom to another ("*gleitende Uebergaenge*"). In Modernism God is always more or less a pantheistic conception, and where God's transcendence is wiped out there can be no Christian eschatology. The whole matter of man's salvation is spoken of lightly as a "democracy"!

But they fail to hear the voice of conscience before God. While there are degrees and transitions of development it must not be overlooked that humanity as a whole and the individuals in their varieties of condition are after all a unit with a will turned against God. As such, men sin willingly. This establishes guilt—in very many ways, guilt which man himself, by reparations and satisfactions of his own, cannot remove; a Savior as center in a divine plan of salvation is needed—grace for the repenting and believing soul. In their conscience and under the Word of God, through the Holy Spirit, many feel the need of repentance and the need of a fundamental decision to be made. Others, again, refuse to listen and to follow the voice of God's Spirit, persevering in this attitude, and in the end they find themselves with a heart that has become hardened. The "dualistic issue" of mankind is a very natural result!

VIII. Conclusion to the Discussion of Millennialism

(Cf. page 225).

We have seen that the Augsburg Confession (art. 17) left no place for a millennium. Nevertheless there developed within the European Protestantism of the nineteenth century varying types of "chiliasm". The fundamental outline was as follows: Christ appears at the beginning of the millennium. He destroys Antichrist, binds Satan, gathers the converts of Israel in the Holy Land, increasing their number by the believers of the "first resurrection." From here He reigns over the whole earth while great missionary activities are extended to all heathen. At the end of a thousand years (Rev. 20: 1-6; see p. 225) Satan again comes into power, seduces many and leads his followers against Christ and His Kingdom. But he is overcome, and now comes the "great resurrection," followed by the day of judgment and eternal salvation for Christ's believers. But the followers of this chiliasm differed greatly among themselves. Quoting from our "Introduction" (p. 275) and with reference to Meusel's *Kirchl. Handlexikon* I, 711 ff.: the **theater** of the chiliastic reign is, according to some, earth and heaven, according to others the earth only, and according to still others Canaan and Jerusalem. The **participants** are according to some the converted Jews and the martyrs, either all of them or those of the last times; according to others all the believers, including those of the Old Testament. Some say, they will be sinless; others, almost sinless. **Christ** is visibly present, at least at times. The purpose of the millennium is found in this that the believers are to enjoy the communion with Christ, or to engage in special missionary endeavors. The world condition is characterized as follows: There will be no wars anymore (Is. 9:5; 2:4; Mich. 4:3-4); ferocity and mutual destruction among animals shall cease (Is. 35:1 ff.; 41:18-19); sun and moon are to shine seven times brighter than at other times (Is. 30:26; 65:17); man shall again reach an age as at the beginning of the race, and the power of death shall diminish (Is. 65:20-22).

The fanaticism with which the Anabaptists had renewed the old Jewish teaching of a millennium (p. 221) had put the Reformers on their guard against movements of that nature. But the conviction that certain eschatological passages of Scripture must be literally fulfilled led some of the German Pietists and also some of the early Erlangen theologians to the admission of chiliastic views, or to concessions to these views. Confessional Lutherans, as a rule, did not follow (Philippi, for instance). Paul Althaus tells us that the chiliasm, as described above, has been disappearing (*ist verdraengt worden*), in the main, from the "wissenschaftliche" theology of the European continent. There are strong reminiscences of it among the pupils of the great chiliastic theologians of the nineteenth century. Among these he counts also the late Lutheran churchman H. Bezzel.²⁰ Chiliasm, as described above, has its special field among the conventicles of the pietistic groups (*Gemeinschaften*). Among

20 Cf. Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 4th ed., 1933. The leading Lutheran churchman T. Kliefoth, author of *Die Christliche Eschatologie* (1886), much quoted by Althaus, was convinced that all prophesies will be fulfilled, but he opposed the teaching of a millennium.

the "Stundists" in Russia with their many immigrants to America (North America and Canada) there is an intense interest in all chil-
iastic topics.²¹

In America, the Lutheran pastor J. A. Seiss in Philadelphia (d. 1904) wrote his three volumes on "The Last Times" under the influence of this and similar literature in Europe. The former German Iowa Synod, with a moderate heritage from the early Erlangen theologians (through their leader W. Loehe) defended, against the "Missourians" (pp. 254 ff.), the toleration of certain eschatological tenets. But it will be of interest to quote the statement with which this body became part of the "American Lutheran Church," 1930 (pp. 256 ff.) "Every form of Chiliasm which makes the Kingdom of Christ into an outward, earthly and secular kingdom of glory, which teaches a visible return of Christ before the last day for the annihilation of Antichrist and his rule and teaches a resurrection of all believers before judgment day must be rejected as a doctrine in decided conflict with the analogy of faith."²²

There are moderate forms of chiliasm, such as was held by Spenser, by some of the Erlangen theologians, also by Martensen: a belief that before judgment there will come for the Church a time when the spiritual presence of Christ shall be especially felt and the efforts at evangelization of the world will be very marked. Then passages such as Is. 2:2-4; Joel 2:28; Micah 4:1-9 and others will have application. The mistake of many is in a literalistic attitude of mind with regard to certain apocalyptic passages, overlooking the fact that the Biblical writers frequently are groping for light and comfort, and that their utterances must not be used as *sedes doctrinae* for proving a millennium which in many places (also in Rev. 20:1-6) is not as much as mentioned.

Millennialism appears in times of great tribulation. It is beset with two special dangers: (1) It easily associates itself with political endeavors and can issue into a theocracy with emphasis on material and secular advantages. And (2) it is inclined to push soteriology out of the center of theology and to substitute eschatology for it.

We must guard against the teaching of a visible appearance of Christ before the day of judgment (cf. Hebrew 9:28; Matt. 25:31 ff.); against an outwardly victorious Kingdom of Christ on earth (John 18:26); against the expectation, on this side of eternity, of a time when there shall be no struggle with the enemies of Christ, with sin, and when there will be no cross to bear (Acts 14:22; Matt. 16:24; Luke 18:8; 17:26).

The time of Christ's Kingdom is now; wherever the means of grace are used and wherever souls for Christ are won and established upon Him as the cornerstone.

In connection with the expectation of a millennium the question is asked whether the converted Jews will have a special mission in the consummation of God's plan in the last times. The reference here is not to the "mystery" of a final general conversion of Israel

²¹ See our Chapter I, p. 61.

²² Cf. Neve-Allbeck, *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 3rd. ed., pp. 278. At the end of the 2d ed. of this book cf. the "Davenport Theses" of the Iowa Synod of 1887, pp. 442 ff. par. 11-15. Later, 1909 and 1912, these statements were modified into the "Toledo Theses."

(Romans 11:25). All Christians should pray and work for the fulfillment of this hope of Paul which is expressed in many passages of Scripture as a prophecy (Deut. 20:3-5; Is. 11:11-12; Ez. 36 and 39; Zech. 12:10-14; Rom. 9:27; 11:25-27). The Christian churches conduct missions in all lands for the conversion of the Jews. But the question is whether a converted Israel will have a special place in a divine economy of salvation within a future millennium. Acts 15:15-17, which speaks of a rebuilding of the "tabernacle of David" (without regard to a millennium) and which has parallels in the Old Testament (cf. Ez. 40 to 48 and passages as quoted above), must have reference to the "spiritual Israel". With the coming of Christ the significance of Jerusalem, of the temple with its sacrifices, as "shadows" (Col. 2:17; Hebr. 8:5; 10:1), have found their fulfillment (cf. Gal. 6:14-16). This was Luther's position,²³ referring to Luther on Ez. 40-48 in picturing the future temple.²⁴

In America, the movement known as "Premillennialism" (in distinction from "Postmillennialism") has been much cultivated by leading Fundamentalists.²⁵

In our chapter 13 we have seen that Wm. Miller fixed the date of Christ's second coming at 1843, which started a number of Adventist organizations. The Mormons and the Russellites engrafted their peculiar teachings on premillennial thought (cf. our chapt. 14). The latter had fixed the end of the world in 1914, which failed. Then there were the efforts to identify the World War with the Gog and the Magog prophecies in Ezekiel and Revelation, which also failed. Since then the "date-setting" endeavors have been more or less in disfavor. Today the millennarians go chiefly by "signs of the times," prominent among which are Zionism, the rising tide of atheism, the constant political convulsions in Europe and in the far East, and whatever else of such nature might take place. During the World War the annual international "Prophetic Conferences" had their beginning in England.

Literalness in the interpretation of Scripture leads to an overemphasis on the significance of Judaism in the eschatological developments: A part of the Jewish nation, which came as unbelievers into the holy land, will see Christ appearing in person and will be converted. The Jews will then go forth as witnesses and convert the nations of the earth. Then conversions will take place on a very extensive scale. Then there will be pilgrimages to Jerusalem every year with the celebration of a feast like that of the tabernacles. The Jews will then be in a place of leadership in the world. All mankind will enjoy uninterrupted peace and plenty for a thousand years.

The Augsburg Confession speaks against the teaching of those "who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions that, before the

23 Cf. Althaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 300 ff.

24 Luther says: "This structure of Ezekiel is nothing else but the Kingdom of Christ, the holy Christian Church or Christianity here upon earth, up to the last day." See his *Works*, E, 63, 73. And again: "All gentiles which are Christians are the genuine Israelites and Jews, born of Christ, the noblest Jew." *Ibid.*, p. 68. See also R. Seeberg, *Dogmatik*, 1925, II, 612 ff.

25 Premillennial: Christ's second coming at the beginning of the millennium. Postmillennial: Christ comes at the close of the millennium.

resurrection of the dead, the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed."

Note: From extensive literature in English on this subject we mention **W. E. Blackstone**, *Jesus is Coming*, 1908, a work which has served widely as a kind of textbook. It introduced the term "dispensationalism" as a name for present-day millennialism. Seven dispensations are counted, beginning with Eden and ending with the Christian age of manifestation (Rom. 8:19). Similarly the Scofield Bible has been of much influence. He identified himself with the dispensations. But "while the Blackstone dispensations are strictly chronological, Scofield's are topical." We also mention **C. Feinberg**, *Premillennialism and Amillennialism Contrasted*, 1935. This book, naturally, must be compared with publications from the other side. We mention **Althaus**, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-306; also *Popular Symbolics*, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., 1934, pp. 366-375. It should also be mentioned that the writer's colleague, the late **Dr. L. S. Keyser** in his many writings, never touched the subject of premillennialism. He felt drawn to the cause of Fundamentalism, but he always said to us that he could not accept this one tenet of his friends. On a broad foundation may be consulted **F. C. Porter**, *The Messages of Apocalyptic Writers*, 1905. **H. C. Sheldon**, *Studies in Recent Adventism*, 1915; also **R. H. Charles**, on the Revelation of John, 1920; 2 vols. of the *International Critical Bible Commentary*. In this literature should not be overlooked: **E. Schuerer**, *History of the Jewish People* (translations from German into English 1885-1891). This work is valuable because of the contemporaneous history of surrounding peoples. Cf. **Shailer Mathews**, *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 1905. By the same author: *Will Christ come again?* 1917. **Shirley Jackson Case**, *The Millennial Hope*, 1918. Cf. **Strack-Billerbeck**, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, III, pp. 823-827. Besides Althaus, see the eschatological publications by **C. Stange** and **E. Sommerlath**.

E. THE GROUP MOVEMENT (BUCHMANISM).

I. The Movement.

The interdenominational and international movement here to be reviewed has been going under the names "Buchmanism", the "First Century Christian Fellowship", "The Oxford Group." We shall call it the **Group Movement**, because one of its chief characteristics is that it does not work as an organization but in groups. It may be traced as coming from the Keswick movement in England, and from the *Gemeinschaften* in Germany. Earlier beginnings of American and European revivalism under Charles G. Finney and Evan Roberts,²⁶ have been contributory to this movement.

Almost unknown in 1930, and working in University and elite society circles as a quiet leaven, the movement has now grown to the proportion of a world wide religious force so that its influence and power is being felt in Christian lives in some 50 different countries of the world. The movement has no enrolled membership and keeps no statistics. At first it aimed at no publicity. But now its

²⁶ Cf. their technique in testimony meetings and their approach of souls for entire "yielding" and "surrender" of their wills to God.

workings are being widely heralded in the religious periodicals of practically every denomination, even in headline articles of magazines such as "Good Housekeeping," "Literary Digest," "Liberty," and "Colliers." Recently it was the subject of discussion in England, even in quarters of the Anglican Church, and also in the Scandinavian countries where prominent leaders in Church and State advocated its principles. In the words of a New York Episcopalian bishop it seems to do for "the educated people what the Salvation Army does for the down and out."

II. Historical Review.

The founder of this movement, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman (born 1878), is a graduate of the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, and is listed in the Year Book of the United Lutheran Church in America as a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. It has been his unflinching habit to rise very early in the day to spend an hour before God in a "morning watch". A part of this time he spends in "complete silence," simply waiting for the Lord to speak to him concerning definite work for the day. To this he adds reading of the Bible and prayer for certain definite objects. A companion writes of him that "his genius lies in his intense preoccupation with individual persons," particularly with regard to the help they need in their struggle with sin and guilt. With this on his mind, he wants to rely from day to day upon the Lord for leading him: to call on one person, to write to another, and so on. Conversation, then, opens the way for expression, perhaps confidential expression, on certain sinful inclinations and guilt that has come into the person's life. It leads to prayer and in most cases finally into the experience of a joyous release from the bondage of sin. And this released person, then, is soon ready to go out and share his own experience with others by testifying and offering them the comfort of the Gospel. There are house parties at club houses or in little cabins, where Christian experiences are exchanged. Some band themselves together and, in teams, travel from place to place and hold similar meetings. There is no effort at winning members; the only aim is to establish little groups for the purpose of functioning as a leaven within the existing churches. Since 1919 this movement has grown into an influence now felt in and outside of the church in many countries.

III. Critical Estimate.

1. **As to the Aim of this Group Movement.** It is a layman's movement which, as one part of its goal, aims at winning back those that have drifted away from the Church: those that have lapsed into practical paganism, into agnosticism or scepticism or atheism or into materialism with its degrading transgressions of the divine law. It attempts to save the many which the established churches, with their rich treasures of Gospel truth and the means of grace, cannot reach. Its means of work is not preaching or public evangelization, but it is conversation with lost or seeking souls in little groups by mutual sharing of experiences. There is no intention to found a new church.

2. Among the opponents of the movement are those who take offense at the fact that **the economically well situated classes are in**

the forefront of its advocates and supporters. The reproach, then, is that on the part of the movement there is a catering to the upper strata of society. The fact is that men in high stations of life are among the strongest of its advocates. In the title of a special publication by the Primate of Denmark's state church, Dr. H. Fugelsang-Damgaard, called the movement "A New Way to the Old Gospel," and in a lecture before a Lutheran Conference in Berlin he defended it without reserve as evangelical and as a movement which takes its place not beside the Church but in the Church. Another person of influence, the President of the Norwegian Parliament, learned of this type of missions at Geneva and on return spoke of it as the strongest impression ever made upon that city. He brought it with him to his home country, and there it found ardent promoters among the professors and others at Oslo University. Such are the reports from people in the higher stations of life. In worldly circles, where unbelief generally is the mark of society, there is a return to the religious interests of the soul.

3. On the other hand there are also the voices of warning. These come from the most conscientious men within the churches. **Not all of the objections will commend themselves as deserving attention**, as for instance, the one that the movement appeals too much to aristocracy. To this the reply is made that a missionary movement cannot always choose its sphere of influence. This is a matter of the Lord's guidance. These upper classes, perhaps, have been neglected. Under present day conditions, these classes may have a need for the Gospel, and they may be especially receptive to this kind of an approach. At the time of Christ and the apostles it was the poor to whom the Gospel was preached. In our day of industrialization and of struggle between the classes the Church has been losing the poor, and it is chiefly the middle classes which hold to the churches. Let us remember that the Movement is a form of historical pietism as church history has observed it in England and on the continent. Why was it that Spener, the father of Pietism in Germany, found it practical to study heraldics (the emblems of the nobility)? It is a fact of church history indeed that in England and in other lands certain families of the nobility promoted the cause of Pietism. Anyway, let us not listen too much to the criticism that this Group Movement is favored by the privileged classes. Also, are not the churches themselves doing their utmost to add people of means to their membership? Paul in his day, who observed that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called" (I Cor. 1:26) would have rejoiced over exceptions to this rule.

4. But there are matters concerning the Group Movement, on which the churches have not only the right but a sacred duty to ask serious questions. One of these pertains to the fact that while Dr. Buchman's influence must be strong and may be headed in the right direction, **the Movement is not controllable**. There is, of course, a certain identity of the group, which lies in the daily spiritual preparation of the workers and in the approach to the objects of their conversations peculiar to the movement. But is it not true that in all spiritual work of the evangelistic kind, even though the method is not preaching but moving in the forms of brotherly or pastoral talks, such a movement should not operate without some kind of a doctrinal background, or, which is the same, without being guided

by certain Scriptural principles? Might there not be officially accepted directions for these workers? Such, of course, would be equal to a "creed" which is impossible for a movement which has its followers in so many churches of conflicting standards. But it should be seen that a pastor, with a responsibility for his congregation, would hesitate to invite a team of workers when he does not know in what direction it will be leading. The workers in this Group Movement vary in their practice according to the denominational background from which they have come and the environments in which they appear.

5. In our critical estimate we shall for a moment go into a few details. In so doing we shall permit ourselves to be stimulated and guided by Professor Adolf Koeberle in a series of articles on this subject.²⁷

a. We begin with the matter of **Divine Guidance**. This guidance is expected as something that the worker can rely on. He can draw the divine sanction by following it. But here very dangerous self-deception is possible. It is possible to confuse the Spirit of God with our own spirit (cf. K., p. 779). To reach into the lives of others, prompted by the confidence that God has ordered it, may lead to serious mistakes. Surely, we believe in guidance, but we must not make our own rules about it. God is free. He can speak and He can be silent. In our hand we have nothing with which to force Him. This does not mean that God may not sometime really speak to us. The old Lutheran theologians spoke of a "providentia specialissima." There may be cause for concern if God never speaks to us. Such might be due to indifference, to hardness of heart or impoverishment of our spiritual life, even to some unforgiven sin. As to reliance upon God's special guidance, after our own desires, Koeberle suggests keeping in mind that our age inclines to immediate revelations outside of and beside Scripture, revelations from nature, from history, from the life of the soul. If we seek God's will then we must do it through the prophets and the apostles, that is through the Word. Even then we cannot always be sure that we will see right. A divine pedagogy may keep us in uncertainty so that we feel the need of continuing in prayer and learn the humility of mind in which alone we are prepared to see the ways of God (K., p. 780).

b. Another matter on which the churches cannot afford to be indifferent is **the relation which the subjective testimony of experience is to have to the objective preaching of the Word and to the use of Sacraments**. To the adherents of the Group Movement the testimonies of experience easily become the chief part of the Church's service. It is not their program to preach and to administer the sacraments. They do not organize churches. They want to revive the dead and lapsed members of the churches and will work on souls outside of the Church. But the Church is right in seeing to it that the "rightly dividing" of the Word through preaching does not become discredited, since the ministry of the Word is divinely appoint-

²⁷ *Allgemeine Evangelisch Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Leipzig, July 30, 1937 to Sept. 3, 1937, 5 issues No. 31-36. This discussion, perhaps the best that has appeared, has been published also in pamphlet form by Doerffling and Franke in Leipzig. Our references here will be to the pages of the *Kirchenzeitung*.

ed. The ministry has the promises of God all through Scripture, even though many in our day cannot be reached in this God-appointed way. The followers of the Group Movement in many places need to consider what Koeberle says: "Compared with the wealth of God's revelation in His Word, how poor are all our personal, religious and Christian experiences. . . . Time and habitual practice combine to take from them their wonderful attractiveness. And then it is even possible to become suspicious of the genuineness and trustworthiness of the experience" (p. 728). In this connection we are told by the above mentioned friend of the movement in Denmark that after some time had passed, many found themselves in despair and in danger of losing all faith. The reason was that the Word of Scripture, the preaching of the great objective divine facts of our redemption, had been too much neglected. In Switzerland—the chief background for Dr. Koeberle's observations—regular preaching services, conducted at one time by Prof. Emil Brunner and others, supplemented by catechetical instruction for the more mature people, were joined to the typical practices of the Movement. The lesson which we have here sought to impress needs even a stronger emphasis in the case of environments where religious subjectivism is a prevailing influence.

c. Neither is it superfluous to say that for work such as the Group Movement is undertaking, the salvation of lost souls, the **teaching of Christ as Savior of sinners must have the right evangelical ring.** The following is a very mistaken utterance: "If we really believe that Jesus Christ is our Redeemer then we will be able to get rid of sin because He got rid of sin." This assertion of an advocate of the movement, although spoken by pointing to the need of repentance, lacks a needed reference to the redeeming work of Christ as the Savior. The note of "auto-redemption" must be avoided.²⁸

d. The Group Movement has sought a special mission in the task of leading people to **the decision of breaking with their own past by a full surrender of their life to Christ.** The truths which the Group and its advocates stress are these: Guard against an "abridged doctrine of justification by faith" (Koeberle, p. 783). The sinner, for his Christian life, needs more than forgiveness and imputation of Christ's righteousness. He needs deliverance from the power of sin and its slavery. The teaching of the Lutherans in the Book of Concord (in five different places), that justification cannot co-exist with the conscious continuation in a life of sin, must be taken more seriously than is usually the case. The Christian must not hide behind the continually functioning natural depravity of our race in order to escape responsibility for the fact that certain individual personal sins of which he is conscious are keeping him spiritually in a state of mind and soul in which he cannot claim with good conscience the precious comfort of justification by faith. We cannot here go into a discussion of the subject of "the relation between justification and sanctification."²⁹

²⁸ The quotation here referred to is from Dr. C. R. Tappert, in an editorial of the "Luth. Herald" (Philadelphia), referring to Lic. J. F. Laun in a discussion on *Das Gebot der Stunde*.

²⁹ See in our Chapter IV, on the Luth. Church, pp. 198 f. and cf. Chapter II, touching the conflict between Rome and Protestantism on this subject, pp. 112 ff.

But there are untold numbers of people within Christianity, believers included, who are suffering under burdens of sin and guilt, because their lives involve a constant "double book-keeping" which keeps from them the "peace of God that passeth all understanding." They need to speak on this inner condition of the soul to others, not necessarily to the pastor of the church, but to spiritually-minded brethren and sisters in the faith. To give direction in such conversations is an important part of the service which the people of the Group Movement aim to render. They call it mutual "sharing" of experience. The aim is at confession.

Rome speaks of "Auricular Confession" (Chapter II, p. 132). Luther kept and practiced all through life a "Private Confession." See our interpretation of art. 11 of the AC on "Confession" in our Introd. to the Symb. Bks. of the Luth. Ch. pp. 225-35; "Private absolution is different from auricular confession in this that it is free". Art. 11 says: "Private confession ought to be retained in the churches." The Schwabach Articles said: "Private confession should not be forced with laws." The Marburg Articles said that "confession, or the seeking of counsel from the pastor or a friend (Naechste), should not be forced but free." Private absolution is different from auricular confession also in this that there is no insistence upon an enumeration of sins. He who receives the confession has "no command to investigate secret sins."³⁰ But connected with this private confession, to Luther, there was always the private absolution. The right for such a lay absolution he took from his position on the priesthood of all believers. Dr. Koeberle criticized the Group Movement for omitting the absolution. But Luther did not make the special mention of sins the condition of forgiveness. He did not want it to become a snare for the conscience. The all-important matter to him was that we confess to God. We quote the closing paragraphs 10 to 13 in Art. 25 of the Augsburg Confession (by Melanchthon): "The ancient writers also testify that an enumeration is not necessary. For, in the Decrees, Chrysostom is quoted, who thus says: 'I say not to thee that thou shouldest disclose thyself in public, nor that thou accuse thyself before others, but I would have thee obey the prophet who says: 'Disclose thy way before God. Therefore, confess thy sins before God, the true Judge, with prayer. Tell thine errors, not with the tongue, but with the memory of thy conscience.' And the Gloss (Of Repentance, Distinct, v. Cap. Consideret) admits that Confession is of human right only. Nevertheless, on account of the great benefit of absolution, and because it is otherwise useful to the conscience, Confession is retained among us." R. Seeberg says: "From this position Luther never wavered, although he always warmly recommended voluntary private confessions."³¹

The practice of the Group leaders in directing the confession of individuals at public meetings has been much criticized: "It leads to dulling the God-given sense of shame." It does away with the depth of real contrition, of truly evangelical repentance. True, such confessions can degenerate into nauseating performances. The

³⁰ Melanchthon in the Apology, VI, 7.

³¹ The references are to Luther's Works: Erlangen Edition, vol. 28, pp. 248-50, 308; vol. 29, pp. 353; vol. 10, 401; vol. 23, p. 68.

practice of the Groups is not everywhere the same. The character of the confessions is bound to depend upon the racial and the denominational background of the participants. There are very subjective and also very objective types of religion with degrees between the two. Koeberle, in his article, made his observations on the background of conditions as they prevailed in Switzerland. He praises the fine tact of the groups working in that country, which distinguish so carefully between "private confession" and public testimony: "They cut every speaker short, who in public meeting fails to observe that distinction. Delicate matters which must be discussed confidentially between two persons, are not permitted to come before the public" (p. 711-14). In speaking of private confession as a means of leading the Christians of today back into the relation of a good conscience before God and their fellowmen, it should be added that also care is taken by the Group that the sacred duty of restitution be laid upon the consciences. However, if the Church is to follow the Group Movement in the resurrection of the old practice of private confession (with absolution) then we need to sound the warning that such confession be not made a "good work" of the meritorious kind. It was here where Luther was on his guard. This was the reason why he refused to make private confession the condition for the forgiveness of sin. The practicability of private confession depends upon the presence of a highpriest-like personality, as was declared already by the church father Origen.³²

The Group Movement wants to lead in the direction of the quest for holiness of life. Dr. Koeberle, in his critical review, in the above quoted series of articles, says that the lesson which the Movement is still to learn is the one on **the relation between justification and sanctification**. This was the outstanding critical problem of the Reformation age. For a fundamental treatment of this problem we call the attention of the reader to the book through which Dr. Adolph Koeberle, now professor of the university in Tuebingen, became widely known, namely his book on **Rechtfertigung und Heiligung**, translated by Dr. John C. Mattes into English under the title, "**The Quest after Holiness**" (Harpers, 1936), now published by the Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn. The reader should study in this book the Sections III, IV, and VII. And guided by the topical index of our own book, the parts dealing with this matter in Chapters II, IV, V and VII should also be compared.

Naturally the Church is interested in the future history of the Group Movement. Will it continue as a leaven within the churches of Christendom (like Pietism and the *Gemeinschaften*); or will it be forced to organize as a separate body, as Methodism had to do?

It will be interesting to trace out in subsequent years, the answer to this question.

32 Cf. R. Seeberg, *History of Doctrine* (English), I, par. 15.

INDEX

Page	Page
ABYSSINIAN CHURCH .. 91	Archbishops 100
Advent Christian Church... 570	Arians 29
Adventist Bodies 569	Armenian Church 88
African Methodist Episc. Ch. 428	Arminianism, development of 393
African Meth. Episc. Zion Ch. 428	Arminian or "General Baptists" 514
African Orthodox Church... 168	Arminians 330
African Union Meth. Ch. .. 434	Asbury, Francis 384
Ainslie, Peter..... 44, 474, 481	Assemblies of God 446
Albanian Orthodox Church 67	Athanasian Creed 30, 68
Albright, Jacob 439	Atonement 608 ff.
Algermissen, K. (Catholic) 37	Auburn Affirmation 300 ff.
Allbeck, W. D. 251	Augsburg Confession 34, 115, 123, 131, 182 ff., 616
Althaus, Paul 222 f., 247 ff., 612 ff.	Church of the 174
Amana Society 585	Augsburg Diet 34
American Catholic Church 168	Augustine, Predestination.. 120
American Luth. Ch., Statistics 256	Aulen, G., Bishop of Sweden, Nygren 10, 606, 609
American Presbyterianism... 292-319	"Auto-redemption" 559
Confessional Position..... 298	
Parent Body 292-305	"BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY" OF CH., 265
American Rescue Workers... 457	Bach, Johann Sebastian... 250
Anderson, Ind., Church of God 580	Bahr, George 250
Angelus Temple 459	Baptism, Sacrament, 126; comparative study 521
Anglican Church 35, 353	Baptistic Principle 521
Broad Church Party 370	Baptist Family 35, 503 ff.
High Church Party..... 371	American Branches 522
Low Church Party..... 370	America, in 516
Anti-creedalism 481	Arminian type 524
Antiochians, Nestorian or dyophysitic 87	Brethren of 527
Anti-organ 485	Calvinistic or Predestinarian 522
Apollinaris 31	Continent, on the..... 515
Apology 184	England, in 514
Apostles' Creed 29, 68	World, of the 514
Apostolic Christian Group... 457	Ballou, Hosea 564
Apostolic Faith Mission... 457	"Baltimore Ordination Sermon" 550
Apost. Overcoming Ch. of God 453	Barclay, Robt. 533
	Barth-Brunner 247, 273

Page	Page
Barth, Karl -----	"Campbellites", aim of ---- 475
----- 247, 272, 273, 342, 599	Canon Law ----- 104
Barton, W. E. ----- 496	Canonical Law ----- 111
Battle Creek, Mich. (Ad-	Canons of Dort ----- 280
ventists) ----- 572	Cardinals ----- 99
Bellarmin, Cardinal ---- 97, 111	Carroll, H. K. ----- 43
Bender, S. ----- 508	Cartwright, Thomas ----- 281
Benedictines ----- 101	Cassel, C. W. ----- 546, 556
Benedictions ----- 156	Catholic Apostolic Church - 578
Beza ----- 282, 504	Central Conference of Men-
"Biblicism" ----- 478	nonites ----- 512
"Biblicists" ----- 237	Chalcedon, council at ----- 96
Biederwolf, W. E. ----- 569	Channing, Wm. Ellery 498, 549 f.
Bishops,	Charles I ----- 522
Anglicans ----- 360	Charles II ----- 285, 289
Catholic Church ----- 100	Chemnitz ----- 120
Methodists ----- 412	Christadelphians ----- 581
Bodily presence, Christ's--	Christ. Bible College League
----- 141	----- 480
Bohemians, Moravians ---- 467	"Christian Century" ----- 390
Bollman, C. P. ----- 569	Christian Church, Merger -- 501
Boniface VIII ----- 346	Christ. Ch. and Miss. Alli-
Book of Common Prayer--	ances ----- 457
----- 366, 370	Christian Science ----- 589
Book of Concord ----- 179	Christian Sociology in Amer-
Booth, Ballington, & Mrs. -- 456	ica ----- 414
Booth, William ----- 456	"Christian Standard" ----- 480
Brethren Ch. (Progr. Dunk-	"Christian Union" ----- 486
ers) ----- 528	Christie, F. A. ----- 546
Briggs, C. A. ----- 41	Christocracy ----- 465
Brosy, P. M. ----- 353, 496	"Church and Sect" 33, 34, 36, 38
Brown, W. A. ----- 44	Church & State, relation: --
Brunner, Emil ---- 247, 273, 342	Calvin ----- 344
Buchmanism, (Group Move-	Luther ----- 215, ff.
ment) ----- 621	Rome ----- 101, 103 ff.
Bulgarian Orthodox Church 66	Church of Christ, Holiness - 453
Buckley, J. M. ----- 379	of Daniel's Band ----- 458
Buddensieg, R. ----- 533	of God (Adventist) ----- 573
Bulgarian Orthodox Ch. ---- 66	of God and Saints of Chr. 452
	of God (Apostolic) ----- 453
	of God, Gen'l Assembly -- 446
	of God in Christ ----- 452
	of God in Christ (Mennon-
	ite) ----- 509
	of God (New Dunkers) -- 529
	of the Brethren (Conserv.
	Dunkers) ----- 527
	of the Living God (Christ.
	Workers Fellowship) ---- 452
	of the Living God, (Pillar,
	etc.) ----- 453
CALISTUS, ROMAN BISH-	
OP ----- 95, 96	
Calixtus, George ---- 226 ff., 476	
Calvin, Calvinism 32, 267 f.,	
319 ff., 322, 328, 339, 348 f.	
Institutes, 272. Five Points	
of, 328. Term, The ----- 270	
Calvinistic or Particular Bap-	
tists ----- 515	
Campbell, Alexander -- 470, 477	
Campbell, Thomas ---- 470, 476	

626 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

	Page		Page
Church of the Nazarene ---	447	Cranach, Lucas -----	250
of the New Jerusalem --	584	Creed, in the Bible -----	26
Church of the United Breth-		Creeds -----	
ren -----	436	And freedom of thought -	27
Church of the U. B. in Christ	438	Guide to Ch. life --	24, 25, 27
Church Government, Calvin,		Means of defense -----	28
342 ff. Luther, 209 ff., 214;		Not created arbitrarily --	24
Rome, 98 ff., 104 ff. Cf. in-		Protect identity -----	24
dividual churches.		Reflect experience of Ch. -	26
Churches of Christ -----	485	Cromwell, Oliver -----	283, 533
of God, Holiness -----	452	Cumberland Presby. Ch. ---	305
of God in Christ -----	574	Cup, refusal of -----	149
Clark, E. T. -----	33, 36, 41, 44	Curialism -----	110
Cole, Steward S. -----		Cyprian -----	95, 96
-----	297, 394, 395, 480, 519	Cyril, Lucar -----	71
Cocceius -----	477	Cyril of Alexandria -----	31
Codex Juris Canonici -----	156		
Collegia Philobiblica -----	236	DARBY, J. -----	579
Colored Primitive Baptists -	523	Darbyites -----	579
Colored Meth. Episc. Ch. --	429	Darwin, C. R. -----	547
Colored Meth. Prot. Ch. ---	434	Davis, M. M. -----	470
Community Churches -----	494	Decrees, Infallibility -----	110
Comparative Symbolics ----	41	Defenseless Mennonites ----	510
Comprehensive Union -----	469	Deismann, A., Russia -----	56 f.
Concordia Concors -----	269	Denzinger's Enchiridion... 111 ff.	
Concordia Discors -----	269	Disciples, The -----	469:
Concordia Theol. Seminary -	254	Anti-Creedalism -----	481
Conf. of Defenseless Men-		"Biblicism" -----	476
nonites -----	512	"Christian Evangelist" ---	480
Confession, auricular -----	132;	"Declaratory Statement" -	337
private -----	622	Lord's Supper -----	484
Confession of Dositheus ----	71	Polity -----	484
Confessio Orthodoxa -----	70	Unity -----	484
Confirmation, as sacrament	128	Discenters -----	35, 283
Congregational Chr. Ch. ---	496	Dominicans -----	101
Cong. Ch. in America 35, 37,	497	Dogma formulae -----	111
Congregational Creeds -----	499	Doctrines of the Reformation	
Cong. Holiness Ch. -----	450	Church government -	209, 343
Cong. Meth. Ch. -----	432	Eschatology -----	222
Conserv. Amish Mennonite		God -----	188, 328
Ch. -----	508	Man -----	191
Conservatives or "Antis" or		Means of Grace --	204, 321 ff.
"Anti-organ" -----	485	Ministry -----	212
Conserv. Theology --	556, 601 ff.	Predestination -----	328, 335
Constantine, donation of --	101	Salvation -----	194, 336
"Consubstantiation" -----	411	Dubs -----	440
Contrition -----	130	Duck River & Kindred Assn.	
Conventicles -----	235	of Baptists -----	522
Copts, Egypt & Abyssinia	86, 90	Duerer, Albrecht -----	250
Correll, E. -----	508	Dunkers -----	527
Cranmer, T. --	285, 356, 357, 504	Dynamistic Monarchianism -	554

Page	Page
EASTERN ORTHODOX	Evangelical Theology ----- 117
CHURCHES 32, 37, 47 ff., 79 ff.	Evang. Synod of N. A. ---- 278
Accepted Canons ----- 68, 69	Evangelical Union, Moravian ----- 467
and Mohammedanism -- 48 f.	Evangelistic Associations -- 457
in America ----- 61 ff., 66	Evjen, J. O. ----- 258, 414, 415
Interpretation of Liturgy 78	
Liturgical emphasis ---- 74	
on Tradition ----- 69	
Theological stagnation -- 75	FABRICIUS, CAJUS -- 33, 403
Relation with other	Fall, of man -----
Churches ----- 71, 81 ff.	Anglican ----- 363
Eastern Roman Churches --	Calvinist ----- 267
Chaldean Church ----- 92	Eastern Orthodox ----- 74
Coptic Catholic Church -- 92	Lutheran ----- 191
Syrian Catholic Church -- 92	Methodist, (cf. 390 ff.; 403
Ebionism ----- 31	----- 406).
"Ecumenical Creeds" -----	Rome ----- 113
----- 29, 179, 187, 362	Zwinglian ----- 267
Eddy, Mary Baker ----- 589	Faulkner, J. A. ----- 379, 391
Edward VI ----- 356	Federal Council of Churches
Edwards, Jonathan --- 380, 497	of Christ in A. ----- 270
Egli, E. ----- 503	Federated Churches ----- 494
Elert, Werner 194, 218 ff., 246, 347	Feine, Prof. P. ----- 231
Elevation, consecrated wafer 142	Ferguson, C. W. ----- 33, 44
Emerson, Ralph Waldo 546, 553	Festum corpus Christi ---- 142
Emmat, Eliz. B. ----- 533	Ficker, G. ----- 60
Encyclopedia, Catholic ---- 100	"Filioque" ----- 362
Episcopal, Protestant ---- 353 ff.	Finns ----- 258
Bishop's Canonical duties 360	Fisher, G. P. ----- 546
Churches ----- 353	Formula of Concord -- 142, 186
Church Polity ----- 360	Fortune, A. W. ----- 470, 475
Consecration ----- 360	Fosdick, H. E. ---- 299, 604, 611
Deacon, the ----- 361	Four Square Gospel ---- 459
Duties of Priests ----- 361	Fox, George ----- 533
Lay Readers ----- 361	Franck, Seb. (Theol. of the
Erlangen School ----- 479	"Inner Light") ----- 503
Eschatology ----- 570, 611	Frank, J. H. (systematician
Anglican ----- 367	of the Erlangen School) -- 242
Eastern Orthodox ----- 80	Franciscans ----- 101
Lutheran ----- 208 ff.	Free Christ. Zion Ch. of
Reformed ----- 322	Christ ----- 453
Rome, 140 ff. Hell ----- 160	Free Ch. of England ---- 377
Essentialists, 394 f., 397, cf.	Free Ch. of God in Christ - 453
Fundamentalists -----	Free Meth. Ch. of N. A. ---- 432
Eucharist -----	Free Will Bapt. Ch. (Bul-
Chief effects ----- 149	lockites) ----- 525
Eucharistic Congress ----- 146	Free Will Baptists ----- 524
Evangelical Churches (Al-	"Friends" ----- 533
bright) ----- 439	Fritschel, G. J. --- 186, 226, 250
Evangelical Confed. Union 174	"Fundamentalists" -----
Evangelical Movement ---- 265	--- 299, 394 f., 480, 520, 535 ff.

	Page		Page
GARRISON, W. E. ---	470, 477	Hofmann, J. C. K. -----	242
General Baptists -----	525	Holiness Organizations ----	
Gen'l Conf. of the Menno-		in America -----	441
nites -----	513	in Europe -----	444
Gen'l Eldership of the Chs.		Holiness Church -----	449
of God -----	576	Holiness Methodist Church -	450
General Six Principle Bap-		Holy Water -----	157
tists -----	524	Hunt, J. -----	533
German Evangelical Synod	469	Huffman, J. A. -----	508
German Idealism -----	245	Huss, Joh. -----	465
Geyer, Heinrich -----	578	Hutterian Brethren -----	512
Gnosticism -----	31	Huxley, Thomas -----	547
Grace, concept of -----	119;		
Merit of -----	119	IMMORTALE DEI -----	104
Gregory VII -----	246	"Inclusiveness and exclus-	
Gregory Illuminator -----	88	iveness" in missions -	267, 302
Group Movement -----	617	Independent Afri. Meth. Ch.	429
Advocates -----	619	Indep. Baptist Ch. of A. ---	524
Divine Guidance -----	620	Indep. Churches. 494, 495,	571 ff.
Evangelical ring -----	621	Independents, The -----	577 ff.
Full surrender -----	621	"Indian Christian" -----	422
Not controllable -----	619	Indulgences -----	137, 265
Private confession -----	622	Infallibility -----	110
Gruetzmacher, R. H. -----	503	Innocent III -----	103
Gunn, W. T. -----	487	Internl. Bible Students Assn.	581
		Iowa Synod -----	257
HARMONIA CONFESSIO-		Irving, Edward -----	578
UM -----	273	Irvingites -----	35
Harms, Claus -----	230, 236	Italian State and the Vatican	102
Harnack, Adolph -----	244, 562		
Harvard College -----	549	JACKSON, THOMAS -----	378
Hegelian theology -----	294	Jacobites -----	86, 89 ff.
Heick, O. W. -----	260	Jacobs, C. M. -----	496
Heidelb'g Catechism 272, 273,	276	Jacobs, H. E. -----	171
Heiler, F. -- 131 f., 136 f.,	162 ff.	Jehovah's Witnesses -----	581
Helvetic Confession, Second	273	Jellinghaus, T. -----	237
Helvetic Consensus Formula	329	Jesuits -----	101
Hembocker -----	100	Jews, Conversion of -----	615
Henry IV, Emperor -----	103	John Damascus -----	30
Henry VIII -----	285	Johnson, A. C. -----	569
Hephzibah Faith Miss'y		Jones, Stanley E. -----	418, 422
Ass'n. -----	458	Jones, Rufus -----	533
"Herrnhut", Saxony -----	467	Justification, Sanctification -	
Hibbert Journal -----	548	-----	121 ff., 195-199
Hicksite -----	541		
Hierarchy, Roman Church	98	KAFTAN, THEO. -----	240
High Church, The -----	357	Kagawa -----	421
High Church Party -----	371	Kant, I. -----	561, 562
Historical Union Endeavors	597 f.	Kappel, battle at -----	274
Hoesch, G. G. -----	504, 506, 508	Karlstadt, Andreas -----	505
		Kattenbusch, F. -----	42, 47, 94
		(Cf. our Chap. I & II).	

Page	Page
Kawerau, G. ----- 231	in American History ---- 250, 259, 262
Sects in Germany ----- 44	in Germany ----- 261
Keller, L. ----- 503	Literature ----- 171 ff.
Kilham, Alex. ----- 383	Name ----- 173
Kimmel, E. J. ----- 47	Northlands of ----- 261
Kittel, Gerhard ----- 246, 561	Sacraments ----- 206 ff.
Kliefoth, T. ----- 614	Teachings ----- 186 ff.
Klotsche, E. H. ----- 190, 225	Theology and Character
Knox, John -- 281, 288, 289, 504	of ----- 194 ff.
Knubel, Pres. F. H. ----- 254, 259	Lutheranism
Koeberle, Adolph -- 199, 246, 441	Art within ----- 249
Koehler, W. on Zwingli --- 37	Confessional character. 178 ff.
"Konfessionskunde" ---- 42, 44	Essentials ----- 187, 226
Mulert, H. ----- 98	Institutions within ----- 249
(Cf. our Chap. I and II).	Problems of Union with
Krauth, C. P. ----- 253	Reformed ----- 351
Krebiel, C. K. ----- 508	Shortcomings and Disad-
Krimmer Mennonite Ch. --- 511	advantages ----- 259
	Statistics ----- 175 ff.
	Territory ----- 175 ff.
	Three racial branches --- 260
LATITUDINARIANISM --- 294	
Laud, Archbishop ----- 284, 533	McCONNELL, FRANCIS J.
Lee, Ann ----- 586	----- 378, 397, 399, 400, 405
"Legalism" ----- 112, 339, 403	McPherson, Aimee Semple. 459
Leo XIII ----- 104	Machen, G. ----- 273, 303
Life and Advent Union --- 574	Marburg Colloquy ----- 266
Limbus patrum, infantum -- 162	Marcionism ----- 31
Lindsay, Theophilus ----- 547	Marheineke, P. ----- 41
Lithuanian Natl. Cath. Ch.	Martensen, H. L. ----- 241
in A. ----- 169	Martineau, James ----- 548
Loeche, W. ----- 615	Mass, 143, ff., purpose of -- 145
Lookowitz, C. V. ----- 96	Matrimony, 153, indissoluble 154
Loofs, F. ----- 42, 47, 94 ff.	Means of Grace, Luth. interpr.
(Cf. our Chap. I and II).	----- 204, 206
Lord's Supper	Melanchthon ----- 504
Anglican ----- 367	Melanchthon's Loci ----- 239
comp. with Ref. & Presby.	Melanchthonianism --- 226, 598
----- 322-327	Mellenbruch, P. L. ----- 224
Disciples ----- 484	Mennonites ----- 35, 506
Eastern Orthodox ----- 80	in America ----- 508, 514
Lutheran ----- 206 ff.	principles of ----- 507
Methodist ----- 410-412	Mennonite Brethren in Christ 511
Rome ----- 140	Mennonite Brethren Ch. of N.
Luthardt, C. E. ----- 115	A. ----- 511
Luther's Movement compared	Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 511
with	Methodist Body ----- 378
Zwingli ----- 266	Methodist Church ----- 427
Calvin -- 31, 314 ff., 319 f., 351	Methodist Church Family 378
Lutheran Church ----- 171 ff.	Organization in England. 388
Character - 32, 259-263, 194 ff.	
Chiliasm, on ----- 615	
Confessions (Symbols) - 182 ff.	

Page	Page
Association, Wesleyan --- 383	NATIONAL NEGRO BAPTISTS --- 517
Colored ----- 423	"Neo-Calvinism" ----- 350
Non-Episcopal ----- 430	Neo-Kantian Theology --- 294
Methodist Church of America ----- 383	Neo-Lutheranism ----- 246 ff.
Early History ----- 378	Nestorians ----- 31
"Deed of Declaration" --- 383	Neve, J. L. ----- 29, 250
change in ----- 413	Neve-Allbeck, History -- 251 ff.
growth of ----- 384	New Apostolic Church --- 578
in Canada ----- 385	New Congreg. Meth. Ch. --- 433
in America ----- 383	New Jerusalem (Swedenborg) ----- 584
in Europe ----- 434	New Life, The ----- 610
in the South ----- 384	"New Obedience" ----- 247, 562
Outstanding characteristics ----- 391-423	Niesel, W. -- 265, 313, 325, 339 f.
Present organizations --- 423	Northern Baptist Conv. --- 517
Social Gospel ----- 412	Northland Churches (Lutheran) ----- 174
Twenty-five Articles --- 386	Nuelsen, J. L. --- 378, 414, 435
Methodist Episc. Ch. South 425	Nygren Andres ----- 10
Methodist Protest. Church - 426	
Methodists ----- 35, 37	OECOLAMPADIUS ----- 504
Metropolitan Ch. Organization ----- 458	Ockham, Wm. ----- 106
Millennium ----- 225	Old Catholic Church,
Miller, Wm. ----- 569	in America ----- 168
Ministry, Lutheran Conception of ----- 212	in Europe ----- 166
Mirbt, C. ----- 102 ff.	Old Order Amish Mennonite Ch. ----- 509
Missionary Bands of the World ----- 458	Old Order German Baptist Brethren ----- 528
Missionary Church Ass'n -- 458	Old Order Mennonite Church (Wisler) ----- 509
Modern Anglicanism ----- 371	Old Roman Symbol ----- 29
"Modernists" 299, 394 f., 480, 520	Oncken, J. C. ----- 515
535 ff., 556, 602 f., 607, 608	(d. 1884)
(cf. Fundamentalists).	"Open Membership" ----- 480
Moe, Prof. O. ----- 259	Orders and Congregations -- 100
Monophysites ----- 31	Ordination ----- 151 ff.
Monophysitic Group ----- 88	Original Church of God --- 449
Moravian Church ----- 464	Orthodox Church,
Moravian Confession of Faith ----- 465	of Albania ----- 67
Mormons ----- 586	of Bulgaria ----- 66
Mosiman, S. K. ----- 513	of Greece ----- 63
Movements Independent & Unrelated ----- 576 ff.	of Rumania ----- 65
(Chap. XIV).	of Russia ----- 50
Muehlenberg, H. M. ----- 252	of Syria ----- 67
Mueller, E. ----- 503	of Turkey ----- 48
Mueller, Karl ----- 264, 272 f. 325, 341 f.	of Yugo-Slavia ----- 64
Muenzer, Thomas ----- 505	Orthodox Conserv. Friends 542
Mulert, H. (Chapters I & II).	"Orthodoxism" ----- 25
Murray, J. ----- 564	Orthodox Quakers ----- 540
	Otterbein, P. W. ----- 277

Page	Page
"Our Position", tract ----- 481	Confessions of Reformed
Oxford Conf. on Life and	and Presbyterians --- 313-318
Work ----- 346	Priest, the ----- 100
Oxford or Tract. Movement 358	Priestley, Joseph ----- 548
	Primitive Baptists ----- 522
PAPAL, INFALLIBILITY - 99	Primitive Meth. Ch. in U.
Parker, Matthew ----- 357	S. A. ----- 431
Parker, Theodore ----- 546, 554	Princeton University ----- 295
Patriarchs, 95, honorary --- 100	Prohibited Books, Index of 105
"Patrimonium St. Petri" -- 101	Protestant Episcopal Church
Penn, Wm. ----- 538	----- 354, 358, 361
Pentecostal Organizations - 445	Purgatory ----- 160 ff.
Pentecostal Holiness Church 449	Puritans, 497; Principles of
Perfectionism ----- 577	----- 271, 280
Person of Christ	
Conservatism, Liberalism	QUAKERS ----- 35, 533;
----- 606, 607	Denominational Life --- 540
Peter ----- 95, 96, 97	
Philippi, F. A. ----- 127, 242	RACOVIAN CATECHISM -
Pieper, F. ----- 255	----- 546
Pietism, Old and New ----- 233	Rationalism ----- 236, 239
Pilgrim Holiness Church -- 451	Rationalist Group ----- 546 ff.
Pillar of Fire ----- 458	Rauschenbusch, Walter -- 415 ff.
Piper O. ----- 118, 263	"Real presence" of Christ - 266
Pius IX, ----- 104	Redemption (Atonement) 608 ff.
Plymouth Brethren ---- 35, 579	Reed, R. C. ----- 487
Polish National Catholic	Reformed ----- 32
Church ----- 169	Alliance of the ----- 270
Political Influence in Church 101	The name ----- 268
Pontifex Maximus ----- 95	Reformed Church ----- 173, 275
Pope, Sovereignty of ----- 101	Character of ----- 271 ff.
Infallibility of ----- 99	Confessional consciousness 273
Popular Symbolics -----	(Presbyterians) ----- 318
----- 226 ff., 494, 617	Confessions of ----- 313-318
Predestination, 328-334, 335	Diff. from Luth. 321-327, 348 f.
(Calvin); Luther ----- 335 f.	Reformed Episcopal Ch. --- 377
Philosophically considered 334	Reformed Mennonite Ch. -- 510
Premillennialism ----- 225	Reformed Methodist Ch. --- 433
Fundamentalists ----- 616	Reformed Metho. Episc. Ch. 429
Literature on ----- 617	Reformed Zion Union Apos-
Presbyterian Churches in	tolic Ch. ----- 429
Great Britain: England,	Reformers, dif. bet. ----- 268
281 ff. Scotland ----- 288 ff.	(cf. 266, 314 ff. 319 f.)
Ireland 290, Wales ----- 287	Regular Baptists ----- 526
Presbyterian Churches in	Religious Soc. of Friends -- 541
North America: in U. S.	Repentance, Rome --- 129, 136
A., 292-296; U. S. (South)	Rescue Workers ----- 457
306 ff. Cumberland 305;	"Restoration Movement" -- 471
other Bodies ----- 308 ff.	Reu, Prof. M. ----- 183, 257
Presbyterianism ----- 282	Rigdon, Sidney ----- 587
Confessional position in	Rio Grande Synod ----- 469
America ----- 293 ff., 298 ff.	

632 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

	Page		Page
River Brethren	530	Schaff, Phil. 28, 29, 30, 47 ff.,	
Robinson, John	497	94 ff., 172 ff., 184, 508, 518 ff.	
Rohnert, W.	33	Scheuerlen, P.	37
Roman Catechism	108	Schismatic Churches	31
Rome,		of the Orient	85 ff.
Church, concept of... 95, 96, 97		Schlatter, Adolph	248
Definition	125	Schleiermacher, F. D. E.	
Dogmatic, significance of		241, 242
the	107	Schmauk, T. E.	253
Pope	95	Schwenkfeld, Kasper	530
Research	106	Christology of	531
Sacraments, on the ... 124 ff.		Bible, on the	531
Scientific pursuits	105	Scripture and Confessional	
Specific teaching	111	Standards	199 ff.
State	103	Sects, The term	33
Statistics	107	Its history	34, 35
Term "Catholic"	95	Literature	36
versus Lutheranism 115, 118 ff.		Sectarianism	37
Rowe, Gilbert T.		Special traits	38, 40
..... 408, 410, 465, 471		Their place and purpose..	37
"Rules of Faith"	28	Seeberg, R. ... 244, 339, 503, 547	
Russell, Chas. T.	581	Seiss, J. A.	615
Russia, at present		Separate Baptists	526
Church divided	52	Separation of East and West	47
"Holy Synod" (Synodists)	51	Serbian Orthodox Ch. in A.	65
Russian Orthodox Church		Seventh Day Adventist Ch..	572
in America	61	Seventh Day Baptists	526
Russian Sects		Seventh Day Baptists (Ger-	
Chlystendom	59	man)	529
Duchoborzi	61	Seventh Day Sabbath	570
Molokani	60	Shakers	585
Raskolniki	58	Simon, Menno	506
Rutherford, Judge	582	Sins, in Rome, 112: actual	
		116, mortal 116, venial ...	116
SACRAMENTALS	156 ff.	Sinful condition, man's ...	191
Sacraments,		Smalcald Articles ... 142, 184 ff.	
Anglican	367	Smith, C. H.	508
Calvinists	321 ff.	Smith, Joseph	587
Eastern Orthodox	77 ff.	Smyth, John	534
Lutheran	204 ff.	Social Gospel	
Methodist	410 ff. 218 ff., 347, 412-423	
Rome	156 ff.	Socialism, the voice of	416
Sacrifice, of the mass	140	Society, State and Civil	218
Salvation, justification, 118 ff.;		Socinian Heritage	546
Grace, justification ... 195 ff.		Socinians	35; 546 f.
Salvation Army	35, 453	Solemn League Covenant ...	288
Sanctification, justification	121 ff.	Sources, authoritative for	
Sasse, Herman	246	Roman Teaching	109
Satisfaction, works of	135	Sovereignty, claims of Rome	101
Scandinavian Lutherans ...		Spinka, M. ... 50, 53, 54, 55, 56	
..... 258, 261 f.		Stahl, Julius	231
		Stange, C.	224, 247

Page	Page
State Church in Prussia -- 231	Tuebingen School ----- 479
Stauffer Mennonite Ch. in Pa. 514	
Stoecker, A. ----- 414	UNIAT CHURCHES ----- 61
Stone, Barton ----- 470	Union American Metho.
Stuarts, The ----- 288	Episc. Ch. ----- 428
Stuckenborg, J. H. W. ---- 414	Union, The German -----
Stundists ----- 61, 615	----- 225 ff., 468 ff., 596 ff.
Sweet, W. W. ----- 36, 379	Absorptive ----- 468
Swedenborg, Emanuel ----- 584	Basis of ----- 351, 488
Swedenborgians ----- 584	Comprehensive ----- 469, 599
Symbolics, progressive	Confederative ----- 227
methods ----- 41-45	Family Union ----- 464
Carroll, H. K. ----- 43	Judgments on ----- 228 ff.
Clark, E. T. ----- 33	Motives for ----- 593
Kattenbusch, F. ----- 42	Protests against ----- 231
Loofs, F. ----- 97	Union Bodies ----- 464 ff.
Markeineke, Philipp ---- 41	Union in Canada ----- 486 ff.
Moehler, A. ----- 98	Union Endeavors -----
Winer, G. B. ----- 41	----- 227, 233, 269, 278 f.
Guenther, M.	Unitarians ----- 546
Popular Symbolics, Cf.	in America ----- 548 ff.
"Eschatology".	in England ----- 547 ff.
Symbols, acceptance ----- 180	in Poland ----- 546
Syncretism ----- 226	Unitarianism, rise of -- 294, 546
Synod of Dort ----- 328	Unitas Fratrum ----- 464
Synodical Conference ---- 254	United Arminian Free Will
Syrian Christians ----- 87	Baptist Ch. ----- 525
Syrian Orthodox Church -- 67	United Church of Canada 486 ff.
	United Luth. Ch. in America,
TENNENT, WILLIAM ---- 295	Statistics ----- 253
Tertullian ----- 95	United Meth. Free Churches 383
Theocracy ----- 349	United Presbyterian Ch. -- 308
Theodore of Mopsuestia-- 31, 85	Unity ----- 591
Theological Liberalism 239 ff., 244	Universalism, tenets at pres-
Theological Schools, 19th	ent ----- 566
Cent. ----- 238, 601 f.	Universalist Church ----- 564
Thirty-nine Articles (Episc.)	
----- 363	VATICAN CITY ----- 102
Thomas Christians, 86; India 91	Vatican Council ----- 96, 98
Thomas, John M. C. ----- 581	Vestments ----- 147
Thorwaldsen, Bertel ---- 250	Vilmar, A. F. C. ----- 117, 243
Tikhon, Patriarch ----- 50	Voigt, H. G. ----- 33 f.
"Toleration Act" ----- 286	Volunteers of America ---- 456
Tractarian or Oxford Move't 358	
Tractatus of Melancthon 185 f.	WALDENSIANS ----- 465
Transcendentalism ----- 554	Walker, W. ----- 27, 498
Transubstantiation ----- 140 ff.	Walch, J. G., Works of Luth-
Trent, 96, Councils, Ecu-	er ----- 45
menical ----- 109 ff.	Walther, W. Symbolics ---- 45
Troeltsch, E. -----	(cf. Chap. I to V).
----- 33, 36, 244, 348 ff., 503	Wappler, P. ----- 503
Tschackert, P. ----- 503	

634 CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM

	Page		Page
Warner, Daniel S. -----	520	Winer, G. B. -----	41
Way of Salvation -----	610	Winebrenner, Joh. -----	577
Welcome, I. C. -----	569	Wolf, E. J., Lutheranism as	
Wentz, A. R. -----	251, 254	a system -----	232
Wesleyan Metho. Connection		Melancthonism -----	598
of A. -----	430	"Wrath of God" -----	189, 605
Wesleys, the, John -----	379 ff.	Scripture -----	604, 605
Charles -----	379 ff.		
Westminster Confession --		Young, Brigham -----	587
-----	123, 300, 330, 332		
Westhood, H. -----	559	ZAHN -----	248
Wheeler, H. -----	27, 386 ff.	Zanzalus, Jacob, (Baradai)	89
White, Mrs. Ella -----	573	Zinzendorf, N. -----	465, 466
Whitefield, Geo. -----	389	Zionism -----	616
Wichern, H. -----	220, 413	Zwingli -----	265
Wilburite -----	542	diff. between Luth and	266 ff.
Winchester, C. T. -----	378		

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